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> "*We do not take possession of our ideas but are possessed by them.*
> *They master us and force us into the arena,*
> *Where like gladiators, we must fight for them.*" —HEINE.

The ARENA

EDITED BY
B. O. FLOWER.

B. P. L.
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE.
PROF. JOSEPH RODES BUCHANAN . . . . . *FRONTISPIECE.*
HELEN H. GARDENER. . . . *A BATTLE FOR SOUND MORALITY (II)* 1
(*With numerous Photogravure Illustrations.*)
PROF. J. R. BUCHANAN . . . . *MARVELS OF ELECTRICITY* 33
B. O. FLOWER . . . . *AFTER SIXTY YEARS* 52
STINSON JARVIS . . . . *HOW EVOLUTION EVOLVES* 67
HENRY WOOD . . . . *OMNIPRESENT DIVINITY* 77
PROF. FRANK PARSONS . *THE PEOPLE'S LAMPS, ELECTRIC LIGHT* 86
PROF. GEORGE D. HERRON: THE MAN AND HIS WORK IN CALIFORNIA.
A SYMPOSIUM, with Introduction by ADELINE KNAPP.
REV. J. R. McLEAN. **REV. J. E. SCOTT.**
REV. W. W. SCUDDER, JR. **ELDER M. J. FERGUSON.**
REV. J. CUMMINGS SMITH. **REV. R. M. WEBSTER.**
JAMES G. CLARK. 110
HON. JOHN DAVIS . . . . *NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (III)* 129
F. W. COTTON . . . . *THE LABOR EXCHANGE* 141
REV. MARION D. SHUTTER, D. D.,
PROGRESSIVE CHANGES IN UNIVERSALIST THOUGHT 144
BOOKS OF THE DAY. "*Roland Graeme, Knight,*" "*A Cottage Gray,*" "*Christianity Reinterpreted,*" "*The Divine Indwelling,*" "*The World Beautiful,*" "*New Standard Dictionary,*" *Reviewed by B. O. Flower;* "*Kerchiefs to Hunt Souls,*" *Reviewed by Frederick T. Jones* . . . 155
WORLD OF BOOKS.
UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. **NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.**

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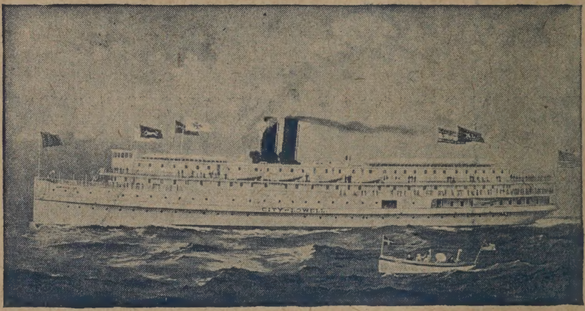

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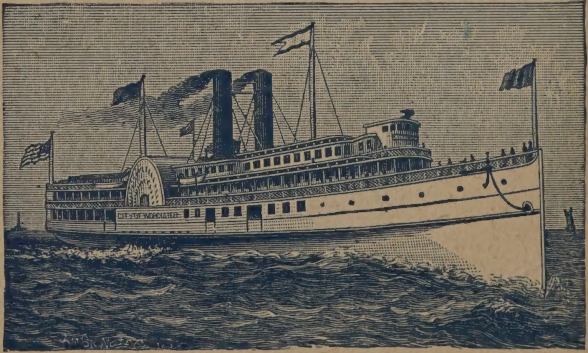

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CONTENTS.

PAGE.

Battle for Sound Morality (Second paper) . HELEN H. GARDENER 1

rvels of Electricity . . . . Prof. J. R. BUCHANAN 33

er Sixty Years . . . . B. O. FLOWER 52

w Evolution Evolves . . . . STINSON JARVIS 67

nipresent Divinity . . . . HENRY WOOD 77

e People's Lamps (Third paper) . . . Prof. FRANK PARSONS 86

f. George D. Herron, The Man and His Work in California:

Symposium 110

ADELINE KNAPP, Rev. J. R. MCLEAN,
Rev. W. W. SCUDDER, Jr. Rev. J. CUMMINGS SMITH,
JAMES G. CLARK, Rev. J. E. SCOTT,
Elder M. J. FERGUSON, Rev. R. M. WEBSTER.

poleon Bonaparte (Third paper) . . . . Hon. JOHN DAVIS 129

e Labor Exchange . . . . F. W. COTTON 141

gressive Changes in Universalist Thought,
Rev. MARION D. SHUTTER, D. D. 144

ester-on-the-Dee . . . . B. O. FLOWER 175

Era of Fraud and Embezzlement
AN EX-GOVERNMENT EXAMINER OF FAILED BANKS 196

Battle for Sound Morality (Third paper) . HELEN H. GARDENER 205

ould the Supreme Court be Reorganized? . JAMES M. ASHLEY 221

acher and Plutocrat . . . . Rev. WALTER ALLEN EVANS 228

cult Manifestations . . . . . WILLIAM C. COOPER, M. D. 239

ccination an Error, its Compulsion a Wrong . ALFRED MILNES, M. A. 244

y the Workers Want . . . . ROBERT GRIEVE 259

presentative Women on Vital Social Problems (Part III):

Symposium 268

JULIA A. KELLOGG. CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON.
ALICE THATCHER POST.

e England of Sir Thomas More . . . . B. O. FLOWER 278

Modern Pharisee's Prayer (Poem) . . . FANNY L. FANCHER 289

poleon Bonaparte (Fourth paper) . . . . Hon. JOHN DAVIS 290

We only Knew (Poem) . . . . . CHEIRO THE PALMIST 302

e Significance of Labor Day . . . . . EUGENE V. DEBS 303

nual Training for Women . . . . . GRACE VROOMAN 308

lustrial Reform . . . . JAMES G. STEVENSON 317

Humble Advocate (Sketch) . . . WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE 322

olls beyond the Walls of Chester . . . . B. O. FLOWER 349

y the South Wants Free Silver . U. S. Senator JOHN T. MORGAN 364

e Sociality of Jesus' Religion . . . Prof. GEORGE D. HERRON 385

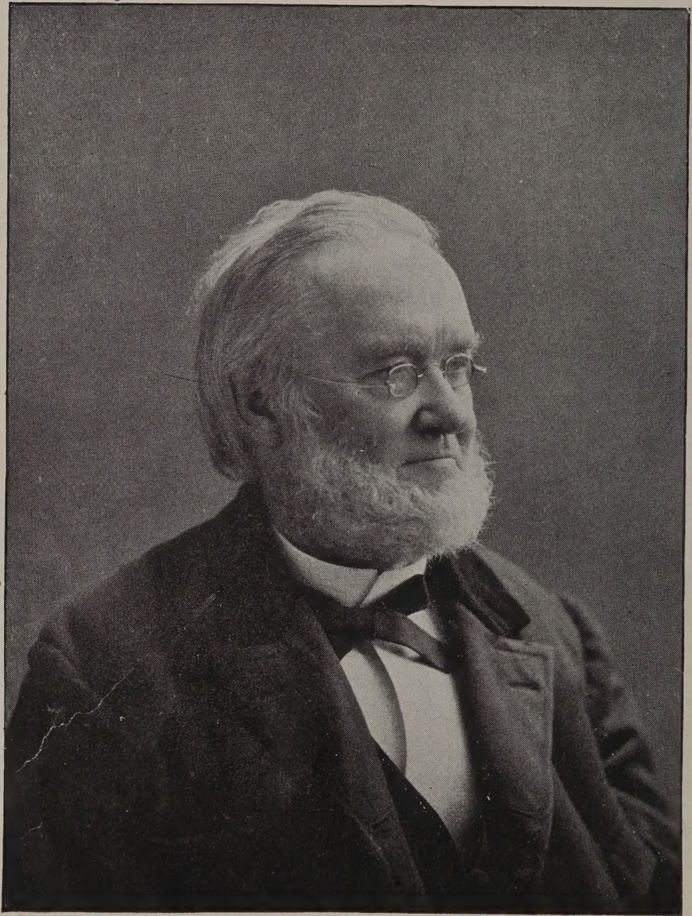
Vaccination an Error, its Compulsion a Wrong (concluded), ALFRED MILNES, M. A. 392
A Battle for Sound Morality . . . . . HELEN H. GARDENER 401
The Impending Political Advance . Ex-Governor JAMES M. ASHLEY 419
The People's Lamps (Fourth paper) . . Prof. FRANK PARSONS 439
Hell no Part of Divine Revelation . . Rev. W. E. MANLEY, D. D. 464
The Unrighteousness of Government as Viewed by a Philosophical Anarchist . . . . . . CHARLES RODOLF, M. D. 476
Practical Occultism . . . . MARGARET B. PEEKE 487
In Foro Conscientiæ (Story) . . . . . WILLIS MILLS, M. D. 495

BOOK REVIEWS.

Roland Graeme, Knight 155
A Cottage Grey 156
Christianity Reinterpreted, and The Divine Indwelling 161
The World Beautiful 165
The Standard Dictionary of the English Language 168
Kerchiefs to Hunt Souls 169
Over the Old Trail 334
League of the Iroquois 336
The Reign of Lust 339
Edith, a Story of Chinatown 342
The Gospel in Pagan Religions 343
The Heart of Old Hickory 506
Magnetism 509
Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby 513
Vision of Thyrza 514
Poverty's Factory 517

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE.
J. R. BUCHANAN . . . . Opposite page 1
HON. CARRIE C. HOLLY, of Colorado 2
HON. W. B. FELKER, of Colorado 4
MRS. STANSBURY (ELLICE MEREDITH) of the Denver News . . . 6
HON. WILLIAM B. RUNDLE, of Colorado 7
MRS. EVA HIGGINS, of Colorado 8
HON. WILLIAM FULTON, of Colorado 9
HON. A. L. HUMPHREY, of Colorado 10
REP. HENRY M. MINOR, of Colorado 12
MRS. NELLIE E. MATTESON, of Colorado 13
MARY C. C. BRADFORD, of Colorado 14
MRS. SCOTT SAXTON, of Colorado 15
JOHN O. YEISER, of Nebraska 22
HON. EMERSON BENEDICT, of Nebraska 23
DR. M. O. RICKETTS, of Nebraska 25
HON. RANDOLPH MCNITT, of Nebraska 26
MRS. GEORGE W. CLARK, of Nebraska 27
MRS. C. C. HOFFMAN 30
WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE . . . . . . Opposite page 175
BISHOP LLOYD'S HOUSE 176
A ROMAN ALTAR FOUND IN EXCAVATION IN CHESTER 176
THE OLD STANLEY PALACE 177
A VIEW OF WATERGATE TOWER 178
PHŒNIX TOWER FROM THE CANAL 180
A STREET IN CHESTER 182
GOD'S PROVIDENCE HOUSE 183
RUINS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN 184
REAR VIEW OF THE CATHEDRAL OF CHESTER 185
OLD CLOISTER BELONGING TO THE CATHEDRAL 186
THE GROSVENOR BRIDGE OVER THE DEE 188
A GROUP OF PROMINENT WORKERS FOR SOUND MORALITY, Opposite page 205
A GROUP OF PROMINENT WORKERS FOR SOUND MORALITY, Opposite page 213
SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN . . . . Opposite page 349
CHESTER FROM THE RIVER DEE 351
EATON HALL 356
GRAND SALOON IN EATON HALL 357
LIBRARY IN EATON HALL 359
MR. GLADSTONE AND HIS LITTLE GRANDDAUGHTER, DOROTHY DREW . 360
HAWARDEN, THE HOME OF MR. GLADSTONE 362
A MAP SHOWING THE LEGAL AGE OF CONSENT IN EACH STATE, Opposite page 410
BLACK LIST . . . . Opposite page 419



Yours cordially

J R Buchanan

THE ARENA.

No. LXX.

SEPTEMBER, 1895.

A BATTLE FOR SOUND MORALITY, OR THE HISTORY OF RECENT AGE-OF-CONSENT LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY HELEN H. GARDENER.

PART II. THE VICTORY IN COLORADO, NEBRASKA, AND MISSOURI.

COLORADO.

In Colorado, where for the first time in these United States, we have women members of the legislature, Mrs. Holly distinguished herself by drawing, presenting and bringing to a successful issue, the bill to protect, until they are eighteen years of age, the girl children of her state. This bill also has the additional feature of protecting the boys until they are fourteen years of age, that is to say, if they are both children, they are held equally guilty in case the girl gives her consent, or in case violence is not used. In such instances, the offence is not held to be rape but may come under seduction or some other less severe legal penalty. Personally, I incline to the opinion that a bill so drawn as to protect equally boys and girls under the age of eighteen would be the best bill. It is youth and ignorance and inexperience which it is sought to shield until it shall have arrived at years of discretion. For this reason a bill drawn and presented in Ohio in 1893 (but which failed of passage at that time) presents itself to my mind as the best bill yet sent to us.*

---

* A BILL BY SENATOR IDEN.

To amend section 6816 of the Revised Statutes of Ohio.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That section 6816 of the Revised Statutes of Ohio be amended so as to read as follows:

Sec. 6816. Whoever has carnal knowledge of a female person forcibly and against her will, or being eighteen years of age or older carnally knows a female child under eighteen years of age, with her consent, is guilty of rape.

Sec. 2. The said section 6816 as amended March 8, 1887, be and the same is hereby repealed; and this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

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HON. CARRIE CLYDE HOLLY OF COLORADO.

In Colorado the step taken is in the same direction, and Mrs. Holly's report will explain the contest in that state, and her own point of view on this subject. Since additional interest and historical import attaches to this first legislative work and report of any woman, it has been deemed wise to make it fuller than it otherwise would be or than our space will permit in other states. It appears from this report that women legislators are likely to take seriously the party platform upon which they are elected. This would indeed mean a revolution in politics. No wonder, therefore, that politicians are afraid of the franchise for women.

HELEN H. GARDENER.

"AGE OF CONSENT" IN COLORADO.

Unused to taking part in legislative, or any other public assembly, I felt no small embarrassment in seating myself, with only two others of my sex, among sixty-two men in the tenth general assembly of the state of Colorado, which commenced its regular session on the second day of January, 1895, being the first to meet in its new magnificent two-million-dollar capitol.

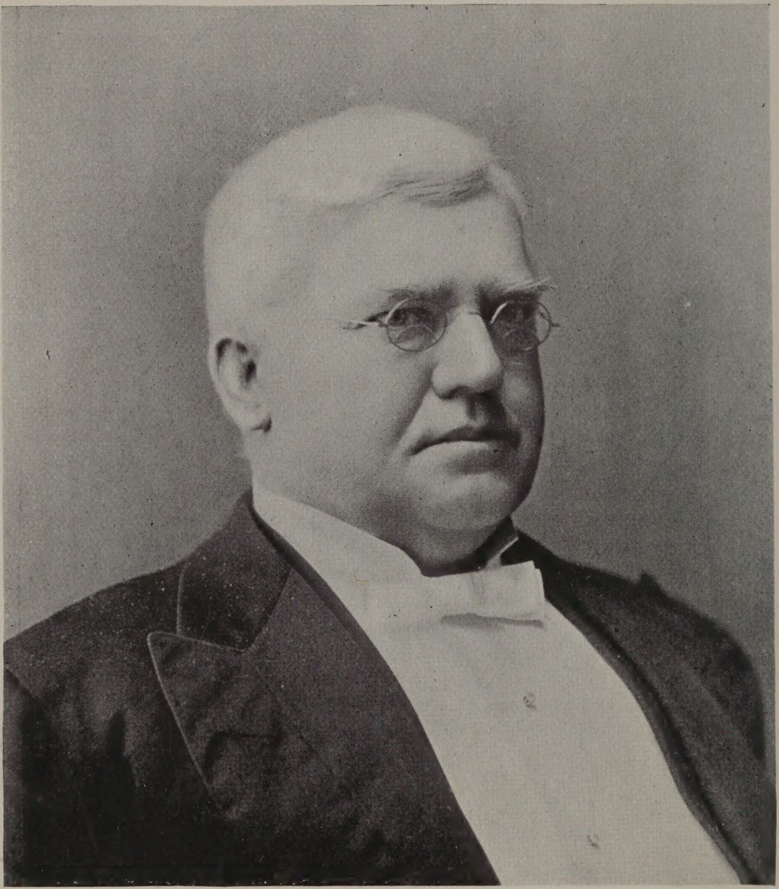
All my adult life I had been an earnest advocate for the right of woman to the suffrage, and to all which that right might imply. Elected one of the representatives from Pueblo, the second most populous county in the state, I was anxious to do something to advance the cause of wise legislation, of purer morals, and of more enlightened civilization. Among other efforts with which I had charged myself, I determined to secure the additional protection, for my sex, which had been so emphatically "demanded" by the great party which had nominated and elected me. At the request of the ARENA I now propose to give a sketch of this attempt, brief as its prolonged progress through the three departments of the state government will permit.

As early as I could obtain permission, I introduced a bill entitled No. 59, substantially as follows: "Be it enacted," etc.

> Section 1. That section 49 of chapter 25 of the General Statutes of the State of Colorado entitled "Criminal Code," being general section 737, is hereby amended to read as follows:
>
> "737, Sec. 49. Rape is a carnal knowledge of a female, forcibly and against her will. Every male person of the age of fourteen years or upwards, who shall have carnal knowledge of any female under the age of twenty-one years, either with or without her consent, shall be adjudged guilty of the crime of rape. Every person convicted of the crime of rape shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary for a term not less than one year nor more than twenty years."

The only change from the old law was in the age of the female from sixteen to twenty-one years.

The bill was referred to the judiciary committee, of which Representative Carnahan (Republican), Logan County, was chairman, and in due course it was reported back, with the recommendation that it "do pass." As soon as possible, on my motion, it was placed on "special orders," and it came up for consideration in "committee of the whole," Representative Funderburgh (Republican), Kiowa County, in the chair. The house consisted of sixty-five members, Representative Humphrey (Republican), El Paso County, speaker. Forty-one members were Republicans and twenty-four were Populists or People's Party; Republican majority seventeen.



HON. W. B. FELKER OF COLORADO.

Nearly all the members were present; the floor and galleries were crowded. The women, who had long watched for this occasion, were present in great numbers, and could not be restrained from manifesting their interest and sympathy. Petitions had come from nearly all over the state, in favor of the bill, while none had been sent against it.

After the bill had been read, as its introducer, I was awarded the floor. My voice, I understand, was heard all over the vast assembly. Requested to give my opening speech, I made out its substance for the reporters as follows:

"Mr. Chairman: With diffidence I approach this discussion. But I feel that the cause of humanity and of right, should outweigh any fastidiousness. Our sex, so long excluded from their natural right of self-government, have now that right conceded to them. To the men who were brave enough and just enough to grant to us that concession, we appeal to concede to us its logical consummation, as provided in this bill. Before woman can exercise the right of franchise she must, properly, have attained the age of twenty-one years. We therefore ask, in this bill, that, until she shall have reached the same age, she shall not be legally free to deprive herself of what is dearer and more important to her than any franchise, any property, or even life itself — her virtue!

'True, she may, before reaching this political age, acquire property, own or convey it, or even marry. But the consent for marriage is not at all like the consent mentioned in this bill. Marriage protects, and does not destroy. A man seeking her in marriage needs no law to induce him to protect her, even from himself. Marriage, if not a sacrament, is not a crime. It is the cement of society, while the act spoken of tends to disintegrate it. Marriage promotes not only private virtue, but the public morals. The state should encourage it and not discourage. How absurd to fix the age for the one merely because it is the age fixed for the other!

"This crime is so cruel in its consequences to woman, so debasing in its effects to man, so dishonoring to all that is good and true and pure, that there are no words strong enough to stigmatize it. It threatens the very foundation of our civilization. Besides, while woman has a natural right to marry, she can have no natural right to surrender what, once gone, life itself is valueless. And as to property, or position, or any other earthly consideration, who will insult us by such comparison?

"Our bill does not propose to change either the nature of the act or its penalty, or the time of its perpetration. The discretion, left to the court, from one to twenty years, according to the circumstances of each case, is certainly wide enough to cover what may be proved either in aggravation or in mitigation, and ought to satisfy all.

"The age proposed, it is true, is higher than that yet fixed in any other state. But is that fact an objection? If the principle is right in itself, why should we wait to follow? Let the young centennial state merit the applause of the wise and the good, by first setting the example of higher aims and loftier purity! Indeed, why haggle about the age at all? At any age no man need dread punishment who really behaves himself, and is guiltless! No offender can be convicted without other proof

MRS. STANSBURY (ELLICE MEREDITH) OF THE DENVER DAILY NEWS.

than that of the victim! Where, then, is there likelihood of blackmail?

"The fact is, the villain who leads a woman on to her ruin, seldom receives any punishment at all, except what the law may inflict. Society may pardon him but never his victim. He may be crowned with honors, while she is certain to be crowned with disgrace! He may be blessed with the enjoyment of all family relations, while she can look forward to none! His offences, however well known, will rather elevate him socially, even if considered "sowing his wild oats," while to his helpless victim remains no hope but to sink lower and lower, until nothing is left but the street and the grave. And as the law stands to-day, this moral monstrosity can suffer nothing, if his victim happens to have passed her sixteenth birthday. If prosecuted, the popular *roué* — and, alas, he is too often popular — will set up in defence, consent or over-age, and he will not be wanting sympathizers to prove the infamous allegation!

"'Consent' forsooth! How obtained? By persistent solicitation, by fraud, by delusive representations, by a species of mental duress, by simulated affection, by all the arts known to such fiends, or, it may be, by her own affections obtained by false pretences! I venture to declare, in this 'open court,' that no virtuous woman of any age, in her right mind, fully conscious of the consequences, ever did, or ever can, consent freely and voluntarily, without either physical or mental coercion, to give up the most precious jewel in the crown of her womanhood!

"But it is said, 'We must protect our boys.' Protect them from whom, and from what? According to the very definition of this crime, can it be committed against them? This is an act merely to protect the girls, against whom alone it can be committed. If boys can be assaulted in the same way, bring in a bill to protect them against us, and let each stand on its own merit. But really, is it necessary to protect the wolf against the allurements of the lamb? Good boys need no such protection, and bad ones may find in the very penalty provided in this bill, the very protection they need, and which society fails to furnish them, against themselves and their own impulses, as ships in danger of wreck, drifting upon a rock-bound coast, are warned of their peril by the beacon-light flashed across their way.

"In conclusion, I appeal to every Republican again to rally under our party's flag — upon whose fold is inscribed this motto, 'We demand that the age known as the age of consent for girls shall be raised from sixteen to twenty-one years.' The women of Colorado gave you the victory upon that issue, by twenty thousand majority. We fraternized and stood together upon that platform then. Call the roll, and let us see if there are any deserters or traitors now."

HON. WM. B. RUNDLE OF COLORADO.

I resumed my seat. Many shed tears, others cheered. It seemed that the victory was won. It was a mistake. After a brief silence, the fight began.

Representative Greenman (Populist), Boulder County, arose and opposed the bill. "Such legislation," he said, "was all rot." Women in the galleries hissed. He looked up and told them to go on, he rather enjoyed it. "Besides," said he, "there was no use in passing such laws, for they could not be enforced."

MRS. EVA HIGGINS OF COLORADO,
President of W. C. T. U. of Colorado.

I interrupted with a question, "Is the gentleman opposed to all felony laws because they cannot always be enforced?" The Boulder representative took his seat without reply.

Representative Minor (Populist,) from the same county, supported the bill in an able argument. "It was right, and that fact was enough for him. He cared not what the age for consent might be — the higher the better he would like it. A miscreant who would commit such an offence at any age, let him be punished." He resumed his seat amid marks of general approbation.

Representative Tomkins (Populist), Fremont County, took the same line. "This bill is the very one we all wanted. It is right. The arguments for it cannot be refuted. He was the father of girls and was glad of the chance to vote for such a bill. It ought to pass unanimously." He too was cheered.

Representative Allee (Republican), Pueblo County, opposed the bill. He said: "He did not believe in women taking the place of men and passing such laws — it was all out of place in this body. Besides, the age was too high. Both boys and girls should be placed at fourteen years."

Representative Stuart (Republican), Arapahoe County, thought the bill was unconstitutional. Otherwise he might favor it.

I interrupted by promising to withdraw it if he would show wherein it was against the constitution. Mr. Stuart did not attempt to show any such conflict.

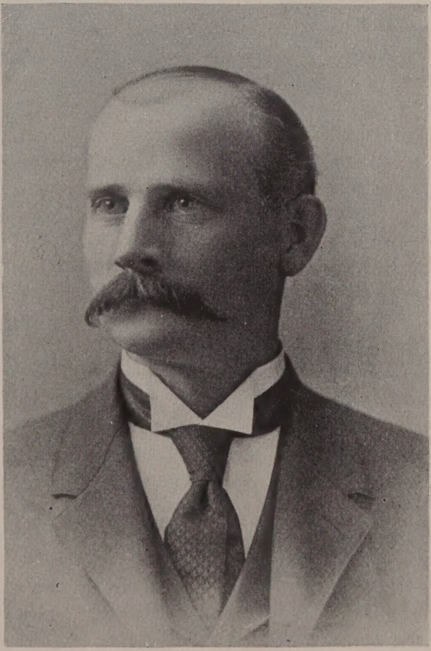
Representative Warren (Republican), Arapahoe County, defended the bill as it was, and was followed by Representative Clark (Republican), same county, in an emphatic appeal to all its friends to vote down all amendments.

Sundry amendments were offered and promptly voted down without division. Representative Greenman again in derision offered an amendment to raise the age of the girl, "for the benefit of his colleague," he said, to forty-five, and then to seventy-five years, which were successively voted down.

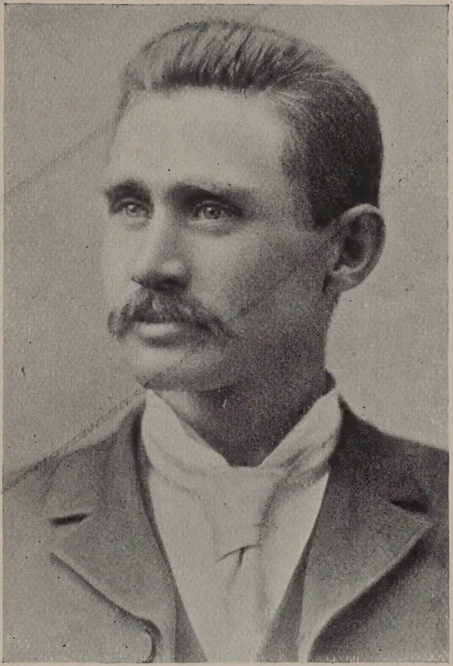
Representative Purrington (Republican), Las Animas County, supported the bill. Representative Stuart (Republican) (colored), of Arapahoe County, favored the principles of the bill, but thought both sexes ought to be treated alike as to age. He moved that the words "of previous chaste character" be inserted after the age of the girl. I objected that "this would suggest to the offender, to add to the wrong he had inflicted on his victim, by also ruining her previous reputation. And as to equality of age, it is in none of the consent laws, and, as but one sex can be guilty, under this law, an attempt of equality would be a delusion. I admit, that if boys were in equal danger, from the same kind of an assault they should be protected equally in the same way! But this bill has but a single object. In another bill which I have introduced and which is now pending, their protection is provided for, in the only way they need it against our sex, and will come up later. Gladly would I protect all humans and all animals in the way each may need, but it cannot be done in one omnibus bill, under this title, and be constitutional."

Speaker Humphrey (Republican), El Paso, supported the bill. He exclaimed that "so far as his party was concerned, there was no use for further discussion. The question was no longer open. It had been settled in the platform, which had been ratified by so unmistakable a majority. The time for action is now on. We must vote for the bill!"

Representative Cannahan (Republican), Ledwich *et al* counties, could see no use for any age exempting the male from punishment. Any one guilty of the offense should be punished, no matter what his age! He therefore moved to strike out the age of "fourteen" fixed for the boy, "because if old enough to commit the offence he was old enough to be punished



HON. WILLIAM FULTON OF COLORADO.



HON. A. L. HUMPHREY OF COLORADO.

for it." This view seemed to meet with general assent, and that motion prevailed with little opposition.

Representative Rundle (Republican), Arapahoe County, was active for the bill. He declared that it was in the line of progress towards a higher civilization and a step in the right direction.

Mrs. Representative Klock (Republican), Arapahoe, approved of the bill and of the age.

Representative Cressingham (Republican), Arapahoe County, took the same view, and moved an amendment, adding the emergency clause, making the bill to take effect immediately after its passage. After some further discussion, not entirely relevant, the committee arose, reported progress, and asked leave to sit again.

Saturday, Jan. 26, 1895. At the next session upon the bill, the house was as full, the floor and galleries as crowded, and the interest in the proceedings as unabated, but care had been taken to preserve better order.

Representative Fribough (Republican), Arapahoe County, sent to the desk, and had the clerk read an extract from a long editorial in the *Rocky Mountain News* — the leading Populist paper — to the effect that Mrs. Holly's bill was founded upon a mistake in regard to the law; that, with good intentions, she had got the seduction and rape laws confounded, etc. The only answer I made, was to send to the desk and have read the text of the Republican platform referring to the subject, illustrating that the alleged mistake was shared by nearly all the community. Mr. Fribough said the *News* article had given him visions of blackmail and was written by the ablest lawyer in the state, and much to the same purport. Representative Minor asked, with some merriment, if Mr. F. would be willing to take that editor's opinion and advice upon other subjects? No definite reply was given, but Mr. Fribough supported the bill.

Representative Miller (Republican), Larimer County, said he had been converted to the principle of this bill by reading the ARENA articles on the subject in its January number (applause).

Representative I. Stuart (Republican), Arapahoe County, said that he perceived the women generally favored the bill, and he thought they could judge best what they wanted, where their sex was concerned, and therefore he withdrew all opposition to the bill and his amendments (applause).

Representative Greenman still opposed the bill. He thought it would be hard, as the *News* had put it, if one finding himself in a house of ill fame should mistake as to the age of one of its inmates and become liable to the penalty of this bill. My only reply was, "Everyone should take care not to find himself in such a place." Mr. G. ended by saying, "He might vote for the bill after all."

After some other brief discussion, the committee of the whole voted nearly unanimously, on my motion, to report the bill back, with the usual favorable action, for third reading and final passage.

On that third reading, the vote of the house stood forty-four in favor and fourteen against.

The result, although almost a foregone conclusion in the house, was hailed with general acclamation. It placed Colorado, so far as the popular branch was concerned, as the banner state upon this question. I was myself as much surprised as gratified at the notice which this action attracted, not only all over this state but throughout the entire Union. I received messages and telegrams from all quarters, strangely soon, of inquiry and congratulation. Among the first and most valued was one from the world's women's convention then in session at Atlanta, Ga., congratulating me, that the first act of a woman in her first legislature was for the protection of girls, and signed by that Joan of Arc of woman suffrage — the heroic Susan B. Anthony. "One touch of nature make the world akin." *

But the bill had not yet become a law, as was prematurely announced and supposed. I had suddenly, unlike Byron, found myself famous upon a mistake. The bill had passed the house,

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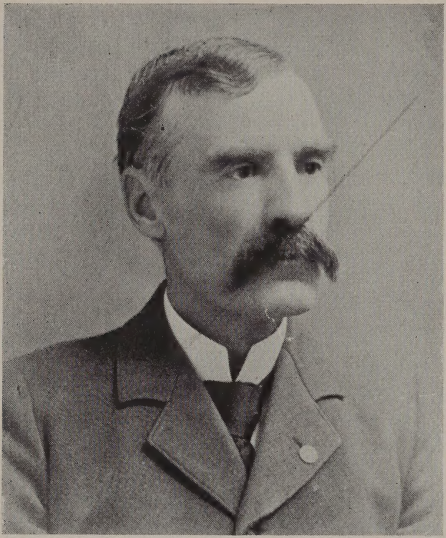
* The *Post* — a neutral paper — said: "The success which Representative Holly has achieved in forcing her age-of-consent bill through the house has given her the right to be the 'mother' of a legislative measure. Heretofore only 'fathers' of bills existed."

Said a veteran legislator: "She possesses high-class qualities of leadership and does her sex eminent honor as a representative. Few men would have had sense enough and sufficient nerve to crack the party whip to force their congress into line for any measure they did not wish to pass."



REP. HENRY M. MINOR OF COLORADO.

it is true, with *eclat;* but it had yet to run the gauntlet of an adverse senate, composed exclusively of men, one half of whom were "hold-overs," and, finally, an untried executive.

In the senate, the bill was referred to its judiciary committee, of which Senator Pease was chairman. After a reasonable delay, as it gave out no sign of activity, I asked and obtained permission to appear before it, with my husband, a lawyer, in advocacy of the bill. We endeavored to place its provisions in a favorable light, and urged prompt action, but soon perceived from the repeated interruptions and scant courtesy, that fair dealing was not to be expected from them, nor were we disappointed. The senate seemed to act from the first like a close corporation, and little could be known for a long time as to what was to be done. Rumor gave out that the bill was to be smothered, like the princes in the tower.

Weeks passed and no move seemed to have been made. Unable to restrain my impatience, I finally addressed a note of inquiry to the chairman, the answer to which confirmed my suspicions. A pretended substitute had been agreed upon, but had not seen the light. I called upon the chairman, and was favored with the sight of the monstrosity, retaining indeed the age of twenty-one, but changing the very object of the act, and clothing it in language too gross to reprint here, but evidently to ridicule the original bill and to burlesque marriage. I felt insulted when asked to accept it. I denounced it as an insult both to woman and to marriage. The intent was evident, under the thin disguise of "legal language"— it was to kill the bill by indirection. I sought the senators individually, and pleaded for fair treatment, or at least a direct vote on the bill itself. While many talked favorably, I found it difficult to get anyone to take the responsibility of championing my bill as it stood.

I began to despair, when Senator Felker (Republican), Arapahoe County, came to me and gallantly agreed that if I would give him charge of my bill, he would champion it, just as it come from the house, without any amendment whatsoever. I was delighted to accept his offer, for he is a giant, and my hopes revived.

Unfortunately a prominent woman from my own county, who had assisted me hitherto in carrying it through so far at twenty-one, now changed her views and tactics, and, although an employee of the house, labored with senators to have the bill changed, and became the nucleus of its opposition. The influence she controlled obstructed all my efforts. When the time came for the consideration in the upper house I invited my women colleagues of the house who had supported my bill there at twenty-one, to accompany me to the senate, in the same interest, and was astonished to hear that they, too, had both changed their views, and that they were now against our party platform in that respect. For some cause there seemed to be an organized defection among former friends to wrest from us, as it were, the fruits of victory.

The eloquent Felker opened the debate in the senate which was continued the first evening until past midnight. Sickness prevented me from attending, but I understand that Senator Felker vanquished all opposition in a most masterly manner. He defended the bill not only in substance but form, as in line with all the legislation on that subject, not only in this country, but for five hundred years in the mother country. The patched-up substitute was withdrawn and died before seeing the light.

I was present on the next occasion. Senator Felker, thinking the bill could not carry as he had first advocated it, moved to reduce the ages of both

MRS. NELLIE E. MATTESON OF COLORADO.

MARY C. C. BRADFORD OF COLORADO.

male and female to eighteen. The contest was then on those amendments.

Senator Pease (Populist), Park County, made a most violent and indecent speech against any law upon that subject at all. He boldly contended that God gave men their passion and that it was the duty of the other sex to concede to them. His language was too gross for my pen, and drove many of my sex as well as myself out of the galleries. The same senator was the hero of a bloody fisticuff fight on the floor in open session with a brother senator of the same party but a short time before, for which he was only censured and was not expelled, but at the close was elected president *pro tem*, and thus placed third in succession to the governorship.

The bill passed the senate amended at fourteen for the male and eighteen for the female. In spite of promises made to me by two senators, no one made a motion to take a vote on twenty-one, and none was so taken.

The senate was composed of thirty-five members, Lieutenant Governor Brush president. Of the members seventeen were Populists, eleven Republicans, and two Democrats.

The vote on the bill as amended was as follows on the final test:

Final passage in senate: *Ayes* — Adams, Armstrong, Barela, Blakey, Bolsinger, Boyd, Brown, Carney, Crowe, Campbell, Drake, Felker, Hartzell, Johnson, Kennedy, Leddy, Locke, Lockwood, McNeely, Merritt, Mills, Moody, Newman, Painter. Reuter, Sours, Swink, Wheeler. *Nays* — Graham. *Absent or not voting* — Evans, Fulton, Gordon, Morton, Pease, Turner.

House of Representatives: *Ayes* — Allee, Anfenger, Ashbaugh, Bales, Blake, Brown, Collais, Campbell, Carnahan, Clark, Cressingham, De Bord, Fribourg, Funderburgh, Harper, Holly, Hurt, Johnson, Kearney, Klock, Light, Lowell, McWilliams, Minor, Miller, Morris, O'Mahoney, Page, Patchen, Peck, Purrington, Randall, Rockefeller, Roe, Rundle, Stewart, Stuart, Sopris, Tomkins, Twombly, Warren, Wallace, Mr. Speaker. *Nays* — Colt, Hollenbeck, Garcia, Greenman, Macomber, Morrell, Woodworth, Whittier, Vigil, Hart. *Absent* — Salazar.

The bill then came back to the house as amended, on the first day of April and the last of the session, and a committee of conference was appointed, consisting on the part of the house of Holly, Rundle, and Tomkins, determined to stick to twenty-one; and on the part of the senate Hartzell and Modie equally determined for the amendments. Of course there was no agreement. At the last hour another committee was appointed, consisting of Minor, Morris, and Collais on the part of the house and Felker on the part of the senate, who had then no alternative but to concur or lose the bill. The committee was therefore compelled to concur, and it was so recommended, and agreed to by both houses.

The bill was thereupon immediately engrossed and sent to the governor. As his excellency had been elected upon the Republican platform, and I had happened to know that he had approved of the bill while it was pending, if the age of the girl was fixed at eighteen, I rested confident that it would surely become a law and so assured my correspondents. I was therefore astonished to read a fortnight afterwards, in both of the leading newspapers, on what purported to be good authority, that he intended to veto it. He had thirty days to consider all bills. Too unwell to call upon him in person, I at once wrote him, calling his attention to the report, and urging him to approve the bill as a step in the right direction. His excellency courteously replied, denying that he had authorized any such statement, but stated as his objection to the bill that it might possibly be mistaken for marriage. He asked my views as to its meaning. I at once answered argumentatively at length.

The governor finally affixed his autograph to the bill, April 22, 1895, at 11.45 A. M., and it therefore became a law

MRS. SCOTT SAXTON OF COLORADO.

from that date, and will remain so until the eleventh general assembly, under renewed instructions from the people, will certainly raise the age to twenty-one.

The decisions of the supreme court are that the age of majority at common law is in all cases twenty-one years, except when limited by statute. For women it has been so limited in this state for age of consent sixteen, for controlling and selling personal property seventeen, for realty and marriage eighteen, and for voting it is left at twenty-one, where we propose to place it for "consent." *

CARRIE CLYDE HOLLY.

NEBRASKA.

The Nebraska bill, I regret to say, is marred by an amendment which is thoroughly bad. The attempt to cripple this measure with this same amendment was made in many states, but fortunately the friends of the measure in most cases met and defeated it. In the state of Massachusetts, rather than have it pass with a similar clause, its friends helped defeat it, as will be shown later on in the report from Massachusetts. Dr. Ricketts of Nebraska struck the keynote in his able speech (referred to briefly in Mr. Yeiser's very able and suggestive report), but unfortunately the bill passed with this vicious clause in it. Nebraska does not rightly and honestly stand side by side with the other states which have made the age eighteen, and she cannot so stand until she repeals that amendment. Her real age of consent is only fifteen even now, for she admits that her daughters over fifteen years of age, if they have once been led astray, are henceforth legitimate prey. This is really begging the whole basic principle for which the fight is made. After so fine and gallant a fight as Mr. Benedict and his friends made, I regret to be compelled to make this statement of fact, but in making up the honor list of states, which is soon to appear, Nebraska has not yet honestly earned a place beside New York or Colorado or Arizona or Idaho and others from which reports are coming in.

HELEN H. GARDENER.

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* It has been argued that this Colorado law would render the husband of a wife who was under eighteen years old liable to punishment for rape, whether she wished him so punished or not. But since it is a principle of law that any law is to be construed according to its evident intent, and since it is evidently not the intention of this law to deal with girls under eighteen years of age who are married, the criticism falls to the ground, as no jury would find in such a case. But later on in these reports it will appear, as was also the case in New York, that in other states this same difficulty, or pretended difficulty, was met, and the bill so amended as to read "any unmarried female child, under the age of eighteen," or "not his wife," etc.

H. H. G.

REPORT OF REPRESENTATIVE BENEDICT.

Your favor of 6th inst. to hand asking for information regarding the age-of-consent bill, which I introduced in the house, is received and will answer your inquires as far as possible. I read with great interest and pleasure the different articles in the January ARENA touching this question. As I am not in the habit of "blowing my own horn" and have never attempted to write an article on any subject, I will be as concise as possible in my answers.

It was a house bill. The age asked for was eighteen years. Text of bill was "that if any male person of the age of eighteen years or upward shall carnally know or abuse any female under the age of eighteen years with her consent, such person so offending shall be deemed guilty of rape and shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not more than twenty or less than three years." This was amended in the senate by inserting after the word consent, "unless such female had been previously unchaste." It passed in this form.

Age of majority for girls in this state is eighteen years.

No other bills were introduced in either house on this subject.

The bill was made a special order for 10 o'clock A. M., March 16, and ladies of the W. C. T. U. and other friends of the bill filled the lobbies. The debate lasted until noon, and at times grew quite exciting. The main argument against the bill was fear of blackmail. One member contended that nature fixed the age of consent. It passed that day in the committee of the whole with but little opposition, and a few days later passed third reading with but three opposing votes.

Now came the tug of war to get it through the senate. The judiciary committee to whom it was referred did not report it, and finally it got into the hands of the "sifting" committee. It was only by the hardest work that it was brought to light and finally passed the senate on the last day of the session at 5 P. M., was rushed back to the house and the house concurred in the senate amendment; was signed by the governor April 9 and is now a law.

Mrs. George W. Clark of Omaha, superintendent of state social purity work, and Mrs. Nellie M. Richardson of Lincoln, Nebraska, state superintendent of legislation and petitions, were the ladies who assisted me. Mrs. Richardson took an active part and devoted a great deal of time and hard work. By writing to Mrs. Nellie M. Richardson you can probably obtain a great deal of information I am unable to give. If I can give you further information, I shall be pleased to do so.

Herewith please find copy of H. R. 348, the age-of-consent bill, which I introduced, with the senate amendment written in red ink and just as it will appear on our statute books.

Replying to your inquiry of 22d inst., will say in explanation of clause in age-of-consent bill, "If any person shall have carnal knowledge of any other woman or female child than his daughter or sister," etc.; this comes under the law on "incest" and has a twenty-year penalty attached to it, so it was necessary to draw the bill thus. Shall be pleased at any time to answer any questions within my power to answer.

House Bill No. 348.

An act to amend Section 12, of the Criminal Code of Nebraska, being Section 5588 in the Consolidated Statutes, and to repeal said original section.

Be it Enacted by the Legislature of the State of Nebraska:

Section 1. That Section 12, of the Criminal Code, being Section 5588 of the Consolidated Statutes, is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 12. If any person shall have carnal knowledge of any other woman, or female child, than his daughter or sister, as aforesaid forcibly and against her will; or if any male person, of the age of eighteen years or upwards, shall carnally know or abuse any female child under the age of eighteen years, with her consent (unless such female child so known and abused is over fifteen years of age and previously unchaste), every such person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a rape, and shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not more than twenty nor less than three years.

Sec. 2. Said original Section 12, of the Criminal Code of the State of Nebraska, being Section 5588 of the Consolidated Statutes, is hereby repealed.

Approval April 9, A. D. 1895.*

Very respectfully,

EMERSON BENEDICT.

REPORT OF THE W. C. T. U. STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF LEGISLATION AND PETITIONS.†

Previous to the year 1885 the old common-law period of ten years under which, it is said, our mothers and grandmothers grew up in perfect safety, was the basis of the age-of-consent law of Nebraska, but during the legislative session of that year it was raised to twelve years, that being the only concession the law-makers were willing to grant.

In 1887 an effort was made to raise it to the age of eighteen years, and very effective work was done by the friends of the measure with the result that a compromise was effected and the age of consent was raised to fifteen years.

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* The names of the gentlemen who voted against the age-of-consent bill in the house were A. L. Sutton of Douglass County Harry Schickedantz of Howard County, and W. D. Robinson of Lancaster County. Robinson is the man who opposed the bill entirely and argued that nature fixed the age of consent.

† We regret that we cannot give Mrs. Richardson's picture. The face of so earnest and able a worker would interest many, and it belongs in the honor list; but her photograph has failed to arrive in time, and we are compelled to go to press without it.

The public conscience was aroused to the necessity of securing still better laws for the protection of women, and in the legislature of 1891 a bill was introduced for this purpose but failed to get a place.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, through whose efforts very largely the previous advance had been gained — and too much credit cannot be given to the effective work and untiring efforts of Mrs. Ada M. Bittenbender in this connection — decided to make an earnest effort during the session of 1895 to place Nebraska upon a plane with Kansas and Wyoming, with a law protecting a maiden's purity equally with her property to her majority at eighteen, and Mrs. George W. Clark of Omaha, state superintendent of the department for the promotion of purity, who had persistently urged this onward movement, was delegated to take charge of this work. She sent out petitions to be circulated by the W. C. T. Unions throughout the state, and these, with several thousand names of both men and women — for it seemed especially appropriate that the names of as many electors as possible should be secured — were returned and presented to the legislature.

The superintendent of purity finding it impossible to further continue this work urged the superintendent of legislation and petitions to assume control, and although almost despairing of success, for one month of the session had passed and over five hundred bills had been already introduced, she prepared a bill almost identical with the one introduced by Senator Iden of Ohio, although knowing nothing of that at the time, and it was introduced by the Honorable Emerson Benedict of Omaha.

Only a few days after the introduction of this bill, an action was tried in the district court at Lincoln, the capital city, for statutory rape, whose sessions being thronged and as minutely reported as those cases always are, pandering to the vicious tastes of the multitude, gave an added argument to the need for such a bill.

The case was simply this: a young girl whose age was sworn to as being fourteen years and eight months, the daughter of a hotel-keeper in a neighboring town, came to the state fair in Lincoln, in company with a young bank clerk, arriving upon a morning train and going to a hotel for breakfast. Her escort secured for her a room to arrange her toilet, and coming in by force despoiled her of her virtue. The only defence was an effort to prove that she had passed her fifteenth birthday, and that while she struggled violently *she did not scream* to alarm the inmates of the hotel. The jury of twelve men disagreed and the case is again set for trial.

The legislative superintendent, in the endeavor to make sentiment in favor of the bill, presented the matter to the Woman's Christian Association of Lincoln, which numbers three hundred and fifty of the best women of the capital city, to the Woman's Club, composed of three hundred representative women, and other clubs and societies, all of whom most heartily endorsed the movement, asking by petitions and resolution that the members would give this bill favorable attention, believing that Nebraska should not be a laggard in taking its proper place with the other states in the Union on a subject so vital to the moral health of this commonwealth.

The department of applied economics of the Woman's Club of Omaha sent one of the most eloquent and forcible appeals, saying in part:

> The records of the daily papers, the knowledge shared by all thinking men and women of the ruin, misery, and corruption that spring from the unpunished betrayal of young girls, offer stern and tragic arguments, to which, in mercy and justice, responsible legislators cannot be oblivious.
>
> The houses of prostitution are filled from the ranks of the young girls. The homes of refuge are filled with them. It is safe to say that nine-tenths of the women whose lives are wrecked are tempted or forced to their downfall before they reach the age of eighteen.
>
> As the representatives of a commonwealth which we all love and desire to elevate, we beg you, our representatives, to consider this plea.

Communication was also kept up with every part of the state urging that letters might be written to these representatives in legislature assembled, praying for the passage of the bill which would raise the age of consent to that of legal majority. Letters and petitions came in daily.

In the colleges and universities in and about Lincoln, great interest was manifested by those who until the subject was thus given prominence had never realized its importance, and largely among the members of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. In these schools, petitions containing nearly two thousand signatures were secured and presented.

The bill was made a special order, and when it came up for consideration in the committee of the whole, the floor of the house and the galleries were well filled with ladies of culture and high social position, coming by special invitation of the legislative superintendent, whose presence, we believe, largely prevented that spirit of ridicule which is the weapon generally employed to destroy a measure of this character. The discussion was a spirited and earnest one, and to the credit of the house be it said, it was conducted throughout with a full recognition of the importance of the question, with well-bred courtesy upon the part of all the speakers, and as much delicacy as the subject admitted of.*

The usual argument that unchaste and designing young women would take advantage of the law to inveigle young men into illicit relations and then use the law to extort blackmail from them was urged, and that in the penitentiaries of Kansas and Wyoming there are incarcerated several young men from *highly respectable families* who have been sent there by immoral young women. One attorney in the daily press protesting against the passage of this law cried: "Have these clamorous women no sons? Protection for sons as well as daughters!" Our answer was that the said young men should be able to prove an alibi. Representative Benedict made an earnest and eloquent speech in favor of the bill. He drew a touching picture of the sorrow and despair brought to innocent girls through the work of designing men, the wrecking of lives, the destroying of hope, the bringing of parents' gray hairs to the grave. He appealed to the manhood of the members of the house for the passage of the bill.

Sutton, of Douglas, Casper, and Burns spoke in favor of changing the bill so as to prevent blackmailing by corrupt young women.

McNitt said this was the first time in his short legislative experience that he had heard members argue upon the floor in favor of making a law for the exception and not the rule. Every member knew that the cases of blackmail were the rare exception, while there were hundreds of cases of the ruin of innocent girls every year; and yet there were those who argued that the thousands must not be protected because the law might occasionally work a wrong.†

Roddy thought that no man of good character and good intention would be in any danger from this law. There was one industry he was not in favor of protecting, and that was the brothel. When a man violated the law, he should be compelled to take all the risks attaching.

Conaway, Cole, Davies, Miles, Ricketts, and others made strong and eloquent speeches in favor of the bill without amendment, but it was finally amended with a provision that it shall not apply to girls between fifteen and eighteen years of age, who are notoriously unchaste.

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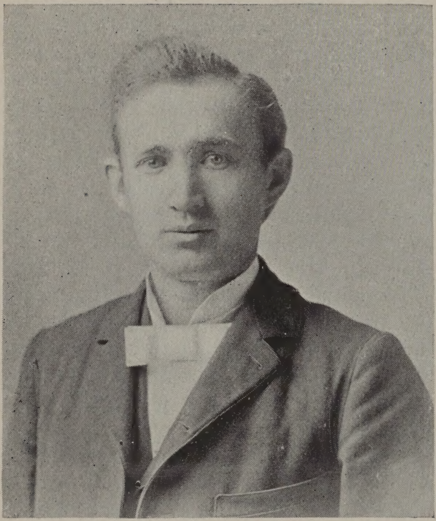
* This is in cheering contrast with the Colorado and Missouri debates, and proves that the western states do not need to send to their legislatures men of low manners and speech. H. H. G.

† Every state has ample legal protection against blackmail and legal remedy for it. H. H. G.



JOHN O. YIESER OF NEBRASKA.

There was the usual talk of taking the law into their own hands and by the shotgun policy putting seducers out of the way of committing further crimes, but it was generally conceded that the proper way was to prevent their commission, instead of allowing them to be committed and then taking the punishment into private hands.

Upon the passage of the bill in the house there were ninety-seven votes in its favor, only three members, Sutton of Douglas, Robinson of Lancaster, and Shickadantz of Howard voting against it.

In the senate no action was taken upon the bill until the closing days of the session, but it was one of the fortunate ones recommended for passage by the sifting committee, and upon the consideration in the committee of the whole, it was warmly supported by Akers, Dale, Tefft, and many others.

Dr. McKeeby of Webster, a physician, said in opposition, that "There was nothing in the bill, and for one, he was opposed to upholding a measure built on sickly sentimentalism, advocated by women who have not the least idea of law-making. He wanted to stand by virtue and honor, but was not in favor of boys' play," and moved indefinite postponement of the bill.

In the final vote in the senate, twenty-eight voted in the affirmative and five in the negative, and Nebraska had joined the forward column with a law which protects a maiden's purity until she reaches an age when education and experience have given her added wisdom, "more wisely Nature's secret depths to sound," and decreases the temptations to vice, already far too powerful, which surround young men.*

NELLIE M. RICHARDSON, LL. B.

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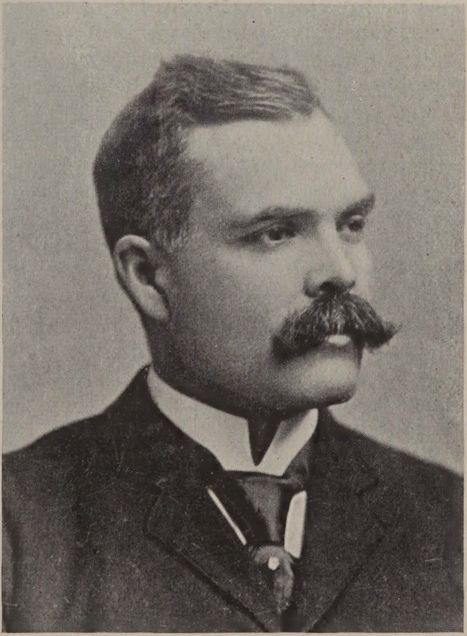
* I have been privileged to examine the manuscript of an article for the ARENA, by Mrs. Nellie M. Richardson, LL. B , superintendent of legislation for Nebraska Woman's Christian Temperance Union, giving the history of the last ten years of legislative effort for the raising of the age of consent to eighteen years. In this valuable historical sketch, Mrs. Richardson does not convey any adequate idea of her own labor and sacrifice, or of the tact, ability, wisdom, and watchfulness with which the bill

THE CAMPAIGN IN NEBRASKA.

As might be well supposed, the movement in Nebraska to raise the age of consent originated with the noble women. It is not intended to hold the women of Nebraska up before the world as more aggressive along the lines of purity and moral reform, than the women of any other state, but it is only expected to show that the women of Nebraska are just like the women of every other state obliged to come forward and plead with the men — chivalrous men who legislate for women — to pass such an act as would protect female virtue up to the age of eighteen years. All credit for the existence of such a law in Nebraska is laid at the feet of the women who have been advocating this and kindred reforms so far back "that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary."



HON. EMERSON BENEDICT OF NEBRASKA.

The bill which is now a law was drawn by a woman, Mrs. Nellie M. Richardson, who is an attorney at Lincoln, and who was requested to perform that duty by the various woman's clubs of Nebraska and other associations that are evidently not kept up exclusively for gossip. These women had made all their preparations before the legislature convened, and had procured a petition containing many thousands of signatures, praying for the passage for such a law. When the members of the legislature had been was guarded by her as legislative superintendent. The successful culmination over which all right-minded people rejoice, is due not only to faithful workers who coöperated to this end, but more than any other to our legislative leader, who skilfully unified her forces and marshalled them at the supreme moment.

Mrs. Richardson is settled in practice of the law, in the city of Lincoln, Neb., where she has the respect and good-will of the members of the bar, of which she is destined to be a leading member.

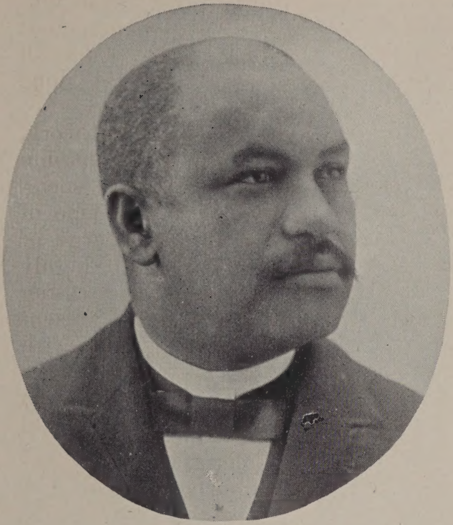
Yours very cordially,
CAROLINE M. WOODWARD,
Supt. Railway Dept., N. W. C. T. U.

elected, of course all this work had to be turned over to the tender care of men, who ordinarily claim to be the only competent persons to transact public business and incidentally claim all of the glory for doing what their ancestors should have done for the women before this generation was born.

However, before surrendering their partially-completed work, our women used considerable discretion in finding a champion for this great reform. A committee of ladies from these societies was delegated to inquire for, select, and report the name of the most suitable member of the legislature to take charge of the bill. A gentleman elected from Omaha had been highly recommended to this committee as the one person possessing the ability, tact, and sympathy required to properly present their cause. These ladies, however, were not satisfied with such meagre information as might later turn out to be common street rumor, but paid a visit to the newly elected member in order to ascertain if his appearance and conversation would corroborate the reports they had received. The impression gained from the gentleman's appearance does not seem to have been at all flattering, for it is currently reported that the committee reported that Mr. Emerson Benedict would never do in the world for such an undertaking, because he wore a bright red necktie and even a white carnation on his coat; that he was certainly too fastidious. The committee was reënforced, and instructed to visit Mr. Benedict again, because of the urgent request of a neighbor of his who belonged to the club and knew him to be just the man whom they could depend upon. They reluctantly called again. This time, fortunately for him, he had changed his necktie and substituted for that fiery color a soft red carnation. The committee, then, seeing no objection, prevailed upon him to introduce the bill, and found in him not only a friend willing to introduce the measure but an advocate possessing the courage to back it.

The only mistake the ladies made, excepting that of judging Mr. Benedict by the color of his necktie, was in presenting their voluminous petition in one great roll on the first or second day of the legislature, because the incident would have been forgotten. This over-zealousness caused extra work in procuring new petitions to be sent up every few days. Had the first huge petition been divided into instalments, a respectable number of names would have reminded the legislators of their duty every morning until it was performed.

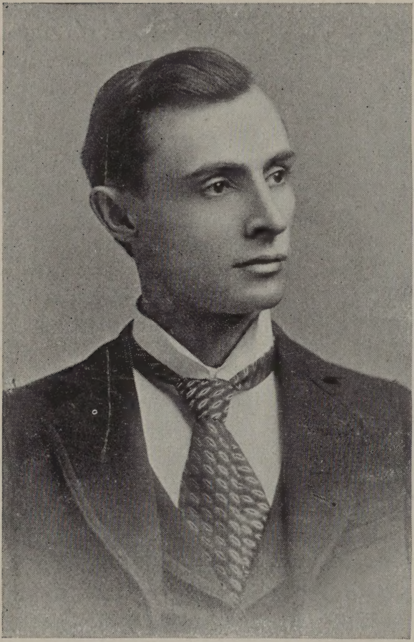
The greatest danger to be encountered was from those who thoughtlessly opposed the measure with the formidable weapon of ridicule. Mr. Benedict deserves a great deal of credit in this, that by his watchfulness and perseverance he was en-



DR. M. O. RICKETTS OF NEBRASKA.

abled to learn of the sources of all proposed amendments invented by wags and self-important men who profess to believe in the shotgun remedy, which they fail to recognize cannot be applied in even one per cent of the cases wherein it is needed. Fortunately, however, the influence of Mr. Benedict and his personal friends in the legislature was sufficient when brought to bear upon these threatened obstacles to prevent their appearance. It may not seem important to call attention to these amendments, such as placing the one behind the eight, making the age eighty-one, or prescribing certain metallic garments to be worn by the persons to be protected by the act; but once before in this state an effort to raise the age of consent was killed by such treatment, and even this year such conduct was found of great annoyance to the advocates of this serious question in Colorado. A member of our legislature boasts of his brilliancy displayed in answering a pure mother, who had requested him to support the bill, saying he would do so provided an amendment was made compelling those so protected to consent after eighteen. It is evident that much care should be taken to see that ridicule is not allowed to ruin the character of such a bill. Ridicule is as dangerous to the pure principles of government as it is dangerous to the character of men.

One other objection in the way of its passage was the fact that the bill would never have been reached in its regular order before the adjournment of the legislature, but for the attention of Mr. Benedict, who detected this, and succeeded in calling it up out of its regular order. The bill also fell into the hands of the sifting committee of the senate, and in other eddies, whirlpools, and cesspools, but Mr. Benedict kept his eye upon it, and never permitted it to lodge in a pigeon-hole any greater length of time than was proper for such a bill to stop, and on one or two occasions corrected omissions of the clerk in enrolling it



HON. RANDOLPH MCNITT OF NEBRASKA.

below its proper place.

Mr. Benedict was ably assisted from the beginning by Mr. Randolph McNitt and Dr. M. O. Ricketts. Dr. Ricketts, the only colored man honored with a seat in Nebraska legislature, which seat he has filled two terms, was really the second man to actively take up the fight, as he procured a petition for the bill, signed by over 500 colored women of Omaha.* The right of petition, it has been said, was exercised more freely this year in Nebraska than ever before. Mr. Randolph McNitt of Webster County, one of the most brilliant members of the legislature, was chairman of the house committee of the whole when the bill was considered. In this position, he was enabled to render valuable services on several occasions.

When the bill came up for consideration before the committee of the whole and just before its discussion, Mr. Benedict and another member carried a petition reaching from each other over the heads of the members of the house as they walked up the two outside aisles amid shouts and hurrahs to the clerk's desk, from which it was read as an appeal of three thousand ladies of Lincoln to raise the age of consent from sixteen to eighteen years. Mr. Benedict opened the discussion of the bill in an able address, reviewing all the important reasons why such a law should be enacted, which certainly showed a thorough study of the question, and earned for him an immense bouquet of roses presented to him by the interested ladies of the balcony.

Mr. Benedict's speech called out the opposition, who were forced then and there to advance their best argument. "The prime reason for the opposition," writes Mr. McNitt in a private letter upon the subject, "was to my mind the unuttered but nevertheless felt prejudice against the widening of the sphere of woman's activity. It might have been formulated thus: 'Women want to be placed on an equal footing with men, why should they have this special protection?' It is simply the unformed but influential fact in men's minds that they were willing to vote for the protection asked, but only on terms that women should relinquish all claims to a wider sphere of activity." Considerable credit must be given to this idea from the fact that every member of the legislature who opposed the age-of-consent bill at any period during its passage also opposed the bill to submit to the people an amendment to the constitution for the enfranchisement of women.

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* See statement about colored women made by A. C. Tompkins in July ARENA.
H. H. G.

The only argument that was urged in opposition to the bill was the single point that designing misses who would seduce young men into criminal intercourse could afterwards blackmail their victims. This is a strong point in this age when financial credit is more respectable and important than knight errantry was in the sixteenth century, and is looked upon as more worthy of protection than is female virtue. What is there in the paltry dollars of a licentious youth that makes them more worthy of protection than is the virginity of a girl seventeen years old? With forcible language and with vivid illustrations, Mr. McNitt left the chair to assail this objection. He urged that it was not a proper principle of legislation to make a law for the exceptional cases where boys were seduced rather than the rule which was that girls were seduced, and that no protection should by law be given to those who were by seduction engaged in the violation of another law.

After Mr. Robinson, of Lincoln—who probably advocates wearing the clothes that nature provides, and eating food in the raw state as nature produces it

MRS. GEO. W. CLARK OF NEBRASKA.

— had sagely said that "Nature, not the statutes, fixes the age of consent," Dr. Ricketts gained the floor, and under the influence of prevailing excitement, touched the sympathy of all present with an eloquent speech that can never be recalled. His important points in answering the blackmail argument were that a girl under eighteen years of age had no business in a house of prostitution, even if it should be admitted that older women have; that she should be protected in a house of ill-fame just as well as out of one; that a law such as was proposed would drive them out of such places, and curtail the revenues of the procuress, and that if in isolated cases some sinning youth or wicked bachelor should be charged with rape by an adventuress, no woman being permitted on the jury but being tried before a man judge and twelve men as the jury and defended by a man, he would certainly not be permitted to be imposed upon by a designing woman lying about her age. It cannot be said that those who opposed or were inclined to oppose the measure were lecherous men as they certainly have no such reputations, but to their credit they only objected because they were not satisfied that a law could be properly framed that would protect the innocent girls without furnishing scarlet women with the means of filching a little money out of the pockets of an "innocent" yet a trifle swift youth. While pure sympathy flowed out to the young male victims of blackmail who might suffer under such a law, no sympathy was reserved by these "cautious" men for the thousands of young girls who are each a constant mark of some cowardly but would-be god of lust who would abandon his purpose and save his intended victim from evil influences only from fear of such a law.

Many members who at first opposed the bill, finally not only voted for it but spoke in its favor. Upon the call of the roll, there were only three members of the house who voted against it. A great many members are deserving of mention for the manly remarks made at the time the bill was being considered. Among them are Hon. J. W. Cole, Hon. John A. Davies, Hon. C. L. Richards, Hon. Patrick Roddy, Hon. John B. Conaway, Hon. J. C. Cramb, and Hon. F. W. Miles.

A little incident occurred just after the bill passed that caused Mr. Benedict to judge the ladies for a short time as unjustly as the committee had at first regarded him. It was this: At a large meeting of the women's clubs in Omaha, resolutions were unanimously passed wherein every woman present pledged herself to write Mr. Benedict a personal letter congratulating him upon his success, and later at another meeting our kind "mother," Mrs. George W. Clark, who has stood by more than one unfortunate and abandoned girl while she prosecuted her seducer, asked all of the ladies who had written a letter to Mr. Benedict as pledged, to please stand up, and a large audience arose. Mr. Benedict says that he received only two letters, and that the only fault he finds is with the negligent administration of Cleveland's postal service. There is no doubt that every lady who arose had written a letter — possibly tore it up, rewrote, copied it, and then wrote a different one, but at the very moment they were standing there, the letters were at home in writing desks and work baskets. The ladies expected, of course, to mail them after a while when they took courage, but the subject on which they were writing was not such as custom had made easy for them to discuss in individual letters. Those who advocate such a measure should not expect any great number of personal letters, encouraging such an act of duty, although they may rely upon tens of thousands of prayers from women.

JOHN O. YEISER.

MISSOURI.

But it remained for Missouri to make not only the blunder made by Nebraska, but to so reduce the penalties that while in one sense Missouri now claims to belong with the honor list, and writes her demand that we put her there, in point of fact she is near the foot of the black list. "A month in the county jail!" "A fine of $100!" Compare that with the New York bill, and even with so small a penalty as Missouri requires the girl must prove previous good character. Such features leave Missouri still on the black list in fact, if not so in name. She will have to try it over, and grasp the basic principle, before she can rank with the leaders. The brothels of Missouri will continue to be peopled with little girls so long as this bill and such as it are the highest expression of Missouri legislators.

But I must enter a protest against one point in Mrs. Hoffman's report. She says that women can expect nothing better from men legislators. That is not wholly fair. Other states where men have done magnificent work with this bill disprove the assertion. I yield to no one in my belief that women should take active part in legislative as in all affairs of life, but at the same time we can and we *do* expect far better than this bill of men legislators, *and we get it.* I do not wonder that the Missouri women who think are indignant, discouraged, and wholly ashamed of the action of their state, but the women of Missouri must look at the other states which have acted this past winter, and help elect the right kind of men in their state next time. Courage! patience! Light is ahead, even for Missouri.

Representatives William A. Rothwell of Randolph County, H. S. Julian of Jackson County, J. W. Sullinger of Gentry

MRS. C. C. HOFFMAN,
President of the State W. C. T. U. of Missouri.

County, M. W. Hall of Saline County, R. L. Johnston of St. Louis County, J. W. Leasenby of Harrison County, S. J. Melson of Ralls County, J. C. Pratt of Ste. Genevieve County, Stonewall Pritchett of Howard County, Christian Temme of Morgan County, Ira B. Warner of St. Louis County, J. G. Weinhold of Perry County, F. W. Schumaker of St. Louis City, Charles E. Peers of Warren County, G. T. Dunn of Lincoln County, J. B. Harrison of Phelps County, T. K. Gash of Clay County, W. S. McClintic of Marion County, H. M. Bledsoe of Cass County, N. M. Baskett of Randolph County, James Orchard of Howell County, and James Moran of Buchanan County are reported as speaking against even this weak bill. They feared "blackmail"! It remains to be seen whether the people of those counties feel that they are acceptably "represented" and whether they are pleased to stand thus before the country.

HELEN H. GARDENER.

MISSOURI LEGISLATURE.

Four years ago the Missouri legislature raised the legal age of consent from twelve to fourteen years. This year Dr. J. L. Short of Phelps County introduced House Bill 334 entitled "An Act for the protection of females between the ages of 14 and 18 years." Fearing the house would defeat any measure calling for adequate punishment for assault upon girls, he very unwisely made such crime a misdemeanor simply. Even this was very bitterly opposed by some members of the house, although they had daughters of their own. However, this weakling passed the house with a large majority.

HOUSE BILL NO. 334.

Introduced by Dr. J. L. Short of Phelps County.

AN ACT

To protect females between fourteen and eighteen years of age.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the state of Missouri as follows:

Section 1. If any person over the age of 16 years, shall have carnal knowledge of any unmarried female of previously chaste character between the ages of 14 and 18 years, he shall be deemed guilty of a felony and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a term of two years or by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $500, or by imprisonment in the county jail not less than one month nor more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

In the senate the committee on criminal jurisprudence, to whom the bill was referred, took no action until Dr. Short appeared before it and demanded a report, when it was reported adversely. When the bill was under discussion the language used in the senate by those opposing, drove every woman out of gallery or lobby. Many amendments were offered, with the purpose to defeat, and finally the chairman of the committee to whom the bill was referred amended making the penalty a felony, feeling sure the house would kill it, and for all purposes of justice that result would have been quite as good as the law that was passed. It reads as follows: "If any person over the age of sixteen years shall have carnal knowledge of any unmarried female of previously chaste character, between the age of fourteen and eighteen years, he shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a term of two years, *or* by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $500, *or* by imprisonment in the county jail not less than *one month* nor more than six months, *or* by both fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court."

The reader will see that the loop holes in this bill are so numerous and so large that the defendant must be stupid who cannot escape. The first is the phrase "of previously chaste character." In many instances and in most courts testimony will be allowed that will prove the plaintiff of previous unchaste character. The defendant is a man; lawyers, judges, and juries are generally men. An instance that occurred in Marion County, Missouri, within the last three months will illustrate. A young girl not yet eighteen years old, who by common consensus of opinion in the community was deemed mentally deficient, was invited by a young man, well known to the girl and her family, to attend a party a few miles distant. The young man drove to an abandoned farmhouse where by previous arrangement he was met by half a dozen other young men, two of whom were married, and here was perpetrated a crime revolting and atrocious beyond all expression. Seven men against one silly, deficient girl. When she was taken home, and her pitiable condition discovered by her parents, she gave her father the names of all concerned in this unspeakable outrage, and he brought suit against them, at Palmyra, the county seat. These young men and witnesses of their own stamp easily proved the girl of previously unchaste character, and the defendants were quite able to establish the fact that she gave "consent." Hence these young men were acquitted, and turned loose to find the next victim for their hellish lusts.

The Missouri legislature has given another demonstration of the fact that sex gives bias to law. Men legislate favorably for men. Notice the provisions of this bill furnishing means of escape for the guilty — "or by fine," "or by imprisonment in the county jail not less than one month," "in the discretion of the court," etc. If, as too seldom happens, the criminal is found guilty, he will nine times out of ten be given the very lightest penalty, and this was evidently the intention of the legislature. Nor can anything else be hoped for, while man alone makes law for woman, and while at least a minority of our legislators are like unto Peter R. Morrissy, a deceased Missouri senator, by occupation saloon keeper, who was recently killed in a bawdy house in St. Louis by his own exasperated mistress, and to honor whom the senate appointed a committee to attend the funeral, at the public expense, one senator only making protest. God pity women, and save the land ruled by such authorities.

CLARA C. HOFFMAN.

MARVELS OF ELECTRICITY, IN LIGHT, POWER, THERAPEUTICS, PHYSICS, AND OPERATIONS DEEMED IMPOSSIBLE BY COLLEGES.

BY PROFESSOR JOSEPH RODES BUCHANAN, M. D.

THE wonderful revelations of Tesla, Hertz, and Edison have excited vast expectations and some wild predictions as to the future of electricity. The general interest in this subject induces me to publish my own researches. The energy with which electric inventions and applications have been introduced in the arts, revolutionizing industries and bringing millions of capital into profitable investments (seven hundred millions in the United States) is a grand object lesson to illustrate the difference between unfettered genius and enterprise, and the slow progress of corporations ruled by dogma and controlling the entire field. I refer to the contrast between the progress of electricity in the arts, and of electricity in therapeutics, in which it falls into the hands of a class strictly ruled by corporations, called colleges and societies, which are jealous of innovation.

Wherever that social power exists, whether in the "scribes and Pharisees" who ostracized Jesus, in state-established churches, in synods or councils or seminaries of faith, or in universities that have an established literary and scientific creed to maintain, it stands as a barrier against the invasion of genius, as the professors of his day stood against Galileo, scorning or ignoring his telescope, and suggesting that it might be a fraud; and as the medical academy of France ridiculed Harvey's simple and almost self-evident discovery of the mechanical functions of the heart. It is not very long since collegiate science pronounced the crossing of the Atlantic by steam impracticable, and considered electricity incapable of competing with steam. Collegiate science in England did not prevent Thomas Gray, the first advocate of railroads, from being sneered at as a lunatic. Against the dogmatism of inherited ignorance, the simplicity and certainty of a truth is not always a protection, even in this free country, in which a New York legislature decided by its committee that railroads were entirely impracticable. In all intellectual progress it is necessary to abolish the element of authority, and we see the result of its abolition in the brilliant and rapid progress of practical electricity, (which in five years has taken possession of forty per cent of our street railways), notwithstanding the first experiments of Morse were pronounced by a Boston newspaper to be a trick of the operator, and his invention was ridiculed in Congress.

These remarks are emphatically appropriate as an introduction to the marvels of electricity. Its brilliant mechanical career is but recent, yet its medical career began more than one hundred fifty years ago, early in the last century, and began most rationally in the use of static electricity. It had an ephemeral career among French physicians, but fell out of fashion there, probably for the same reason — a tendency to mental stagnation — which led them to drop the marvellous discoveries of Gall in the brain, which for a time fascinated many leading men, and the well-demonstrated discoveries of Junod in pneumatic therapy, the most important contribution of the century to practical therapeutics, and the best endorsed by leading physicians, but subsequently, without one word of objection, indolently laid aside in France, England, and, I regret to say, America.

Static electricity would have immensely advanced and revolutionized therapeutics, if the profession had done its duty; instead of this the profession has had a sort of contemptuous indolence in reference to all very important innovations. But the benevolent John Wesley, the founder of Methodism was not willing to see so great a blessing to mankind ignored and abandoned. Hence he published in 1759 a small treatise entitled "The Desideratum: or, Electricity made Plain and Useful; by a Lover of Mankind and of Common Sense." In this work he gives a list of diseases in which frictional electricity had proved beneficial and curative, which is worth copying to show how much had been accomplished by benevolence without the sanction of the profession: —

Agues, St. Anthony's fire, blindness even from *gutta serena*, blood extravasation, bronchocele, chlorosis, coldness in the feet, consumption, contraction of the limbs, cramps, deafness, dropsy, epilepsy, feet violently disordered, felons, *fistula lachrymalis*, gout, gravel, headache, hysterics, inflammation, king's evil, knots in the flesh, lameness, leprosy, mortification, pain in the back, in the stomach, palpitations of the heart, palsy, pleurisy, rheumatism, ringworms, sciatica, shingles, sprains, sore feet, swellings of all kinds, throat sore, toe hurt, toothache, wen.

He made an earnest appeal to the medical profession, begging them not to reglect any longer so great a boon to humanity, but in vain. A hundred years later the profession was still indifferent, and "Ranking's Abstract" as late as 1847, said of the therapeutic use of galvanism: —

> The subject is manifestly in its infancy; it has met with comparatively little favor either in this country or in France and Germany. . . . To the Italians we are mainly indebted for the more recent experiments.

It was in Italy that galvanism originated; and its originator, Galvani, was sneeringly called "the frog's dancing master," as his first experiment was on the muscles of a frog. Even as late as 1849, Dr. W. F. Channing, author of a valuable work on "Medical Electricity," said: "The common electrical machine has been very nearly dismissed from medical practice." * But the attention this subject has received during the last twenty-five years bids fair to remove this dishonor from the medical profession.

It is remarkable that the first successful introduction of electricity to the profession was in its most objectionable form of galvanism, through acupuncture, entirely ignoring the demonstrated value and success of static electricity, produced by friction — the element that pervades all nature, purifies the atmosphere, and gives a more intense activity to human life where it abounds, producing a more energetic race in the mountains than we ever find in the lowlands. The accumulation of electricity in the upper strata of the atmosphere gives to the descending rain a great deal of its vivifying power for vegetation, and this accumulation has sometimes been so great as to electrify each drop of rain visibly. An electrical engineer at Cordova, in Spain, described a storm in which after a lightning flash, the drops of rain falling to the ground gave off to the walls and trees electric sparks that were both visible and audible.

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* It is not a gracious or pleasant task to point out the shortcomings and wrongs of society, but it is very necessary. Old abuses and wrongs are not overcome by silence and flattery. In the language ascribed to Jesus we find His censures as energetic and just as His action in clearing out the temple. The gigantic errors of the medical profession need vigorous criticism by those who are not afraid to speak; and feeling independent of contemporary praise or blame, and indifferent to all the rewards of popularity, I feel it my duty to speak the iconoclastic truth without reserve, concerning many collegiate institutions and societies which defend their knowledge with zeal, and their ignorance with far greater zeal. Thus it has always been, but will not always be, for evolution must bring a higher type of humanity. How many liberal or half liberal minds the colleges contain I do not know, but certainly not enough to preponderate and give them a liberal character.

The purity of mountain air and the wholesome restorative influence of mountain or elevated localities are due largely to the presence of electricity and of the ozone which it generates in the atmosphere, which destroys all malaria. Experiments which have been carried on for at least a year and a half in England have proved that ozone can be generated at a moderate cost, and that it is destructive not only to malaria, but to every sort of bacteria and germs. In visiting a climate in which there was too little electricity to produce a thunder-storm except as a very rare event, I realized a very depressing effect on myself, and was told that the old residents gradually declined in energy and enterprise. They considered it indispensable to have a great deal of sunshine in their homes to counteract the negative character of the atmosphere.

The electricity of nature in all its forms is a great support to life, and in its application to man electricity increases the power of muscular action and vital energy. A physician in Providence had a case of apparent death. The man's heart was absolutely still. Medical science had been exhausted, but electricity remained. The doctor inserted an extremely fine needle into the heart and applied an electric current. In a few moments the heart began to act and the man was restored to life. The value of electricity may be shown by the effects of its withdrawal. In surgery the withdrawal of electricity — the production of a negative state — is the established method of destroying tumors and dissolving strictures.

How much damage could thus be done to vegetable life has not been ascertained; but a French scientist, by withdrawing electricity from growing plants through wires, kept them in a very backward state compared to others which had not been interfered with. Another scientist, M. Paulin, of Montbrison, France, demonstrated by experiments running through two years that static electricity drawn from the atmosphere was capable of increasing the growth of a crop of potatoes fifty per cent. His electric apparatus was a resinous pole, rising from forty to sixty feet, supporting five pointed copper wires to collect electricity, which was transmitted by a galvanized iron rod to the wires which ran through the potato patch, six feet nine inches apart, and from six to eighteen inches in the ground. Not only the potato crop but the potato vines were greatly increased, the stems measuring as much as fifty-seven inches. At the experiment station of Cornell University, the electric light has been found to accelerate and improve the growth of greenhouse plants. In England it has also been found that the light is too strong and needs a glass shade. M. Barat, in France, has demonstrated that the electric current produces a great increase in the growth of hemp, potatoes, and tomatoes, and carries with it the influence of manure toward the negative pole.

The experiments of Professor Lenstrom (of the University of Helsingfors) in Finland and France indicated that static electricity is specially beneficial to wheat, rye, barley, oats, beets, parsnips, potatoes, beans, leeks, celeriac, raspberries and strawberries, but not to peas, carrots, turnips, kohlrabi, cabbage and tobacco. Spechneff, a Russian agriculturist, found that a brief electrization of seeds nearly doubled the rapidity of their growth. He then electrized the earth to stimulate growing plants, by means of copper and zinc plates, twenty-eight by eighteen inches, connected by wires, with marvellous results, such as a radish seventeen inches long, five and one-half inches in diameter, weighing six and one-half pounds and of good quality. The production of roots was quadrupled and that of other plants doubled or tripled. In all electrical experiments the vigor and health of the vegetation was greatly increased, and Dr. James McLean, for twenty years Senior Inspector of Forests and Agriculture in Australia, maintains that the vigorous application of electricity will so invigorate plant life as to protect our vineyards and orchards from their devastating enemies in insect life, for which he has devised a rational plan.*

There is certainly a grand future for agriculture in electricity and irrigation that will *at least quadruple* the world's capacity for supporting population.

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* Dr. McLean, now a resident of San Francisco, is quite a philanthropist, and has issued (for twenty-five cents) a pamphlet of sixty pages with very important suggestions for the preservation of forests and for national protection against devastating insect pests.

Galvanism gives us electricity in gross quantity, without rapidity of vibration or electro-motive force, and consequently it has no great pervasive force in animal and vegetable life, though there is enough electricity in a single galvanic cell to destroy a human life if it had motive power. Yet experiment shows that a small portion may be used to accelerate the germination of seeds. Static electricity is still more effective. It is the electricity of the clouds, and gives us great electro-motive force, penetrating almost everything with wonderful subtlety and rapidity of vibratory action. Hence it is congenial to the nervous system, which has the same subtlety, rapidity, and pervasive power in its action.

By intensifying this peculiarity, giving electricity an inconceivable rapidity and delicacy of action, it comes nearer to the phenomena of the vital forces, and instead of destroying or decomposing everything in its path, like galvanism, it passes through the human body with a force which in a grosser form would produce instantaneous death. This force of propulsion, called voltage, overcomes resistance in its path, and while a current of seventeen hundred volts, as heretofore used, would be immediately fatal, a current of three hundred thousand volts may be passed through the human body harmlessly, and reappear as a gentle illumination when the rapidity of vibration has been raised to a million a second. By this increased frequency of vibration, electricity becomes actually converted into light. Tesla by producing such a current gave out a brilliant light from his fingers and his nose, and developed illumination in a glass bulb which he held in his hand. Professor Speer, at Pittsburg, held a steel instrument within eight inches of a charged wire, and a stream of apparent fire, as large as a lead pencil, rushed out to him with the power of forty thousand volts, without producing any unpleasant effect.

Thus is established the homogeneity of electricity and light. It is about twenty-eight years since Clerk Maxwell maintained the *quasi* identity of electro-magnetism and light, which have the same velocity of transmission (about one hundred and eighty-five thousand miles per second) and differ only in their wave lengths. The electric waves or rays, like those of light, can be reflected and refracted, polarized or brought to a focus, and have such a penetrative power as to pass through substances perfectly opaque to light. They can pass through a wall of masonry two feet thick, and may be refracted by passing through a lens of pitch. Yet these penetrative rays are invisible. Does not this suggest that there may be many other rays like the actinic, invisible to man yet perceptible by animals or by spiritual beings?

We are indebted to Professor Hertz of Berlin for an investigation of this subject. He has modified the light waves which are due to millions of vibrations to the second, each about the fifty-thousandth of an inch long, reducing their rapidity to a few thousand per second, and making them hundreds of feet long, in which condition, though invisible, they pass through everything — all things except metals becoming transparent. It is believed by Professor Blake, of Kansas University, that these modified rays may be a means for the transmission of power. The problem is how to utilize them. They must not pass through railroads or telegraph wires for fear of the effects, but they may go everywhere else, even if sent through the earth direct to China. If, as the theory maintains, a generator of power waves in America could propel a manufactory in Africa by direct transmission, it would illustrate the old phrase, "Truth is stranger than fiction." A generator of power waves and a parabolic reflector for their transmission is the plan of Professor Blake.

The influence of the electro-magnetic current extends, as electricians inform us, sometimes as far as forty miles from where it is passing, and in a recent experiment by W. H. Preece of England (electrician of the post-office), a wire on the island of Flatholm in the Bristol channel, fitted with a sounder, produced a telephonic sound in sympathetic response to a telephonic message sent through a wire a mile long on the mainland at Lavernock. The great number of electric and magnetic currents of the earth will in time be utilized. It is already known that they may be used to foretell the approach of the *aurora borealis* and of earthquakes. I have found that by inserting wires in the earth to catch the magnetic currents which are continually passing round it I can intercept enough to be of great value to the human constitution as a restorative influence, that works in harmony with life. If the reader would repeat the experiment, let him bury a copper wire in the ground one or two feet, running north and south, and place a sensitive constitution in connection with its end.

The magnitude of the results that may come from electricity is overwhelming. Tesla estimates the power of the falls of Niagara at from five to six millions of horse power. Such a power as this, converted and transmitted by electricity, would make the mechanical foundation of a paradise for labor, in which the toiler would simply be an intelligent director of the electric force that performs all the hard work of a nation. This is marvellous enough without indulging our imaginations with his airy suggestion of hitching on in some way to the motor forces of the universe, and the scientific theories of an unlimited power to be tapped in that ether which no one can see or grasp, but the existence and force of which are as firmly believed by physical scientists as that of the viewless spirit world is maintained by the cultivators of psychic sciences, who have the advantage over the physical scientists that their mysterious world is not invisible to all, and has often been made visible by photography.

The hopes of electrical scientists are more brilliant and amazing than anything that was ever called Utopian, and make our present-day contention for limiting labor to eight hours a day a piece of timid modesty. Edison aims to convert the heat of coal directly into electrical power, thus making it almost ten times as effective as it is at present, when we rely upon steam boilers and dynamos. Sanguine schemers even talk of treating the whole earth as a storage battery to supply power to mankind as free as air and water. But sober thinkers are not carried away by the speculations of enthusiasts. If but one fourth of what is seriously contemplated at present shall ever be realized, the curse of exhausting toil which has debased mankind for countless ages will be abolished, and there will no longer be any necessity for pauperism or despairing poverty, if the redeeming power of science does not fall entirely into the greedy clutch of monopoly.

It is certain, too, that aërostatic science, which has already nearly solved the problem of aërial navigation, will receive that aid from electric power which will give man the dominion of the atmosphere as completely as he has long enjoyed the dominion of the ocean.

To cook our food, to light and warm our houses, and to carry us about safely and pleasantly in light and swift vehicles without the aid of horses or steam, are results already demonstrated or demonstrable. A Milwaukee inventor burns bricks in three and a half hours by an electric current; and in France some of the tanneries are already achieving a tanning process in four days, by the electric method, which in the old way would require a year and a half. Its great sanitary value is shown by the processes used in England and France for purifying sewage and generating ozone by electricity.

One of the greatest revolutions in the industrial arts is the conversion of our limitless supplies of clay into the metal aluminum, the merits of which will enable it to supersede all other metals in the arts, when it is made a little cheaper. The electric process of Hall has so reduced the cost that it is believed it will not be long before it may be supplied at seventeen cents a pound, which would establish the age of aluminum in the industrial arts.

What is there that electricity may not do? Who dares to give it any limitation? By Professor Gray's telautograph a man in New York may write a letter in Chicago; and Professor Jacques says he can send a photograph by the wires, or a photograph of the letter written in one city to another city. Romance and magic are rivalled by the claims of electrical science to make our cold, dead, and heavy earth as quick and subtle in its interior action as the brain and soul of man — to send audible sound across the Atlantic Ocean without a wire, the ocean depths and the hard granite being as effective to convey our message as the optic and auditory nerves. In this sphere of cosmic activity we find the earth in closest sympathy with the sun, and whenever the sun's photosphere becomes unduly excited, the influence is felt throughout the earth, and this is most apt to appear at intervals of about eleven years, most frequently at the periods of maximum sun spots. These electric or magnetic storms generally occupy but a few hours at a time, affecting telegraphic wires and chemical affinities. I believe that electrical changes are closely associated with many of our epidemics as their efficient causes, and from some of my experiments I am quite sure that I could develop a case of cholera by the suitable application of electricity, exhausting the electric conditions of the subject.

When this new power comes in the world to revolutionize all things, we are compelled to ask what it is; but nature gives no answer and science is baffled. It is vexatious or embarrassing to deal with that which no one comprehends. A mechanical philosopher, unable to grasp the subject mechanically, said in his vexation that electricity is nothing. It is nothing in a materialistic sense, but in the philosophic sense, which rises above materialism, it is the grandest thing in the universe. If I should attempt a definition where others confess failure, I would say the universe is a manifestation of POWER. In its greatest possible limitation, this power appears as solid matter. Partially relieved from these limitations, it appears as liquids or gases. Entirely relieved from cohesion and gravitation, it appears as the imponderables, in which attraction is superseded by repulsion, so that the imponderables and ponderables are in continual conflict, the imponderables being masters in the struggle. Caloric is entirely free from ponderosity, attraction, and gravitation. Electricity is still further emancipated, and is therefore higher in the scale of existence. The gentle repulsiveness of caloric becomes in electricity a mighty power. Caloric flows from a heated body into the calorific vacuum of a cold body quietly, but electricity, before it goes into a negative body, drives out what little electricity it may contain. Caloric gently flows into its surroundings, but electricity darts out with a mighty power, dashing through the solid earth and flying through the solar system. Diffusion and pervasion are its properties, as location and condensation are the properties of matter. But still it has a *quasi* location and limitation. Relieved from these, and endowed with intelligence, we reach the next highest conception, which is the Divine.

When we say that electricity is repulsive or expansive power, we take the first step toward its comprehension. It is the power that lifts us above the sphere of dead matter toward the Divine, and contemporaneous with its advent is the advent of psychic philosophy, which teaches the limitless power of the human soul even on the earth, as demonstrated in psychometry.

Let us now consider the marvellous relations of electricity to human life. They are not at all mysterious to those who have investigated rightly. The pole which supplies electricity to the body supplies it with a tonic which invigorates every muscle, and if properly applied invigorates every portion of the brain and nervous system. The proper application consists in using currents which by their high frequency and delicacy approximate the action of the nervous system.* The highest forms of electricity approximate light in their character, and produce very little disturbance. Hence I consider static (frictional) electricity, so long neglected by the medical profession, vastly superior to the other forms, though I do not reject their aid.

Notwithstanding its general neglect by the profession in the last century, there was one brilliant exception in the United States — Dr. Gale of Troy, N. Y., who in 1802 published a work showing the wonderful power of static electricity, a book unknown to the profession to-day. With a crude machine made by himself, not worth over five dollars, he began the application of electricity in his practice, which he gradually extended from one disease to another during the latter part of the eighteenth century. His statement of the results showed its great superiority to anything then in use. I do not believe that any record of practice quite equal to the modest record of Dr. Gale could be made to-day by our ablest physicians, and I regret that I have not space to quote the decisive statements that he gives. I must, however, mention one specimen. He says, "Whenever medical electricity shall be generally adopted in practice, ulcers and abscesses will be as rare as comets." His treatment was simply that of the positive shock. He made no use of the negative condition.

The medical mind has been greatly misled on this subject. Not realizing the simple truth that the negative condition is simply a deficiency or minus condition of electricity, the two poles have been used as if this fact was forgotten, and the patient has often been depleted of electricity instead of being supplied with it. I have not been able to complete my proposed work on electro-therapeutics, and therefore beg leave here to state a most important principle, that the constitution should in almost all cases be entirely under the influence of electricity derived from the positive pole, and should not be robbed of its electricity by giving the negative pole as free access as the positive. It should be excluded from the body by some rheostat or hindrance. This can be effected with the common portable battery by using a saturated solution of salt in the sponge of the positive pole and a larger sponge supplied with simple water for the negative. I regret that the limits of this essay do not permit the introduction of the directions which would prevent serious errors.

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* Electricity in all its various forms has long been used to conquer pain, and the curious discovery has been made by Dr. Hutchinson that a certain rapidity of break, or interruption in the broken current, gives it much greater power over pain. With a metallic rheotome (current breaker) if the interruptions are raised to five hundred forty times a second, so as to sound the note C major, prompt relief is given. Under the influence of this current a very painful felon was operated on without the patient feeling any pain.

That the hot and destructive effects of electricity, which may burn and ulcerate, occur chiefly at the negative pole, which produces a vacuum of electricity, robbing its surroundings of the electricity they possess and compelling an afflux from every source of supply, has been splendidly illustrated by the recent discovery of the Belgian scientists, Lagrange and Hoho, whose invention was considered so incredible that the patent examiners, like some of our obtuse examiners in this country, demanded a demonstration in their presence before issuing the patent! The experiments were finely repeated before a group of expert electricians.

In this process a glass or porcelain vessel is used, which has a lining of lead, into which flows a current of positive electricity, the vessel being filled about three fourths with acidified water. To the negative pole of the dynamo is attached, as an electrode, a pair of insulated tongs, by which a bar of iron is held and made intensely negative. This bar of negative iron is inserted slightly in the acidulated water. Instantly the water passes into boiling decomposition at the point of contact, and the iron rises to a brilliant white heat at the contact, the iron melting and falling off. The intensity of the heat is regulated by the current. The reporter claims that a temperature of eight thousand degrees Celsius has been developed, or three times as much as is required to develop iron from the ores, and this wonderful effect is explained by the gathering of hydrogen gas around the negative metal, producing the powerful resistance which develops the heat. There are many obvious applications of this new process, and the reduction of the ores of the precious metals, as well as the production of diamonds, sapphires, and rubies, is also spoken of. An intelligent mining friend tells me of wonderful things he expects to accomplish with electricity, in handling refractory ores now of little value. M. Moissan recently produced diamonds by electricity for the Académie des Sciences at Paris.

A patent has been issued to an electrician of Tennessee for the destruction of weeds along railroad tracks by electricity. If it can be applied in agriculture *economically* it will be of immense value. We may expect the application of electricity in almost every form of human industry. It is only a question of time.

As a destructive and relaxing agent we rely on the negative pole — as an invigorating tonic stimulant, on the positive. The great question of electro-therapeutics is, Where shall the poles be applied? Anatomy and physiology as taught at present give an imperfect guidance, falling very far short of the entire truth. The false idea has often been acted on that electric currents should follow the centrifugal course of the nerves. The science of Sarcognomy, which I have developed in the large work, "Therapeutic Sarcognomy," embodying my practical teaching during the last fifteen years, the value of which is illustrated in practice by my students, shows that in man psychology and physiology are closely blended.

The brain is both the psychological organ of the soul, and the physiological master of the body. Hence in treating the brain by static electricity, I produce both psychic and physiological effects, changing the mental faculties and emotions, and producing corresponding effects on the body. But the body and brain are in so close sympathy that any disease in the body produces a corresponding or sympathetic effect on the brain, modifying the feelings and character, and in like manner electric treatment of the body produces in the sensitive many psychic effects.

The localities of this psycho-physiological action are to-day almost entirely unknown to the medical profession, as they claim only a limited physiological knowledge of the brain, and when I produce before my pupils such results as sarcognomy indicates, I do what medical colleges to-day do not believe possible. But knowing by experiments carefully made fifty years ago, extended and tested as well as taught and published during the half century, verified by all who become acquainted with them, and never disturbed by the crucial test of experiments on animals, conducted by the leaders of the medical profession, whose results I accept—knowing the site of every psychic and nearly every physiological power in the brain with a positive certainty, I operate on the brain with an exact knowledge of what I am doing.

I teach my pupils and demonstrate upon themselves what they afterwards demonstrate on their patients, that a certain electrical current will produce a great development of heat, and an opposite current a great development of coolness; that there is one current which produces great cheerfulness, and an opposite current which produces great melancholy; that one current will produce intellectual brightness, and an opposite current a state of repose gradually ending in sleep; that one current will produce an aggravation of irritation and inflammation, and an opposite current a soothing and delightful effect; that one current will produce a sound and vigorous mental condition, and that an opposite current will disturb and depress the brain, tending to develop insanity; that currents properly directed may invigorate every organ in the body, and other currents may weaken and injure them, according to the direction;—in short, that all the functions of mind and body have definite locations upon the head and body, the knowledge of which enables us to play upon whatever we wish as the musician plays upon the piano, by understanding the keys.*

Having no space to illustrate this more fully, I can only say that electricity is a master of psychic as well as physical life. It is the master of all the invisible powers or influences that relate to life, seizing them firmly and conveying them wherever it goes. In passing from one human being to another it acts like a physiological contact, conveying the vital conditions and influences of the constitution through which it passes to the constitution to which it goes.

I have long since fully established the fact that contagion or transfer of conditions is a universal law of life, operative or inoperative in proportion to nervous development and susceptibility. It is my own misfortune to have all morbid conditions contagious, even in a few minutes' exposure, and the great majority of my morbid conditions for many years have been those thus borrowed from others. The medical theory that diseases are *in themselves* of necessity either contagious or non-contagious is a mechanical sort of blunder. Contagion is universal with a certain development of nervous sensibility, and embraces all diseases, while to the opposite class of constitutions contagion is a nonentity, and they handle small-pox or yellow fever with impunity.

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* All this is published with the demonstrations, but I have not attempted to urge its consideration upon a single medical college, because I am well acquainted with such institutions, and have never known one in which the faculty would welcome any discovery or demonstration that would fundamentally change their teaching. I do not think it the duty of any scientific discoverer to approach as a suppliant those who know nothing of that which he has discovered, and concerning which they have never manifested any scientific curiosity or spirit of investigation. Moreover, having taken the lead as the head of a flourishing medical college in asserting protestant freedom in the profession, and discarding the old code, I was semi-officially told by Professor Gross, then at the head of the old profession, fifteen years ago, that no discovery I might make would ever be examined or noticed by the National Medical Association, as they were governed by their *code* and I was not! After such a declaration it is somewhat amusing to hear those who sympathize with Professor Gross speak of *medical ethics*, as if they had any just idea of the meaning of such terms! Medical despotism has an "irrepressible conflict" with the medical progress which it does not control.

Ignorance of the laws of the nervous system has been the cause of this universal blunder which still persists in our colleges and medical literature. But electricity creates universal contagion by transferring vital conditions. The physician who effectively sends an electric current through his own body to his patient adds his own vital influence to the current, but he who receives the current from his patients will very soon realize that he is destroying his own health. The coarsely dogmatic materialism of the colleges and medical authors has prevented their recognition of this very important principle, which soon enforces itself on the practical electrician, who realizes that he must stand on the positive instead of the negative side. All diseases can be transferred in this way, even special local inflammations, but the colleges do not know it because they never look for such facts, as they are not sufficiently mechanical.

Parallel to this is the discovery which I have been teaching and proving so long that I do not know when I first became familiar with it, the principle that electricity carries with it the potentiality of everything through which it passes, and consequently that any number of patients can be medicated in succession or simultaneously by a given dose of medicine without a particle being lost, as it is solidly inclosed. The medical profession everywhere has been educated into ignorance of this and analogous facts. Such things being publicly done and taught, a progressive college would inquire into the facts and institute experiments. But colleges have theories or doctrines which they prefer to facts, and I do not attempt to disturb their confirmed habits of centuries.

My usual method of demonstrating this is to place a sufficient quantity of medicine in a medical electrode tightly closed, and send an electric current through it, which entering by one wire and leaving by another, passes through a group of students, who have joined hands, to the negative pole. In a few minutes they recognize the characteristic medical influence, some very promptly, some more slowly (not knowing what it is). Their descriptions are such as would be given if they had swallowed a dose, and if it is anything with which they have ever been acquainted by taking it, they are able to name it. When I placed one of my medical electrodes in the hand of Dr. A., a leading electrician at Boston, and started a current, he said in less than one minute, "That is Hyoscyamus," which in fact was the medicine in the electrode.

How far medicated electricity can flow and maintain its medical potency unimpaired, I have not attempted to determine, but in my class experiments, when I send the current through fifty feet of wire, I do not discover any perceptible reduction of the effect, and I think it probable that, with a continuous wire and a sufficient electro-motive force, a medical dose might be sent from San Francisco to New York. Certainly it would be practicable in a hospital to send a dose by wire from the laboratory to a patient in any part of the building, and even, in a properly arranged bed, to have the patient under the influence of any current prescribed without even knowing it. Several years ago I described this method of hospital practice in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* of Chicago. A few days ago I sent medicated currents by telegraphic wires from Los Angeles to Pasadena — eight miles. Three different medicines were used, and the currents were received at Pasadena by five intelligent persons, each of whom recognized the distinct characteristic effects of each medicine as they would be felt from a small dose, but the force of the galvanic battery was not sufficient to make the result as impressive as I desired. The experiment will be repeated when a better opportunity occurs.

The result of my discoveries, as stated in "Therapeutic Sarcognomy," is that all electric treatment should be associated with medical treatment by placing the proper medicines in the electrodes for a static current. This would be the *beau ideal* of pleasant and curative treatment. I now demonstrate these things only to my students, as I have avoided practice.

In presenting this old story to those to whom it may be new or strange, I would quote from "Therapeutic Sarcognomy," the first edition of which was printed in 1884, the following passage: —

> *The electro-medical current.* For many years (over forty-five), I have been familiar with the fact that medical potencies proceed diffusively from medicines, without their being received into the body, or being even in contact with the surface. I have also for many years known that an electric current through the medicine would carry its influence into the constitution, and even into that of another person, through whom the current was made to pass. Thus in a group of ten or a dozen persons who joined hands, the medicine through which a positive current was passed at one end of the group would be recognized by the whole group through which the current passed, with different degrees of distinctness, according to their impressibility.
>
> The medical profession has believed that medical effects could be produced only when the substance of the medicine was carried into the body by the current, and the possibility of this was long denied. The possibility of carrying in the potency of a medicine without any of its substance, by a current which traverses metallic conductors before entering the body, would be universally and perhaps scornfully denied in medical colleges, though I have for some years been demonstrating its practicability in my courses of lectures, and sensitive individuals have often detected the character and given the name of the medicine affecting the current, when it was one with the effect of which they were familiar.

My psychometric experiments with medicines, showing that millions who have a moderate psychometric capacity can feel the influence of any medicine held in the hands, enveloped in paper, or even contained in a hermetically sealed vial, have been verified in France, not according to my simple and easily demonstrated method to which millions can respond, but by selecting hysterical psychics, and holding the medicine behind their heads, without contact. This was the method of Drs. Bourru and Burot, which was reported to the National Scientific Association of France at Grenoble a few years ago, after having been well verified by the investigations of several medical professors. This method was introduced by Dr. Luys at Paris, but it proved too unreliable to overcome the entire scepticism of the profession. Had they adopted my simpler methods, there would have been no difficulty. But such discoveries as mine do not penetrate the foggy atmosphere of medical journalism so as to reach the profession.

When these facts become generally known, they will refute the common objection to homœopathic infinitesimals, that they do not contain enough medicine, as my experiments prove that we may receive the potentiality of a medicine without a particle of its substance.

If the question should arise, Cannot the electric current which transmits medical, physiological, and pathological influences, transmit as easily psychic conditions, thoughts, or emotions? I reply that it certainly can. In 1841 I made a set of experiments with the late David Dale Owen, the well-known geologist, in his laboratory at New Harmony, to determine the conductivity of various substances for the *nerve-aura* of the human constitution. The record was written out by him, but lost soon after in a stage robbery in Ohio. The law of conductivity was closely similar to that of electricity. But for the higher psychic forces the conductivity is much greater, and one effect of it is seen in the strange sympathies that have sometimes occurred between telegraphers at connecting stations, especially when of different sex.

I have not felt much interest in this metallic transmission because the psychic transmission is just as practicable without the aid of wires, as is shown by psychometry. Friends or conjugal partners may know of each other's death (like Lord Brougham), no matter if on the other side of the globe. The late Dr. Gray of New York had this power with his patients, so have several hundred practitioners in this country, and I have realized the illness of a friend at the moment, in one instance two hundred miles away. From Louisville I sent a letter to a friend at New Orleans, writing in it three words by touching the pen lightly without ink or mark. In her reply she gave me the words. Any good psychometer can catch the impression that another would give through a wire, and perhaps there will be less disposition to doubt this since it is proved that electricity can be sent in any direction through earth, water, or air, and Mr. Stead has shown that messages can be sent without any apparatus whatever. Wires are not necessary — the atmosphere does not hinder. A few days ago, about 9 A. M., Mrs. S. said to her friend: "Mrs. G. is talking about me, and she knows that I know it. She is thinking of going to the seaside!" The friend wrote this to Mrs. G., who lived about eighty miles away, and Mrs. G. brought me the letter and said it was all true.

The marvellous experiences of Mr. Stead, in which it seemed that a friend at a distance could write through his hand, are not as mysterious as they seem. They simply reproduce the phenomena of psychometry, which I have been publishing for fifty years, and add thereto an automatic action of his hand, accustomed to obey the current of his thought, without any conscious action of the mind with which his psychometric power brings him *en rapport*. But the control of his hand by another is not impossible, for as disembodied spirits do thus control and write through the hands of mediums, I have no doubt that Mr. Stead can thus receive messages from the departed, and even from the living, whenever he shall come in relation with some one of great psychic force. If Mr. Stead should read these lines I hope he will make the experiments I suggest, and not be sceptical if his messages should come from eminent historical characters, for it is as easy to communicate with Cæsar or Socrates as with John Smith if one lives on their higher plane.

Telepathy is beginning to be understood. It requires no wires. It is practicable now and will be practised sometime, to establish telepathic stations round the world, by which a great amount of intelligence can be instantly sent.

If these lines should fall under the eyes of any physicians who fancy themselves liberal or progressive, and they desire to investigate these subjects or coöperate in my investigations, I shall be pleased to hear from them.

As this essay is sufficiently long already, I will conclude by the statement that our entire system of electrical treatment is essentially defective, and that I shall propose a modification which will be as valuable in its practical results as the introduction of Faradism. I shall offer this innovation to THE ARENA.

AFTER SIXTY YEARS.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

> The snow of age is on my head,
> But eternal Spring is in my heart.
>
> — *Victor Hugo.*

Of the many who enter life strong and enthusiastic in the cause of justice and humanity, only a few persevere to the end, without faltering, if that end be deferred until the snows of age crown the brow. Some centre their energies on a single reform and battle unceasingly for the despised cause, patiently and dauntlessly braving the contumely and persecution of conventionalism. They are usually very finely strung natures; indeed, I think the reformer who battles for the weak and oppressed, is always almost supersensitive; hence, the abuse, the sneers and social ostracism he is compelled to endure for the weak, ignorant, and oppressed, whose cause he makes his own, cut into his very soul in a manner little dreamed of by the careless masses. At length, however, the reform is accomplished; the minority becomes the majority, and he who was yesterday denounced as a shallow agitator, an insufferable crank, and a hysterical emotionalist is hailed as a prophet, hero, and sage by that same soulless and shallow conventionalism which scorned him so long as the cause for which he battled was unpopular.

When this hour arrives it carries perils with it for the reformer; it is now so easy to rest on well-earned laurels and enjoy the sweeter melodies of life. The cause is won— nay, not the cause, but one battle in the ceaseless warfare by which man rises to nobler heights; but conventionalism will have it that the *cause* is won, and often the reformer at this point falls by the wayside, ceasing to be a reformer, although he may continue to utter high, sweet, and noble thoughts. The poet Whittier is an example of this class. After the war the despised agitator who for so long had suffered social ostracism, was welcomed into the arms of the conventionalism which had endeavored to slay him. All that was asked of him was that he would rest on his laurels, in so far as aggressive reform work was concerned, and turn his muse to greener and more restful pastures. He naturally hated conflict and loved peace. He chose the velvet, grass-lined banks and rested by the wayside, while Wendell Phillips from the cause of the oppressed black man turned to that of the enslaved white man and dealt giant blows for freedom, justice and progress so long as his silver-toned voice could utter a protest against inhumanity, injustice and oppression.

Another class of reformers becomes discouraged by the ingratitude and ignorance of those they seek to aid. They find themselves misjudged, misrepresented and maligned by the demagogues who, influenced by the capital of the oppressors or consumed by love of self and petty jealousy, discredit the high, pure unselfishness of single-hearted men and women; and the latter too often, after being made the target for those they would help, become discouraged and lapse into silence; their voices like the powerful guns of a battle ship are stilled, but the spiking is due to traitors on board, rather than to the fire from the enemy.

Still another class who enter life strong, aggressive, brave, and determined to consecrate their best energies to the cause of human brotherhood, gradually fall under the spell of conventionalism; the multitudinous disappointments which beset their pathway slowly dampen the ardor which impelled them onward. Hope, courage and determination give way to a painful and oppressive pessimism. The "Locksley Hall" of youth, which is the story of strength, hope and determination, is changed into the "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After," which is a tale of despair. This is the saddest of all sights, save that of open betrayal or treachery.

In broad contrast with those who aggressively enter the warfare for eternal justice and human brotherhood, but who becoming tired, disheartened, or asphyxiated fall by the wayside, we find a few—a chosen band of lofty spirits—who persevere in the cause until the night comes upon them, and they fall with their armor on, like Victor Hugo, who was a conspicuous representative of this order of nature's royalty. They can exclaim, "The winter is on our heads, but eternal spring is in our hearts." They are prophets—they are more than prophets, for the prophet may only discern the signs of the times and point out the luminous truth he beholds. They are warriors—they are more than warriors, for a warrior may fight for self or in an evil cause. They are heroes—they are more than heroes, for the hero may win glorious victories but afterward rest on his laurels amid the plaudits of an admiring world. They are the servants of progress, the apostles of light, who think only of serving the race, shedding forth the light of justice, dispelling the darkness, and enabling the race to move forward.

Among those who belong to this select band of truly royal souls, who are Poets of the people, William Morris, Gerald Massey and our own James G. Clark are inspiring figures which are still among us. Mr. Clark, like Whittier, battled for the emancipation of the black man. With pen and voice he performed valiant service for the slaves, and when the clash of arms came, as poet, composer and singer he became a threefold inspiration in the struggle for liberty and a broader justice. But unlike Whittier, after the war was over this poet refused to lay down his armor; he knew the victory was an incident in the history of progress. The enfranchisement of the negroes was not the only enfranchisement to be accomplished; indeed, the black man had only been freed from one form of slavery; he still remained ignorant, and his soul had never been warmed into life by justice and kindliness. Moreover, the war, while it had broken the chains of chattel slavery, had promoted special privileges, and led to the enactment of class laws as gigantic in character as they were multitudinous in number; these evils, tolerated at first owing to the exigencies of the time, and because the attention of statesmen and patriots was occupied with the immediate life of the Union, carried with them a potential serfdom more far-reaching and essentially tragic than the slavery which had hitherto been recognized in the New World. Far-seeing minds, when the stress of the war was past, beheld in this growing conventionalism, fostered by special privilege, a menace to the rights of individuals, which threatened to make the republic what the patricians through the power of wealth made of the ancient commonwealth of Rome—the republican shell, under cover of which the most hopeless oppression flourished. Against the aggressiveness of wealth in the hands of shrewd, cunning and soulless men and corporations Mr. Clark raised his clarion voice, even more eloquent than in the old days when he wrote, composed and sung for freedom and the Union before the black man had been freed. It is difficult to conceive a picture more inspiring than this patriarch of Freedom, whose brow is already lighted with the dawn of another life, fronting the morning with eyes of fire and voice rich, full and clear, now persuasive, now imperious, but never faltering, as he delivers the messages of eternal truth, progress, and justice.

I know of no singer of our time to whom the following words, penned by James Russell Lowell in 1844 when writing of Whittier, are so applicable as to the poet we are now considering. By changing the word *Whittier* to *this poct* in the following we have a more graphic and concise characterization of James G. Clark than it would be possible for me to give:

He has not put his talent out at profitable interest by catering to the insolent and pharisaical self-esteem of the times, nor has he hidden it in the damask of historical commonplaces, or a philanthropy too universal to concern itself with particular wrongs, the practical redressing of which is all that renders philanthropy of value. Most poets are content to follow the spirit of their age as pigeons follow a leaking grain cart, picking a kernel here and there out of the dry dust of the past. Not so with [this poet]. From the heart of the onset upon the serried mercenaries of every tyranny, the chord of his iron-strung lyre clangs with a martial and triumphant cheer."

Mr. Clark, like William Morris, Mr. Howells, and many others of our finest contemporary thinkers, has become an ardent social democrat. Perhaps he is not quite so extreme in his views as the English poet, but I imagine he holds opinions much the same as those entertained by Mr. Howells, and he is even more aggressive than the American novelist, which is saying much, when one considers Mr. Howells' fine and brave work of recent years, and especially his bold satire on present-day injustice, in "A Traveller from Altruria."

In the present paper I wish to group together a few poems of humanity, written by Mr. Clark since he passed his sixtieth mile-post. They are timely utterances, impressing the great truth so nobly presented by Mazzini that "Life is a mission," "Life is duty," and similarly expressed by Victor Hugo when he declares that "Life is conscience."

Mr. Clark is one of the poets of the people, and he clothes the eternal verities of which he speaks in simple and effective imagery, sometimes turning to nature, sometimes to the Bible, for his figures. Here is a really noble creation, a poem well worthy of living in the patriotic heart:

Freedom's Reveille.

The time has passed for idle rest:
  Columbia, from your slumber rise!
Replace the shield upon your breast,
  And cast the veil from off your eyes,
And view your torn and stricken fold—
  By prowling wolves made desolate—
Your honor sold for alien gold
  By traitors in your Halls of State.

Our mothers wring their fettered hands;
  Our sires fall fainting by the way;
The Lion robs them of their lands,
  The Eagle guards them to betray:
Shall they who kill through craft and greed
  Receive a brand less black than Cain's?
Shall paid "procurers" of the deed
  Still revel in their Judas gains?

O daughter of that matchless Sire,
  Whose valor made your name sublime,
Whose spirit, like a living fire,
  Lights up the battlements of Time,—
The World's sad Heart, with pleading moan,
  Breaks at your feet—as breaks the main
In ceaseless prayer from zone to zone—
  And shall it plead and break in vain?

Fling off that golden garb of lace
  That knaves have spun to mask your form,
And let the lightning from your face
  Gleam out upon the gathering storm—
That awful face whose silent look
  Swept o'er the ancient thrones of kings,
And like the bolts of Sinai shook
  The base of old established things.

The promise of an age to be
  Has touched with gold the mountain mist,
Its white fleets plow the morning sea,
  Its flags the Morning Star has kissed.
But still the martyred ones of yore—
  By tyrants hanged, or burned, or bled—
With hair and fingers dripping gore,
  Gaze backward from the ages dead,

And ask: "How long, O Lord! how long
  Shall creeds conceal God's human side,
And Christ the God be crowned in song
  While Christ the man is crucified?
How long shall Mammon's tongue of fraud
  At Freedom's Prophets wag in sport,
While chartered murder stalks abroad,
  Approved by Senate, Church and Court?"

The strife shall not forever last
  'Twixt cunning Wrong and passive Truth—
The blighting demon of the Past,
  Chained to the beauteous form of Youth;
The Truth shall rise, its bonds shall break,
  Its day with cloudless glory burn,
The Right with Might from slumber wake,
  And the dead Past to dust return.

The long night wanes; the stars wax dim;
  The Young Day looks through bars of blood;
The air throbs with the breath of Him
  Whose Pulse was in the Red-Sea flood;

And flanked by mountains, right and left,
  The People stand—a doubting horde—
Before them heave the tides uncleft,
  Behind them flashes Pharaoh's sword.

But lo! the living God controls,
  And marks the bounds of slavery's night,
And speaks through all the dauntless souls
  That live, or perish, for the right.
His face shall light the People still,
  His Hand shall cut the Sea in twain,
And sky and wave and mountain thrill
  To Miriam's triumphant strain.

Mr. Clark is a profoundly religious man, but he is singularly free from that dogmatism and creedal idolatry, that narrow and fanatical bigotry and pharisaism which have made the church odious to thousands of the finest, truest and most religious natures of the century, and which have led many of the noblest natures to turn from Christianity as something hateful and repugnant to that which is truest and most profoundly divine in man's nature. He is religious, as Jesus was religious, which is not saying that he would be welcomed into fashionable conventional churches to-day any more than Jesus in His time was welcomed among the orthodox religionists of Judaism.

Here is a fine piece of work which might be termed

A Voice in the Night.

I have come, and the world shall be shaken
  Like a reed at the touch of my rod,
And the kingdoms of Time shall awaken
  To the voice and the summons of God;
No more through the din of the ages
  Shall warnings and chidings divine,
From the lips of my prophets and sages,
  Be trampled like pearls before swine.

Ye have stolen my lands and my cattle;
  Ye have kept back from labor its meed;
Ye have challenged the outcasts to battle,
  When they plead at your feet in their need;
And when clamors of hunger grew louder,
  And the multitudes prayed to be fed,
Ye have answered with prisons or powder
  The cries of your brothers for bread.

I turn from your altars and arches,
  And the mocking of steeples and domes,
To join in the long, weary marches
  Of the ones ye have robbed of their homes;

I share in the sorrows and crosses
  Of the naked, the hungry and cold,
And dearer to me are their losses
  Than your gains and your idols of gold.

I will wither the might of the spoiler;
  I will laugh at your dungeons and locks;
The tyrant shall yield to the toiler,
  And your judges eat grass like the ox;
For the prayers of the poor have ascended
  To be written in lightnings on high,
And the wails of your captives have blended
  With the bolts that must leap from the sky.

The thrones of your kings shall be shattered
  And the prisoner and serf shall go free;
I will harvest from seed that I scattered
  On the borders of blue Galilee;
For I come not alone, and a stranger—
  Lo! my reapers will sing through the night
Till the star that stood over the manger
  Shall cover the world with its light.

In the following we have a prophetic picture, and with the insight of a true prophet Mr. Clark shows that the danger of bloodshed and ruin does not lie where the paid hirelings of plutocracy are ever seeking through the capitalistic press to make the masses think danger lies; the supreme menace of liberty no less than of justice lies primarily where Mr. Clark points it out—*in the citadel of lawless and conscienceless wealth.*

The Fall of New Babylon.

"Be still, and know that I am God!"
  This message fell distinct and low
While wealth, with steel and iron shod,
  Crushed out the cries of want and woe;
And from the scourged and bleeding throng,
  As if to the end the age-long tryst,
With eyes rebuking gilded Wrong,
  Shone forth the wondrous face of Christ.

Man heeded neither voice nor look—
  For Mammon's vampires asked for blood—
And what were signs and omens took
  The forms of conflict, flame and flood;
The tempest down the mountains whirled;
  The lightnings danced among the crags;
And far below the breakers curled
  And raised on high their battle-flags.

The ocean's heart wih angry beats—
  Swayed by the earthquake's fiery breath—
Uplifted cities, troops and fleets
  And hurled them down to wreck and death;
Then rose the death-yell of the Old—
  The old, dark Age of ruthless gain,
Of crouching thieves and warriors bold
  Who slew the just and robbed the slain.

For he who led the hordes of Night—
  The Monarchs of marauding bands—
Went down before the Sword of Light
  That flashed upon the plundered lands;
And stretched upon his mighty bier,
  With broken helmet on his head,
And hands still clutching brand and spear,
  The King at last lay prone and dead.

The birds of conquest o'er him swooped
  In baffled rage and terror wild;
The silent Fates around him stooped
  To deck with flowers their fallen child;
And where the powers of shore and wave
  Together clashed in border wars,
With systems piled upon his grave,
  They left the meteor-son of Mars.

The cruel rule of craft and pelf
  Had vanished like a midnight pall;
The cold, hard motto, "Each for Self,"
  Had melted into "Each for All."
For every human ear and heart
  Had heard the message, "Peace, be still!"
And sought through Freedom's highest art
  For oneness with the Perfect Will.

The star of strife had ceased to reign,
  And Venus woke with tender grace
Between the lids of sky and main
  And smiled upon a nobler race;
And as a brute foregoes its prize
  And cowers before the gaze of day,
With backward look from baleful eyes
  The wolf of Usury slunk away.

From ocean rim to mountain height
  All Nature sang of glad release;
The waters danced in wild delight
  And waved a million flags of peace;
For he who held the world in thrall
  Through greed and fraud and power of gold,
Had seen the "writing on the wall,"
  And died like Babylon's King of old.

When the wealth-producers of the nation learn that the welfare of all is more important than the selfish interests of a few petty men who divide industry into warring camps, and by the aid of demagogues who secretly serve the gold power, prevent the concerted action of *all* wealth-producers; when the toilers come to understand that if they unite *but once* and speak at the ballot-box, the power of plutocracy will be broken and the dawn of a truer democracy than the world has ever known will become an accomplished fact; when the breadwinners of earth realize that the man who urges them not to actively enter politics is in reality the most valiant voice that the despotism of avarice and greed can invoke, then we shall have reached a point where the rule of the few will vanish and the laws of equal justice will be felt throughout all the ramifications of government. This is the supreme lesson for labor to learn. Karl Marx appreciated it, and the most far-seeing, single-hearted apostles of humanity since his day have insisted upon it. Toilers everywhere, unite—your hope lies in union; know no creed, party, nation, or race. Let humanity be your family, and justice your guiding star. The motto of the American Railway Union breathes the spirit of this new slogan, and Mr. Clark, quick to appreciate its significance, penned these lines suggested by the motto

"All for One and One for All."

All for one and one for all,
  With an endless song and sweep,
So the billows rise and fall
  On the bosom of the deep;
Louder in their single speech,
  More resistless as they roll,
Broader, higher in their reach
  For their union with the whole.

Wheeling systems sink and rise,
  In one shoreless universe,
And forever down the skies
  Myriad stars one hymn rehearse;
Countless worlds salute the sun,
  Planets to each other call,
Ages into cycles run,
  All for one and one for all.

Kissed by sunshine, dew and shower,
  Leaping rill and living sod,
Sea and mountain, tree and flower
  Turn their faces up to God;
And one human Brotherhood,
  Pulsing through a thousand lands,
Reaches for one common good
  With its million, million hands.

Through all warring seas of life
  One vast current sunward rolls,
And within all outward strife,
  One eternal Right controls,—
Right, at whose divine command
  Slaves go free and captives fall,
In the might of those who stand
  All for one and one for all.

Legislation is very largely responsible for the multi-millionaires of this republic, while special privileges of some kind or another have in almost all instances with which I am acquainted been the creators or the chief feeders of the colossal fortunes in our midst. It would therefore seem very clear that to minify the dangers which all thoughtful people admit to-day threaten the republic through the influence of plutocracy, it will be necessary to abolish special privilege and class legislation. This, moreover, is demanded by the quickened conscience of the times, because it meets the requirements of justice. If government has any legislative function it is to foster justice and extend as far as possible the prosperity, happiness and advancement of all the people, instead of lending its influence to a few in such a manner as to enable them to enslave the many.

Furthermore, if, as can be clearly demonstrated, the government has by grants and privileges rendered possible the acquiring of untold millions by a few of the people who have been the beneficiaries of these privileges, it is not so absurd or idiotic as the mouthpieces of the government-fostered plutocracy would have us believe, to insist that the power which has heretofore been exerted by the government for the aggrandizement and benefit of the few, be henceforth exerted impartially toward all the citizens of the republic, and that the enormous disparity of fortunes resulting from iniquitous class legislation and partial and therefore vicious governmental paternalism be in a measure righted by a graduated income tax and a rigid inheritance tax; these claims of industry are eminently just, and were it not for the tremendous power already exerted by the usurer class, they would scarcely be called in question; but the gold of wealth is liberally expended to uphold the tyranny of capitalism, and there always have been and doubtless for many generations to come will be men who will act as sophists in upholding injustice and befogging the minds of people who have never learned to think independently; hence the urgent need of the sincere and conscientious prophets, poets and reformers.

The following poem of Mr. Clark will awaken an echo in thousands of the most earnest hearts of our land who long to join in the songs of the happy, but who hear so clearly the cries of the victims under the wheels that their hearts grow heavy and their voices fail to utter a sound in the chorus of joy.

A Song of the Period.

"Oh! weave us a bright and cheerful rhyme,
  Of our land where the fig tree grows,
And the air is sweet in the New-Year time
  With the breath of the new-born rose."
This message fell while the engine roared
  By the wharf at the city's feet
Where the white-winged birds of trade lay moored
  In a vast, unnumbered fleet.

It filled my ears as we moved away,
  And the iron wheels rolled on
From the noisy town and the sobbing bay
  To the wilds of Oregon,—
Where the mountain cloud and the mossy sod
  Are kissed by the self-same rills,
And the torrents beat like the pulse of God
  In the hearts of the ancient hills.

And I sung of the broad and generous fields
  That were fresh with a promise rare;
Of the mother-breast that sweetly yields
  All life to the people's prayer.
But my soul grew sad with a minor tone
  From the souls of the outcast poor
Who begged for work—and received a stone—
  As they tramped o'er the lonely moor.

Then I thought of the land whose faith was sealed
  By the blood of the brave and great,
Of the strong, fierce bird and the starry shield
  That guarded the halls of state;
But the Eagle watched o'er the idle gold
  That was heaped on the rich man's floor,
While the gaunt wolf leered at the toiler's fold
  And howled by the poor man's door.

I cannot join the old-time friends
  In their merry games and sports
While the pleading wail of the poor ascends
  To the Judge of the Upper Courts;
And I cannot sing the glad, free songs
  That the world around me sings
While my fellows move in cringing throngs
  At the beck of the gilded kings.

The scales hang low from the open skies—
  That have weighed them, one and all—
And the fiery letters gleam and rise
  O'er the feast in the Palace Hall,
But my lighter lays shall slumber on
  The boughs of the willow tree
Till the King is slain in Babylon,
  And the captive hosts go free.

I will close this paper with one of the finest and noblest poetic creations which our silver-headed prophet-poet of the people has composed since he passed beyond his sixtieth year. It is brave, bold and severe, as the articulate voice of justice is wont to be, when confronting injustice, but through it, as through all this poet's writings, we note the presence of that abiding faith which is entertained by those who believe, nay more, who know that man is fronting the dawn, and that eternal justice broods over the world.

Justice to "Liberty Enlightening the World."

O Liberty! whose searching eyes
  Are fixed upon the distant blue—
As if to pierce the veil that lies
  Betwixt the Old World and the New—
What seekest thou in other climes,
  And isles that gem the salt sea foam?
What findest thou of woes and crimes
  That dwell not in thy chosen home?

Child of the rainbow and the star,
  Around whose path the whirlwind sings,
Recall thine eagles from afar
  And answer to my questionings!
Call down thy colors from the clouds
  And nail them o'er the city marts,
And let thy beacon cheer the crowds
  Of darkened lives and weary hearts.

"And what art thou? to question one
  Whose impulse every bosom warms,
Whose eagles soar athwart the sun,
  And rock their young upon the storms;
And who art thou? to ask me why
  I stand upon the New World strands
And bid my eagles outward fly
  To probe the ills of other lands!"

Men call me "Love" when—bending down—
  I kiss the tears from sorrow's face,
And "Mercy" when I change the frown
  Of judgment to a smile of grace;
They call me "Justice" when I shift
  The weak man's burdens to the strong.
But "Vengeance" when my earthquakes lift
  The tidal waves that drown the wrong.

I fix the headland bounds of Fate
  Against which Error frets in vain;
I watch by Truth's eternal gate,
  And balance every loss and gain;
I hover o'er the Lethean deep
  Where Progress mourns her murdered braves,
I touch the waters where they sleep,
  And lo! they wake from honored graves.

The empty boasts of power and pelf
  Like fleeting vapors round me meet;
The star of destiny itself
  Climbs from the throne to reach my feet;
The nations poise upon my scales
  Like cloudlets on the midday air;
I stand erect where Empire fails,
  And wait serene amidst despair.

"O! thou whose fire-winged word descends
  Like lightning from unclouded zones—
At whose decree oppression ends,
  And despots tremble on their thrones—
I bow to thy divining life
  Which every perfect life fulfils:
My warring factions cease from strife,
  My thunders die among the hills.

"Full well I know the deeds of shame
  That nations in my name have done,
Whose record lingers on my fame
  Like spots upon the morning sun:
But while my conquering legions stand
  With sabres sheathed and banners furled,
Pray tell me of my chosen band
  Whose star and torch illume the world."

I see a land so broad and fair—
  So free from titled lords and kings—
That all the tribes seek refuge there
  As young birds seek the mother's wings;
The fig-tree, orange, grape, and palm
  Grow wild upon her southern plains,
Where summer breezes drift in balm,
  And blooms caress the winter rains.
The oceans of the east and west
  Along her borders laugh and roar;
The mountains sleep upon her breast,
  And vast lakes down her north lines pour.

I see a nation half in chains;
  The mingled blood of all the earth
Is surging through her fevered veins,
  And striving for a nobler birth;
The New World's warp, the Old World's web
  In all her garments come and go,
While from her life the old taints ebb
  And new ones rush with fiercer flow;

Her snowy sails, her keels and helms
  Go forth with stores of fruit and bread
To all the kingdoms, climes, and realms
  Where man is asking to be fed.

Her star-crowned head proclaims the light
  That seers and poets long have sung,
Her feet and skirts are wrapped in night
  Where Wrong is old and Hope is young;
No more the lion treads her coast
  In war's red pomp and force arrayed;
He leads a far more cruel host
  That plunders by the laws of trade.

Her soldier band, whose sabre stroke
  Released from bonds four million lives,
Are burdened by a usurer's yoke
  More galling than the black man's gyves;
Though gone the auction block of old,
  The soul of slavery lingers still;
The chains are forged of power and gold
  To bind the white serf's brain and will.

The poor man, robbed of lands he earned,
  Goes wandering homeless o'er the moor;
And eagles, into vultures turned,
  Stand guard beside the rich man's door;
The masses move with fettered feet;
  The classes feast on Labor's toil,
The eagles with the lions meet,
  To gather and divide the spoil.

I am not blind; I see and feel,
  While Mammon rules the broad domain,
And stretches forth his hand to steal
  The garnered sheaves of ripened grain.
I am not deaf, I am not dead,
  Though mercy groans in travail pain,
While chartered Murder rears its head,
  And children wail for fathers slain.

No longer shall my arm be stayed,
  No more my trumpet call retreat
When Truth, by lying lips betrayed,
  Is draggeed before the judgment seat;
The line is crossed, the doom draws nigh;
  Lo! Justice wakes with lifted hand
To write her mandate in the sky,
  And not upon the shifting sand.

"But Justice, listen; and behold;
  My star upon the darkness gleams,
My upraised torch has not grown cold;
  The world is moaning in her dreams;
In dreams of grander conflicts won,
  She yearns for freedom, light and air;
And can the child of Washington
  Be dumb to her unanswered prayer?"

The ages cannot pause to wait
  The counter-moves of Mammon's horde,
While Labor lingers at the gate
  To beg the crumbs from Dives' board;
The world shall onward, sunward swing
  Till torch and star are merged in light,
And all the nations rise and sing
  Their triumph o'er the powers of night.

I see a mighty feast outspread,
  Where gilded Lords their honors wear;
The banquet king sits at their head;
  The guests are drunk on vintage rare;
And far below on every side,
  No more by cringing fear subdued,
And murmuring like a rising tide,
  I see the countless multitude.

As rivers to the ocean roll,
  All tongues and races join the throng,
One purpose burning in each soul,
  And on their lips a single song;
One common cause, one flag unfurled,
  They kneel to neither king nor clan;
Their country is the round, wide world,
  Their creed the brotherhood of man.

The feast goes on; the proud rejoice;
  They hear a sound of distant waves;
They think it but the torrent's voice
  Complaining through the highland caves;
It is no mountain stream, that leaps
  Rebellious from its rocky bands;
It is the lifting of the deeps,
  The sinking of the ancient lands.

Resistless as the pulse of doom,
  The ocean swings from shore to shore;
And frightened kings flit through the gloom,
  Like stars that fall to rise no more.
The high sea-walls of caste are gone,
  The pent-up floods their chains have burst,
The toilers face the golden dawn,
  The first are last, the last are first.

The Old goes down, the New ascends,
  Its sunny isles in glory rise;
A rainbow o'er the deluge bends,
  And Labor's curse dissolves and dies;
The gods of gold no more hold sway,
  The people bow to truth alone,
And He whose voice the tides obey
  Remains forever with His own.

HOW EVOLUTION EVOLVES.

BY STINSON JARVIS.

The processes involved in the development of the muscles are but little understood. But one may be allowed to write of them. Other natural processes, equally real and traceable in their workings, and far more important, must not be inquired into because still less understood.

The search for the North Pole and many another useless endeavor may be commended as long as strictly material methods are adhered to; but little patience is to be found for the considering of those processes of nature which science ignores. This hostility towards unpatronized advance may, however, be of itself an incentive to some who begin to comprehend, no matter how poorly, the further ranges and powers of processes already catalogued. The question continually presents itself: "Is science justified in standing still?—in clinging to such machinal methods as render certain kinds of discovery impossible?"

The study of evolution, although bringing us to vaguely believe in the gradual ascent of all life, is, at the present day, practically at a standstill. In every direction, science faces barriers and impassable chasms. We have not yet discovered how evolution evolves. There have been no explanations. On every side of us we see that unknown alterative processes are at work. We feel sure that they have thus continued at work throughout a past of great duration. But what are they? What will bridge the chasms? Where is the key to the puzzle?

In this paragraph let us generalize. Through making collections of facts regarding them, different processes of nature have often been classified even though we could not explain the working of them. By continuous watching and by carefully kept records we are able to know what effects will be produced in these processes by certain causes. And although we may be absolutely ignorant of the actual working of the mechanism involved, it is still a distinct advance when any part of evolution's progress can be shown to belong to some natural system which has already been reported and classified and partially understood—that is, in regard to causes and effects. This involves nothing more than the ordinary observation and deduction of science, which indeed cannot explain the workings of the process when a blade of grass grows. It is seen that one blade is longer than another and that certain growths belong to certain species. Some unascertained effects of sun and moisture evidently assist the growth of the grass-blade; but *how* it grows (the working of the process) remains as great a mystery as is the presence of life in it.

If it can be proved that certain conditions of the parental mind, either at the time of conception or during the period of gestation, influence and alter the shape and disposition of the offspring, then we find ourselves in the presence of a fact which when followed to its necessary issues will be found to remove some barriers at which science has been halted. Darwin did not suggest a reason why a species in nature should in any way ascend in the scale of development. Haeckel and others have shown excellent proof of retrogression; but none have given a reason for progress. Accepting all the doctrine of heredity, as hitherto understood, there never has been a cause assigned for the propagation of offspring in any way more highly developed than the parents or ancestors. This has been as little to be expected as the turning out of different-sized bullets from the same mould. But if, on the other hand, we can prove the above-mentioned prenatal alterations upon offspring arising from parental mental conditions, and not only in human beings but also in animals, then it is more than a presumption that the same alterative processes have been at work in all living creatures from the beginning.

I have elsewhere published* a collection of cases reported by English, American, and French doctors which show, as a whole, that the influence of maternal mental conditions upon the coming offspring may effect almost every imaginable kind of alteration. Another much larger collection, which by permission has been of use to me, was made by Dr. Elliot in order to assist sanitation by tracing the effects of prenatal influence.† References in each case are given in the above works, and the separate facts of the reports, contributed by men like Sir James Paget and many other celebrated practitioners, are not to be questioned as to their good faith. The limited space now at my control does not here permit a reprint of the hundreds of such cases, but several may be epitomized to indicate the marvellous effects referred to.

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*"The Ascent of Life," by Stinson Jarvis. The Arena Publishing Company, Boston, U. S. A.

†"Ædœology," by Sydney Barrington Elliot, M. D. The Arena Publishing Company, Boston, U. S. A.

Purefoy reports the case of a woman who, when about four months pregnant, tried to rear by hand a calf of which the right ear, right eye, and fore legs were absent. When her child was born it was similarly deformed—i. e., the right ear, right eye, and right arm were absent.

Roth gives ten cases of hare-lip, one case of spinabifida, one case of cleft palate, and one case of nævus resulting from expecting mothers having witnessed similar deformities.

Dr. Fearn gives the following case: An expecting mother witnessed the removal of one of the bones (metacarpal) from her husband's hand. She was greatly shocked and alarmed. Afterwards her child was born without the corresponding bone which was removed from the father.

Dr. Dorsey reports: Dr. G. sustained a fracture of his leg. The facts concerning the mother were the same as in the last-mentioned case. When the child was born it had on the leg corresponding with the injured limb of the father, and at precisely the same spot, the appearance of a fracture of the limb, and there was also a decided shattering of the bone.

The late Dr. Fordyce Barker, one of the most eminent physicians in America, reported a case where under analogous circumstances a child was born with holes in the lobes of its ears, the result of the mother seeing holes bored in the ears of a favorite daughter. The mother was averse to the daughter's having her ears pierced and the operation shocked her. He also reported the case of a bride at the Gramercy Park Hotel, New York, who sat down at the table opposite a gentleman who had three daughters, all with hare-lips. The young wife was overcome by the shock and her own child when born had the same deformity. He also quoted Dr. Maguire, of Richmond, Va., as to a slave cutting off one of his great toes to maim himself and thus avoid being sold into another family. This was done in the presence of his mistress, then expecting. Her child, when born, lacked the same toe.

Malebranche reports case of expecting mother who through curiosity was led to witness the breaking of a criminal "upon the wheel"—(*by* the wheel?). She shuddered at every blow and almost swooned at the victim's cries. When her child was born, it was found that its limbs were broken like those of the malefactor and in exactly the same places. The account says: "This poor infant, which had suffered pains of life before birth, did not die, but lived for twenty years in a Paris hospital—a terrible instance of the ability of the mother to alter and distort the infant in the womb."

Dr. Minot, of Boston, tells of a patient whose child was born lacking all the fingers of one hand. The mother had been greatly shocked when sitting in a street-car opposite a man whose hand was in this condition.

There seems to be no end of cases of above kind, in which the mother has received shock either in personal injuries or in witnessing the calamities of others; or has in some way become concentrated, either through her affections, admirations, or compassions, or in the fascination of horror, upon some object which the creative processes within her copied and reproduced.

But more remarkable, perhaps, are those more frequent cases where *enceinte* mothers have by their own determined effort and continued concentration altered their coming children while they were yet in embryo and have made them, both physically and as to special mental talents, markedly different from their other children which were before or afterwards born. The reported cases show that the musical, the mechanical, the engineering, and other desirable talents have been conferred upon children by the intentional concentration of the mothers. Bonaparte's genius for war receives the fullest and most instructive explanation. But perhaps for the argument of this paper those cases are most valuable which show how infants take the likeness of any figure or picture which fascinates the mother during gestation—children who are totally unlike either the parents or their previous or subsequent children. Beautiful dolls, figures in wax, and fascinating statuary have all been reproduced in life. And it may seem strange enough when a colored picture in a Christmas number of the *Illustrated London News* is copied into a living being. Yet so it has been, as shown in case reported by Dr. J. Adams in his "Advice to Mothers." Here, the expecting mother conceived a great admiration for the picture referred to, in which was represented a child—very fair, with light yellow hair. The print was framed and hung at the foot of the bed. Mrs. and Mr. P——— both had decidedly dark complexions and hair, as had all their previous and subsequent children. But the child in question proved to be simply a reproduction of the picture. French lithographs and all kinds of other inanimate things that caused intense admiration in the love of the beautiful, or gave rise to the fascination of horror, have been copied with wonderful exactness into human beings.

These facts, which in former years were sometimes dismissed unnoticed as "old women's stories," take a very different aspect when certified to by the most clever and careful men in three continents. And perhaps I have gone far enough in citing cases to show that the sometimes lovely and sometimes awful workings of these processes are realities in the creation of animal life which must be considered in any study of evolution. There is no end to the multiplication of proof, and when the potency and universal range of this power are realized, the development or ascent of animal forms becomes not only reasonably possible but also to be expected.

Once perceive that longings and strivings regarding daily necessities have an effect upon the embryos of animals, and it will be seen that progress, no matter how slow, must necessarily occur without being consciously sought. Every seemingly perfect apparatus which animals possess for providing food, for attack, defence, or flight will be understood. It has been discerned by everyone, I suppose, that in the contests of nature the victors seem to be pervaded with convictions as to their own strength and size, exaggerated by the sexual vanities which are everywhere present. At the time of mating and breeding, the sexual vanities are always at their highest; and it is at this time that the female possesses in an extraordinary degree that faculty for mental picturing which brings about such marvellous results. At this time she seeks to be continually in the society of the male and to continually look at him. It is a season of craze, and, as with all nature's creativeness, of delight—with extravagant attempts at allurement on one side, and on the male side with all those curvetings, trumpetings, and general shows of bravery which mark the male sexual vanities.

These periods supply the only times at which the female exhibits such an evident delight in regarding the male. Before these periods, and between them, she avoids his direct gaze—for reasons which appear more clearly when the study of hypnotic effects is combined with the study of animal generation. It is at these times that a portion of the causes catalogued in the theory of "natural selection" appear to have a certain limited part to play. "Natural selection," however, only implies good choice (as to strength, beauty, activity, or other desirable qualities) which, however prevalent and to a certain extent an aid to good development, can never produce offspring more evolved than its parents or ancestors.

At this period, when nature enforces so much mental photographing, the same effects which we have noted in the reported medical cases regarding humans come into action. The craze is for more strength, or more beauty, or more activity, or more of any other quality peculiar to the species in which the process is being utilized. No matter how hideous, according to some critics, the male may be, he is, by a kind dispensation of nature, for once considered beautiful, and he is not only pictured over and over again by the imaging faculty of the female, but he is also reproduced in the offspring with any physical peculiarities which the female magnifies in her craze and fascination. This explains how breeders of bull-dogs succeeded, after a number of generations, in producing a dog with a much more prognathous jaw than any of his ancestors. Such intentional productions, accomplished by unscientific persons and in which extraordinary alterations have been effected in domesticated animals and birds (especially pigeons), have remained entire mysteries.

Although the female mental picturing could by itself produce no more evolved offspring than its parents, it will be seen from the reported medical cases that the "ideals" created in strong desire will also be reproduced. It is a rule in nature (its impulse towards improvement) to picture, imagine, and desire not only the best but also better than that which has previously been considered best. As in the case of the lengthened jaw of the bull-dog, it may be some physical peculiarity which during the craze of the female is exaggerated and through the effects of fascination stamped in this exaggerated form in the imaging processes and thus reproduced in the offspring. But the same process and result is evidently applicable to any other kind of development. In either human or animal it will be something that fascinates the female, either objectively or in ideal, during the love-period or subsequent gestation. And it may also be the result of striving for daily necessities during gestation. Concerning the human, I speak of these fateful mental concepts as "ideals," and I must not be misunderstood in applying the same word to animals while referring to their own grade of desires, each according to respective planes of imagination and development. A human mother wishes her child to be shaped like some statue. The result is what she so continually desires and pictures. But among the animals there will during the craze be a picturing and sometimes exaggeration not only of the physical peculiarities, colors, and oddities which fascinate, but also of the qualities which in the different species constitute their own peculiar delights and abilities.

I do not of course mean to say that a lower-grade animal like, for instance, a tigress, must necessarily create in her mind any definite picture or concept of superior development in order that these causes may effect development in offspring. Nor do I suggest that she gives, as in the human cases, one thought to the future condition of her offspring—because if she could do this, as the human has done it, she would ere this have been as highly developed as the human, and would be as little like the present form of tigress as the human is like that intelligent poor relation the quadruped baboon. Thus, parenthetically, we will observe that all unimaginative animals, or rather those whose imaginations only contrive devices for procuring food, etc., will probably not rise beyond their present form, which perhaps is now perfect for all their purposes and methods of living. They have no "ideals" beyond their present methods.

It is therefore evidently true that *the ascent of life is the ascent of the ideals.* That this is true in regard to human beings, the whole history of man bears witness.

The records prove that qualities idealized will inevitably be reproduced in offspring. Thus when a species is so far advanced that it may delight in its cunning, then this quality is bound to increase, though totally unrecognized as a mentality. And in the certifying of the recorded facts it will be seen that when once brain-power became recognized as an advantage and idealized it was so bound to increase that the present difference in mentality between man and ape loses all significance as a barrier to the tracing of man's evolution. Indeed, the real and only cause for wonder is that the difference in mentalities and cranial capacities are not twice as great. I convey the proofs regarding the human cases into lower animal life to show that the desire for such abilities as the male exhibits during the mating period and the picturing of him during prolonged and delighted gaze, together with the heated magnifying of all such peculiarities as then fascinate, will, as with the human, produce improvements in offspring which are Nature's inevitable reprints.

And to these causes must be added the modifications impressed on the embryo through strivings and desires that are present in the acquiring of daily food during gestation. For instance, the female ant-eater, whose food is acquired by thrusting its nose into ant-holes, will during every day of its life be struggling to push it further through small apertures. Here, as proved with the human, daily necessities and desires of the mother shape the offspring. Thus the ant-eater's snout has become marvellously fitted for this work—though the same animal has kindred which do not live on ants and consequently possess snouts entirely different. In this, as in all other cases, Nature's proofs are its results. All we have lacked has been the detection of her methods.

Once in the possession of the facts which illustrate these processes, anyone can discern the workings of them throughout created beings, and in ways which do not require books, but only observation and deduction. The present study of the effects of these prenatal influences is rediscovering a knowledge that was evidently enjoyed, to a certain extent, at a previous time. Under the law attributed to Lycurgus (who, as Anthon says, studied under the Brahmins in India) the Grecian women who were about to become mothers were compelled to visit places where they were surrounded by the most artistic statuary—the finest, indeed, that the world has known. And the suggestion has been made (which I must repeat, without proof, on account of its probable truth) that it was this system which gave the ancient Greeks their extraordinary personal beauty.

Short reference must also be made, in passing, to the prevalence of the Madonna type of faces among Italian women whose ancestors have for generations worshipped before pictures which held the highest artistic ideals concerning the mother of Jesus; also to the frequent appearance among men of the Christ-face as imagined by high-minded artists—widely diversified in detail, yet all conforming to one general type—the offspring of generations of pious mothers who were aided by good art.

In this article I am not concerned to explain the inner workings of the processes to which I have referred. I am only obliged to first prove their existence and potencies and then indicate the parts they play in the development, infinitely diversified, of species. Collections of known facts, with the deductions which necessarily arise from them, are not lessened in value by the fact that to us, and to our juvenile ignorance, nature seems to work in magic. Nothing is more cheap, easy, and commonplace than to make an epithet of the word "magic" when events seem to us to partake of miracle. Much of what was formerly regarded as magic and miracle is now understood by every schoolboy to be merely the common operations of nature; and it is almost impossible at the present day to estimate the value of the studies which will explain to the common understanding these other methods of nature by which alterations are made at the time of reproduction and by which lower forms of animal life may gradually ascend through many generations to higher forms.

The effects of the phase which in lower grades is called "passion" and in its more evolved conditions is called "love" seem about to be ascertained much more definitely as further records are made concerning the embriotic alterations. This phase, whether in its lowest or highest grades, has been acknowledged to be the most coercive one that is known to its possessor—when its possessor is normal. It has provided the chief theme of literature, has made history and continued all animal life. The reason underlying this universal coercion cannot be said to be entirely hidden from us when the marvellous alterations caused in the processes which it sets in motion are studied and classified. On this subject, all our facts point in but one way, and no efforts of materialists to belittle the dominant necessity of nature have succeeded. A novelist said, "No one laughs at love until love has first laughed at him," and the best thought of man has continually sought to more definitely ascertain love's place in nature. In the search among the innumerable evidences of its control, various persons have marshalled proof to show that a genius is always the offspring of a love-marriage—not necessarily born in the atmosphere of wealth, education, or refinement, or in the sometimes artificial wedlock, but always and only in the holiness of nature. Others, for example, have shown incidentally, that the extraordinary history of the Jews is also the history of exclusive domestic passion and home affection—that their genius for business which gives them the financial mastery has been the inevitable result of their racial ideals—a genius produced in that home life integrity and nearness to nature which can produce any kind of genius. And every other race when similarly studied is found to be, both physically and mentally, the outcome of its most prevalent ideals. From the lowest to the highest these ideals are all exhibited in offspring. At the present time a variety of genius is born daily into the world, but this human wealth was almost unknown until woman ceased to be a toy and high grades of love began to influence creation. The natural evolution of passion into love, which is the greatest outcome of animal existence, is illustrated in every portion of its advance in its effects upon generation. The great book lies open for all to read. And love's place in nature cannot long remain a secret when nature's best proofs—its results—are studied.

Before concluding it may be well to regard the question as to whether the imaging processes of the mother as here illustrated are the sole media for reproducing the peculiarities of the father. Dr. Brittan's reference to "a kind of electrotyping on sensitive surfaces of living forms" is an attempt at explanation of the old-time idea, which for general credence will require further proof when science gives this subject its attention. Opposed to this, however, are arrays of facts which seem to assert that unless the father has been "imaged" he is not copied in offspring. The children of a second marriage often resemble, not the real father, but the first husband; and this will probably occur in every case where the first husband has been loved, while the second is not. Facts similar to the above are, as to *results* simply, within the common knowledge of breeders of dogs and horses, as I am informed. Indeed, speaking of humans, it is still more marvellous to find that the imaging processes may be independent of marriage with the person who is copied in offspring. In a reported case an innocent couple were for some time engaged to be married. Under force of circumstances which need not be explained, the man was compelled to remove to California and his former *fiancee* married another. Her children are now the counterparts, not of their real father, but of the man whom the mother has not ceased to image and love, and whom she has not seen since his first departure. Again, the reported cases prove that an intense admiration on the part of the mother for prints, pictures, dolls, or statuary may altogether displace the husband in her imaging faculties. A reasonable doubt is therefore raised as to the old belief concerning transmission of paternal peculiarities to offspring. This, however, is only mentioned as a side question.

I have in this paper confined myself almost entirely to those realities which are vouched for by numberless scientific men and which the most inveterate materialist must consider; and I am, I think, well within those comparisons of facts which the most rigid rules permit.

OMNIPRESENT DIVINITY.

BY HENRY WOOD.

This is a scientific age. The domain of exact investigation is visibly broadening, and limitations are being pushed back in all directions. There have been other periods noted for their intellectual activity in certain directions, during which lofty climaxes have been reached. Great waves of architectural and artistic accomplishment, eras of scholastic research in philosophy, theology, ethics, and jurisprudence have risen to flood-tide, and finally receded to make room for their respective incoming successors. The manuscripts and tomes of the world have been crowded with facts and truths, and these have been heaped up in unrelated piles until their apexes reached as high as the breadth of their respective bases would permit. The artist, philosopher, geologist, astronomer, theologian, physician, scientist, economist, and jurist, each, independent of the others, staked out his own territory, surveyed its boundaries, erected a high fence around it, and then proceeded to build thereupon. Imposing intellectual pyramids have thus been reared with painstaking accuracy, but each has been distinct and unrelated. Like a gigantic mathematical puzzle, all these departments have been in irregular-shaped fragments, and no one could fit them together. Facts, when isolated, are not facts, and truths out of relation tell lies.

In the present paper, the fourth and final of this series upon the great kingdom of mind and its relations, it seems logical to conclude with a synthetic, though concise survey. A study of the parts from the standpoint of the whole is as interesting and profitable as is the converse and far less common. It is true that some advanced theologians have given us very attractive concepts and glimpses of the "Immanent God," but much remains to be done to bring this stupendous truth into the narrow, crowded, materialistic consciousness.

While specialty of pursuit is an obvious present characteristic, a deeper survey reveals a remarkable levelling of barriers and a general unification. The world has been crowded with acquired knowledge, so called, nine-tenths of which has been not only useless but misleading. To have a great stock of facts at command was to be "learned." Education consisted in packing them in tiers in the human mind. Even if they were rubbish they made an imposing appearance. The man who had the most showy mental storehouse, with its shelves all labelled, towered above his fellows.

But a great change is apparent. The features in high relief at the close of the nineteenth century are interrelation and reinterpretation. A thousand disjointed truths are found to be meaningless, for it is only *truths in relation* that leads to *the truth*. Only when dovetailed together do they acquire value. As Pope aptly observes:

> Not chaos-like together crush'd and bruis'd,
> But as the world, harmoniously confus'd,
> Where order in variety we see,
> And where, though all things differ, all agree.

The synthetic method constitutes the present renaissance. The leading factors that are involved in the ushering in of the new dispensation are the evolutionary philosophy, the recognition of law as universal, and the third and greatest—only yet in its dawn in the human consciousness—the discovery that the established order is beneficent and that only.

> "O happiness! our being's end and aim!
> Good, pleasure, ease, content! whate'er thy name:
> That something still which prompts the eternal sigh,
> For which we bear to live, or dare to die."

The kingdom of heaven is at length philosophically interpreted as a subjective condition rather than an objective locality. Nineteen centuries ago the Christ-quality which found early and complete expression through the personality of Jesus distinctly declared that it "is within you," but till now the world has hardly been evolved up to the level of such a comprehension. As the law of the spiritual domain is discerned, the subjective elements which constitute that "kingdom"—which though immaterial may be present here and now—are scientifically recognized. The spiritual chemism which selects and intelligently combines the necessary constituents for this grand consummation in man, is as exact and orderly as is the material compounding of the laboratory.

Either section of a beautiful polished sphere that has been shattered in twain is no more incomplete and fragmentary than is a science that is unspiritual, or a religion that is unscientific. Each when severed from its counterpart is not only arbitrary and abnormal, but misleading. The outcome in one case is a capricious supernaturalism, and in the other, a pessimistic materialism. Either one, untempered by its complement, is false. Congruity, adaptability, and beauty are set at naught, law dishonored, and the cosmos made to appear chaotic. To constructively bring together in the human mind these apparently ragged fragments in their true unity is the grandest work of this remarkable epoch.

Evolution, for so long regarded as atheistic and irreligious—and even yet tolerated only because of its cumulative and irresistible proofs—has done more to build up an intelligent consciousness of the One Infinite Intelligence, Goodness, and Will, than all the dogmatic formulas extant.

Descartes took a few detached facts and studied them in relation. Darwin fitted in many more. Wallace increased the stock, and Spencer made immense additions on every side. The Great Unit has now grown so that it is certain that niches will be found for all the fragmentary facts of the past.

But the greatest intuitive mind of modern times, who instinctively *saw* and *felt* the oneness and interrelation of all things, was Emerson. He was the fittest channel through which the combined ripened inspiration of the past could become focalized and articulated in the present era. The materialistic evolutionists wrought upon the outer crust among details, while his spiritual perception glanced through and through. He refined and translated mechanical sequences, and pierced through their outer coverings to the divinity within. He also divined that the one great human complement is conformity to law. That genial and spiritual philosopher, Henry Drummond, has also done noble service in the release of the minds of men from a supposed capriciousness of executive will in the spiritual realm.

Omnipresent Divinity, or the Allness of the Good, though taught by the highest and truest interpretation of the Christian Scriptures, and also in sacred writings other than the Hebraic, has been too transcendent a truth to find easy lodgment in the unspiritual or even in the intellectual understanding. The ancient seers, who in varying degree were spiritual experts, had visions and experiences of it, and it had temporary manifestation in the days of the primitive church. But notably in the time of Constantine, when church and state became allied, there was a decline from spiritual purity and power to an intellectual and scholastic dogmatism, characterized by a great influx of creeds, ceremonies, apologetics, and controversies. The anthropomorphous idea of God was absorbed from the heathen nations, and even yet it is not displaced. A deific "Person" who will change his plans upon importunity, susceptible to improvement upon human suggestion, having various limitations, and working the universe from the outside, has been the mental concept of the Eternal Spirit in the average human consciousness. While with their lips and theories men have spoken of Infinite, Omniscient, Omnipresent Love, Will, and Intelligence, they have held in their thoughts an image, limited, local, and personal, often substantially a telescopic likeness of themselves.

A philosophical and vital at-one-ment, with the Divine Mind and method, should supersede the technical, commercial, supernatural, and super-reasonable atonement. No artificial objective bargain or purchase through physical blood and suffering can sever cause and effect, or formally restore violated order. Such a belief has made men careless of conformity to divine law, because they counted upon the possession of this magic subterfuge.

To misinterpret the supreme love and goodness of the Divine Mind, deranges the beautiful and normal relation between Divinity and humanity. The established order has never been abruptly broken into, and never will be. It is transcendently grand, beautiful, and harmonious. Human wisdom and importunity cannot improve it, for it needs no revision. Only conformity therewith in thought, understanding, and consciousness can fill the cup of human satisfaction and felicity. Such a supernal philosophy when thoroughly assimilated, will, from its very nature, heal human ills on every plane of expression. Man's idea of God is the very corner-stone, not only of his wholeness and happiness, but of his very being.

The dogmatic concept of the Holy Spirit as an infrequent supernatural influence "sent" or "poured out" by degrees, in response to importunity, literally means that Omnipresent Divinity is extremely variable in its omnipresence. Man has thus tried to fasten upon God the changeable states of his own consciousness.

"But greatness which is infinite makes room
    For all things in its lap to lie;
We should be crushed by a magnificence
    Short of infinity."

The scientific (exact, true, and lawful) Holy Spirit is an ever-present, practical, everyday Force, which will occupy the soul-consciousness of man as he gives it room. It is a "present help," or only another name for Omnipresent Good.

Can it be said that such a divine philosophy in any way dishonors or undermines religion (from *religere*, to bind to God) when compared with the past supernaturalism? Just the reverse. It not only honors and confirms everything that is pure and good in religion—as a life—but it consecrates all the other departments of human activity and lifts them up to a supernal level. It makes *all* truth religious truth, and *all* life divine life. It purifies the whole discordant realm of the "common and unclean" which has so long darkened and benumbed human consciousness.

The fish in the sea might as reasonably bewail the absence of water as for man to theorize about the "withdrawal" of the Spirit. Perhaps the denizens of the deep could not become oblivious to the surrounding medium, but it *is* quite possible for man, owing to the free moral choice of the ego, to shut even the Universal Entity out of his consciousness. Although immersed in it, yet, measurably, *to him* it is not only far away but really nonexistent. It was formerly said that it had been "grieved away" or had "taken its flight," which means that man had only closed his eyes or rather his thoughts. The vital importance of the cultivation of the creative thinking faculty, set forth in a former paper, will be especially manifest in this connection.

Paul's immortal aphorism, "In Him we live and move and have our being," is no less scientific than religious. The resurrection of modern science will take place when it bestows some attention upon mind as well as matter, thoughts as well as molecules, soul as well as body, the spiritual as well as the material, and when it recognizes that *law* is as imperiously exact upon the immaterial plane as upon that of sense. Material science is not to be ignored or left uncultivated, but supplemented, rounded out, and interpreted. When severed from its relations, even its axioms are untruthful.

The limitations of God that have dwelt in the minds of men have been the basis of prevailing limitations in human expression. The kind of a Deity that one worships, whether formally or informally, at once determines the status of the worshipper. Idolatry, though unconscious, is perhaps as general in Christendom as elsewhere. Among the so-called "heathen," at least with all the more intelligent classes, the "graven image" is only a symbol, or a visible fulcrum to aid in mental concentration. Unseen graven images are a thousandfold more numerous than the visible idols of heathendom. Not only do men "fall down" before the blandishments of wealth, luxury, passion power, and sensuous pursuit, but they substitute a great variety of blind forces for the One Force, and of unrealities for the ideal Reality.

As the Absolute, Unlimited, and Unconditioned are incomprehensible to the human mind, the highest subjective ideal of which the individual is capable receives the adoration. By immutable law man grows into the likeness and conforms to the quality of his Model. All growth is through ideals, but among them all each man always has *one* which to him is supreme.

The divine nativity being universal, man is ever restless until he returns to the "Father's house" and finds the counterpart and complement of his being. Deeply imbedded in his very constitution there is a subtle soul-hunger which—as demand always presupposes supply—will at length be satisfied. Pursuit in the wrong direction, and ignorant, unsuccessful searches for the normal divine satisfaction, make up those appearances which we call evil, disorder, disease, fear, grief, sin, and pessimism. All these negatives and deficiencies are not entities, but distorted and fragmentary views, delusive and mistaken impressions of the great Ideal. The whole objective cosmos is orderly and good, but the clouded and warped subjective lens colors the universe to the observer. The soul-vibrations are discordant with the chords and tones of the divine economy.

Man is immersed in an infinitude of unmanifested Good (God), and it presses in upon him in order that he may embody and manifest it. Vibration with its harmonies makes him transparent in soul, so that it shines through him without obstruction. Materialism clouds and thickens such clearness into opacity, and friction is the result.

The bewildered mentality evolves its own spectres, and clothes and arms them with fantastic terrors, and they people the thought-domain, and, in due time, press forward for ultimate or physical expression. These dark shadows—for they have no positive reality—have all been named, crowned, and subjectively materialized, until they have become a great host of leering demons. For ages we have been descending to their own plane and there waging an unsuccessful and perpetual warfare against them. We have vainly expected to conquer demons with demons, evils with evils, and shadows with shadows. We have fought with rusty and untempered material weapons, but have left in its scabbard the keen and glittering "sword of the Spirit."

Among the latest therapeutic refinements, we essay to drive out diseases with their own kind and relation (slightly toned down through "cultures"), thus ever pursuing some brilliant and scientific *ignis fatuus* into the foggy abyss of materialism. We even poison the blood of our innocent and unsuspecting equine servitors, and then transfuse this abnormal sanguinary abomination (anti-toxine) into our own economy, expecting to cast out evil with evil. It has been reserved for this highly developed age to torture animal sensibility—in the name of science—with wholesale vivisection in order to study prolonged agony. We may well exclaim with Madame Roland (slightly paraphased), "O Science! Science! how many crimes are committed in thy name!" Cultures of disease germs are made, multiplied, and sent out in the interest of so-called science. Evil will never be exterminated by sowing its seeds broadcast, even though they be somewhat diluted in quality. Only light can dispel darkness, and only good can drive out its opposite. "God made man upright" (ideally and potentially), "but they have sought out many inventions."

To open the recesses of the soul to the ever-present Universal Goodness is to displace all distorted negatives. They cannot abide the divine companionship. Conscious communion and oneness with exuberant, all-abounding Life and Wholeness sweeps out all beliefs of the power of evil, for there is but one real objective Power in the universe, and that is Good. If there were other and adverse forces, Good could not be omnipresent and unlimited.

The Rev. A. W. Jackson, in his splendid little work, "The Immanent God," recalls the impressions of his early childhood regarding the Deity. They are so typical and widely representative that they are of instructive interest. Recounting them, he says: "Over my head, in the first place, was a firm-set Mosaic firmament. Reared on this was a vast oval throne, around which were troops of angels, ever in readiness to praise or serve. Beside this throne on a lower seat sat the Christ, with benignity and mercy in His look; and on the throne itself a figure of a man of vast size, with round cheeks covered with beard, sitting in imperturbable majesty surveying the world and issuing decrees respecting it, and looking down with calm severity upon the deeds of men."

This may appear childish, yet such a mental picture, refined and expanded in varying degree, has formed the basis of much of the theology of the past. In a crude way it delineates that which has been inferred from dogma, gathered from hymnology, outpictured by poetry, and interpreted from the *letter* of Scripture, and by these means firmly lodged in the human mind. Even yet the hard outlines of such materialistic idolatry are but slowly dissolving. In a peculiar sense it is subjectively true that each worshipper creates—in and for himself—his own Deity. He pays homage to his individual concept of the Reality, rather than to the Reality itself.

It is clearly obvious that an ideal which may be defined as Omnipresent Love, Law, Life, Spirit, and Goodness is higher, purer, and more ennobling than one which would naturally be conveyed by the term "Person." This is yet further evident when the word takes on additional limitation from its usual representative pronoun "He." This comment is only made to call attention to the bald poverty of conventional language. We take cheap terms with commonplace associations, and from force of habit stamp them upon the Infinite. They should be vehicles for the highest ideals, and, so far as is possible, unweighted by limitations.

But even in sacred literature we find deific appellations which are not only limited, but, by association, unmoral, if not immoral. A few of these are Lord, King, Sovereign, Ruler, Judge, and Potentate. The associations connected with the general personal use of these terms have been largely autocratic, despotic, oppressive, vain, and sensuous. They have humanized God and not spiritualized man. Oriental monarchs and despots left their stamp upon these official titles long before there was any general idea of human brotherhood and unity. Bearing in mind the wonderful moulding power of thought, what a contrast between the past concept of the "dread Sovereign of the skies" and the supreme consciousness of the Universal Life and our oneness with it! The latter ideal, held in the field of mental vision, sends an influx of vital invigoration even down to the subsoil of the physical organism.

When man turns his gaze Godward, that which he sees is colored by subjective states and prejudices. Jealousy, wrath, and anger have been looked upon as divine features, and the crude pictures of the Deity that have crowded the human mind have represented Him as cruel, as mocking at calamity, fond of flattery, and with innumerable other human foibles and prejudices. Under the discordant and depressing mental idolatries of the past, it is not strange that such a general nightmare has brought into manifestation a great host of mental and physical inharmonies and disorders. The idea, or the ideal, of God shapes the deep formative basis of human expression. A distorted view of the "All in All" produces a universal eclipse of Goodness, and renders normality and sanity almost impossible.

In the light of the great truth that universal law is beneficent, adversity disappears, discord is transformed, evil dissolves, the Sun of Righteousness (right thinking) arises, sickness is healed, and darkness flees away. We are backed by the forces of the universe if we adopt its methods and vibrate with its harmonies. The host of subjective spectres, demons, and torments are only bats and shadows which disappear into nothingness when the white light of Omnipresent Divinity floods the consciousness. This is not poetic imagery, but belongs to the new scientific recognition of the higher thought. To "practise the presence of God" is no strange, illogical exercise, but a rational, everyday accomplishment.

Everything is secular, and everything divine, and all life is included in the One Life. Heaven is neither more nor less than conformity to law upon every plane. It involves a displacement of all negatives and deficiencies with an overshadowing consciousness of the All-Good. In proportion as divinity at the soul-centre is recognized and held as normal, the visible circumference, with all its dependent relations, will fall into line. In the profoundest sense there is but One Mind and Life, and all individuated expressions of this Universal become dry and barren when out of conscious connection with their great Primal Fountain. With open conduits ever maintained, the supply is perennial and overflowing.

THE PEOPLE'S LAMPS.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

PART I. ELECTRIC LIGHT (*Continued*).

§3. *The Actual Cost of Producing Electric Light* under given conditions, is a matter of the utmost importance to the investigation undertaken by this committee. In order to make true estimates and comparisons, it is necessary to study all the conditions that affect the cost of production, and understand the effect of variations in those conditions, which are: the *candle power* of the lamps, the *hours* of burning, the *source of power*, water or steam, the *cost of fuel*, the *wages* paid for a given time of given labor, the *volume* of business (or the total amount of light, heat, and power supplied by the plant), the *density* of business (or its distribution in time and space, the number of hours the plant is run in the twenty-four, and the number of standard lamps, or their equivalent, per mile and per acre), the *capitalization* per lamp (which varies largely with the percentage of the capacity of the plant that is in use, with the method of construction, overhead or underground, poles of wood or iron, or towers, the quality of engines and boilers, etc., the size of the plant, and the date of its erection), the *depreciation* and repairs (which depend on the character of construction, volume and density of business, progress of invention and discovery, etc.), the *cost of supplies*, rates of *freight*, *insurance*, *interest*, and *taxes*, and the *combination* with some other industry or department of service.

The items of cost are divided into two groups, called "fixed charges" and "operating expenses." The first includes taxes, insurance, depreciation, and interest, which are termed fixed charges, because they relate to, and are estimated upon, the fixed capital; all other items are classed as operating expenses. The aim should be to determine the cost of a standard service under standard conditions, and to ascertain the laws which govern the changes of cost produced by departures from the standard service and conditions. To permit perfection in such researches, electrical bookkeeping must become more analytic than is usually the case to-day; but sufficient data exist to enable us to reach a fair approximation to the truth. It will be remembered that we have already settled upon the 480-watt, or 2,000-candle-power as the standard lamp; and such a lamp burning all night and every night, or 3,950 to 4,000 hours a year, constitutes the standard service. The standard street lighting station would be one rendering the standard service, with units large enough to attain the best economy.

Just what size a station should have to secure the highest efficiency is difficult to decide. In practice so many other causes intervene to affect the cost of light that the effect of size cannot be followed in the returns. On principle it is clear that, other things equal, a station using large units in engines, boilers, and dynamos has a great advantage over a small station. A 100-horse-power engine costs 50 per cent more per horse-power than a 500-horse-power engine of the same make. A similar difference exists in the cost of large and small boilers. A 60- or 80-light Wood dynamo costs $35 to $37 an arc of capacity, while a 10-light machine costs $70 an arc, and a one-light machine is worth $175. There is another saving with large stations in the reserve. A station with a single 50-horse- or 100-horse- or 500-horse-power engine must have a second engine of the same power in reserve (if it wishes security from interruptions of service); but a station large enough to use 8 or 10 engines of 250 or 500 horse-power not only gains the advantage of working with large units, but the further benefit of needing only a small fraction of its working force as a reserve; a single engine in reserve, one-tenth of its working force, would be sufficient. The same principle applies to boilers and dynamos; a large station can do 10 times or 100 times the business with the same reserve investment that a small station makes for the same security. Again, a 2500-arc station does not need 25 times the land and buildings required for a 100-arc plant, but only about 8 times as much; not 50 times the space a 50-arc plant requires, but only about 10 times as much. So the chimney for a 2500-horse-power station does not have to be 25 times as high, nor 25 times as big round as the chimney for 100 horse-power, but only about twice as high and twice as wide, or 8 times the cubical contents, and it costs less than one-third as much per horse-power as the little chimney Still again, a large plant can buy materials and supplies at lower rates than a small plant, and the efficiency of fuel and labor increases with the size of the plant; there is a smaller percentage of loss by radiation, etc.; one engineer can manage a number of engines and dynamos as well as one; so with fireman, superintendent, etc. On the other hand the resistance of long circuits limits the size of a station. In an ordinary street plant with No. 6 wire there is a loss of about one full arc of energy for every 2½ miles of wire. With ordinary voltage the best results are not obtained on arc circuits of more than 8 miles, nor on incandescent circuits of more than 4 miles. As to incandescents, however, this limit is swept away by the use of "transformers." A current of *high voltage* but low in amperes can be sent many miles with little loss, and then reduced by the transformer to the ordinary low voltage needed for the lamps, so that there is practically no limit to incandescent circuits. The transformer method does not work so well with arc lamps, because an alternating current has to be used in transforming systems, and such a current burns the carbons flat, instead of one concave and the other convex, whereby the strength of the lamps is spread in horizontal rays instead of being thrown downward from the concave of the upper carbon as in the case of lamps burned with a continuous current. It would seem that a reflector might overcome this difficulty, and if so, arc circuits will become as limitless as incandescent circuits. It is stated in the papers now that a company has been formed in New Jersey, for the purpose of supplying electric light and power to the whole state from a single central station. At this rate it will not be long before electric lighting becomes a state question and a national question as well as a municipal question.

It is not improbable that the time will come when the power of wave and tide and the forces developed by the earth's revolution will be transformed into mighty currents of electricity, travelling on buried roads of copper to the uttermost parts of the earth, to light and warm the dwellings of man, double and treble the productivity of the soil, set the continents ablaze with light every night, change winter's chill to balmy spring, and August's sultriness to autumn's cool delights, turn all the wheels of industry, and give mankind a power ever nature beyond the dreams of Aladdin. Principles are known the application of which would accomplish these things, for our cities at least, in a single decade if merely the idle labor of the nation were turned in that direction; but the indications are that such superb achievements must wait for the coöperative commonwealth to gather up the surplus energies of the republic and direct them with a strong and skilful hand toward gigantic labors for the common weal.

At present it seems quite safe to confine our attention to the ordinary central station, and folding our wings for a swift return to 1895, we may remark that the inconvenience arising from a great complexity of wires centering in one place, and the waste of wire in crossing large areas unbuilt, or unlikely to use much light, must be taken into consideration in dealing with the question of size. It is probably best not to attempt just yet to cover the whole of a city like Philadelphia from a single station. But however this may be — whether there should be one station or several in a great city — it is perfectly clear that there should be but one management of the city's lights, one consolidated electric system. A town or city should not be satisfied to divide the work, but should demand that its whole business of electric lighting, street and commercial, shall be combined under one efficient public control. The larger the business system under one management, the lower per unit of light is the cost of construction, supplies, superintendence, and labor.

The *standard commercial plant* would be one performing all the street and residence service in its circle, of a size to attain the highest economy as above suggested, with a day-service equal to that of the night, and a management federated with all other city departments. In such a plant, labor should have three shifts of 8 hours each, and not less than $2.50 a day for any worker. Toward such a plant every municipality should bring its electric service as fast and as far as its circumstances allow.

Let us now turn our attention to the *investment*, the *fixed capital*, which constitutes the basis for the calculation of fixed charges in an electric plant, considering first the total investment per lamp in overhead systems, public and private, then in underground systems, and afterward noting the distribution of the investment in land, buildings, power-plant, electric machinery, lines, etc.

TABLE XV.

INVESTMENT PER LAMP IN PUBLIC PLANTS.

Group A.— Investment per standard arc in steam street plants — no commerce, and no combination with other works.

	No. of street arcs 2,000 c. p. in use.	INVESTMENT.		REAL ESTATE.		Date of Construction.
		Per arc in use.	Per standard arc of capacity.	Per lamp in use.	Per arc capacity.	
Fredonia, N. Y. . . .	58	$203	–	$4	–	–
West Troy, N. Y. . . .	115	279	–	121	–	1893
Allegheny, Pa.	[1000]	215	$175	30	$24	1890
Easton, Pa.	122	325	220	64	23	1886
Frederick, Md.	65	230	–	–	–	1888
Bay City, Mich. . . .	181	198	197	45	44	1887
Kalamazoo, Mich. . .	180	211	160	5	4	1895
Marietta, O.	110	165	–	0	0	1889
Painesville, O.	70	185	150	–	–	1888
South Evanston, Ill. . .	64	105	105	0	0	1885
Elgin, Ill.	98	250	190	–	–	1889
Bowling Green, Ky. . .	72	200	–	–	–	1888
Topeka, Kan.	184	300	300	46	46	1889
Little Rock, Ark. . . .	210	167	146	–	–	1889
Averages	–	$217	$183	$34	$20	–

The Allegheny plant runs 620 arcs and 3,000 incandescents for the public buildings; its capacity is 660 arcs and 4,500 incandescents. The others are pure street-arc plants.

Group B.— Steam street plants combined with other city departments.

	No. of 2,000 c. p. arcs in use.	INVESTMENT.		REAL ESTATE.		Date of Construction.
		Per arc in use.	Per arc capacity.	Per arc in use.	Per arc capacity.	
Dunkirk, N. Y.	75	$265	$188	$25	$16	1887
Aurora, Ill.	200	250	200	–	–	1887
Bloomington, Ill. . . .	240	330	–	–	–	1888
Paris, Ill.	90	111	–	–	–	1887
La Salle, Ill.	98	112	100	0	0	1890
Martinsville, Ind. . . .	30	166	–	–	–	–
Goshen, Ind.	40	275	–	–	–	–
Kendallville, Ind. . . .	60*	133	–	0	0	1893
Columbus, Ind.	68	150	–	–	–	–
Fairfield, Ia.	16	312	144	0	0	1882
Coldwater, Mich. . . .	116*	290	261	0	0	1891
Wheeling, W. Va. . .	411	300	–	–	–	1891
Averages	–	$225	$177	$5	$3	

*Forty of Coldwater's arcs are commercial and 17 of Kendallville's. The rest are pure street plants — no commerce, no incandescent service. All but the last three are combined with the water works. Wheeling's plant is run in connection with the gas works; the other two report combination but do not say with what.

Group C.— Steam Street Plants with sub-arcs.

	No. of 1200 c. p. lamps.	INVESTMENT.		Date of Construction.
		Per lamp in use.	Per lamp capacity.	
Danvers, Mass.	78	$212	$92	1888
Hudson, Wis.	50	140	140	1892
Jamestown, N. Y. . . .	137	210	–	1890
Portsmouth, O.	150	200	–	1886
Marshalltown, Ia.	64	190	–	1887
	No. 1400 c.p. lps.			
South Norwalk, Conn. . .	98	218	177	1892

The first two plants are reported as not running in connection with other works. In respect to Jamestown no information on that point is possessed by the committee. In Portsmouth and Marshalltown the light plants are run in connection with the water works, and ten of Portsmouth's sub-arcs are sold to private customers. The South Norwalk plant is run with the fire alarm, a very small service, amounting to only $300 a year.

Group D.— Steam Incandescent Plants.

	No. of 16 c. p. lamps or equivalents in use.	INVESTMENT.		Date of Construction.
		Per 16 c. p. in use.	Per 16 c. p. capacity.	
Madison, N. J.	3,388	$12	$12	1891
Fulda, Minn.	230	23	10	–
Chariton, Ia.	1,350	24	21	1890
Falls City, Neb.	780	12	15	–
Tecumseh, Neb.	500	14	–	–
Atlantic, Ia.	3,310	14	20	1891
Leon, Ia.	400	32	25	1888
Rockport, Mo.	500	28	15	–
Shelbina, Mo.	640	10⅓	10	1891
Hope, Ark.	200	24	14	–
Averages	–	$19	$16	–

These plants all run commercial lights as well as street lamps. They use only the incandescent system. Only three report real-estate valuation. It is $1 per 16-candle-power capacity in Chariton, $1.50 in Leon, and $2 in Atlantic.

Group E.— Steam Commercial Plants, Arc and Incandescent. The plants in the first two divisions are operated alone, those in the last two divisions are run in connection with other city departments, usually the water works.

	Lamps in Use.			Full arc equiv-alents in use.	Full arc capac-ity.	Investment.		Real Estate per full arc of capac-ity.	Date of con-struc-tion.
	2000 c. p.	1200 c. p.	16 c. p.			Per full arc equiv. in use.	Per full arc of capac-ity.		
Braintree, Mass. .	–	118	2,642	409	325	$132	$166	$25	1892
Peabody, Mass. .	–	150	1,200	253	279	225	210	63	1892
Quakertown, Pa. .	–	40	1,200	180	140	105	135	22	1892
Farmville, Va. . .	–	25	1,200	166	64	72	187	28	1891
Indianola, Ia. . .	–	44	600	104	125	221	180	64	1890
High Point, N. C. .	–	33	100	34	50	175	120	–	–
Albany, Mo. . .	–	30	1,000	145	–	80	–	–	1892
Averages . .	–	–	–	–	–	$145	$166	$40	–
Westfield, N. Y. .	60	–	400	110	172	$110	$70	$3	1892
Middletown, Pa. .	51	–	500	113	–	220	–	–	–
St. Clairsville, O. .	30	–	600	105	–	100	–	8	1891
Crawfordsville, Ind.	141	–	2,100	403	–	175	–	–	1891
St. Charles, Mo. .	80	–	–	80	90	187	166	33	1890
Hannibal, Mo. . .	100	–	2,000	350	462	134	100	–	1885
Madison, Ga. . .	40	–	300	77	121	290	187	3	1891
Jacksonville, Fla. .	–	–	–	–	750	–	96	–	1895
Averages . .	–	–	–	–	–	$174	$124	$12	–
Clyde, O.	51	–	550	120	153	$116	$91	0	1893
De Graff, O. . . .	30	–	800	130	133	105	103	$10	1893
Newcastle, Ind. .	60	–	1,000	185	174	108	115	6	1893
St. Peters, Minn. .	45	–	1,000	170	–	80	–	–	1890
Luverne, Minn. .	30	–	833	134	165	72	60	–	–
Metropolis, Ill. . .	34	–	660	116	142	70	56	–	1892
Attalia, Ala. . . .	25	–	150	43	–	232	–	–	–
Chehalis, Wash. .	26	–	532	92	124	150	120	–	–
Averages . .	–	–	–	–	–	$115	$91	$5	–
Schuyler, Neb. . .	2	8	580	82	105	$92	$72	–	1892
Alexandria, Minn .	–	10	700	94	126	64	48	$16	1890
Arlington, Minn. .	–	4	120	18	20	165	150	–	–
Wellston, O. . . .	–	58	1,000	164	126	122	159	–	1892
Council Grove, Kan.	–	29	45	25	33	320	240	–	1888
Herrington, Kan. .	–	28	620	94	–	303	–	–	1888
Averages . .	–	–	–	–	–	$178	$134	$16	–
Averages of whole group						$150	$125		

These averages, like all other averages, must be used with care. It will not do to take an average as the basis of an inference in respect to any particular case unless you have first satisfied yourself that the conditions of the said case are similar to the average conditions in the plants whose data go to make up the said average.

Group F.—Water Power Plants.

	No. of lamps in use.	Candle power.	Investment.		Real estate per lamp capacity.	Date of con-struction.
			Per lamp in use.	Per lamp capacity.		
Lewiston, Me. . . .	100	2,000	$160	$157	–	1887
Bangor, Me. . . .	150	2,000	230	–	–	–
Ypsilanti, Mich. . .	88	2,000	261	261	0	1886
Crete, Neb.	50	1,200	190	190	–	1891
Brainerd, Minn. . .	1240	16	37	–	–	–
Marquette, Mich. . .	100 2700	2000 16	20	–	–	1889
Swanton, Vt. . . .	21 1690	2000 16	21	15	4	1893
Marseilles, Ill. . . .	21 800	2000 16	21	6	150	1892
Middleborough, Mass.	1468	16	100	125	150	1890
Franklin, Mass. . .	22 350	2000 16	26	14½	–	1886

The first three are not commercial, the rest *are*. The Lewiston and Crete plants are not operated in connection with other works. The plants of Bangor, Ypsilanti, Marquette, and Swanton *are*. For all except the first four cities, the figures in the third, fourth, and fifth columns represent the investment per 16-candle-power lamp, estimating each 2,000-candle-power lamp as equal to 8 lamps of 16-candle-power. The Marseilles, Middleborough and Franklin plants are private, the only private plants so far introduced; the indications are that in the case of the Middleborough Company the water has got into something besides the power.

The committee has ascertained the investment per lamp in a number of other public plants, but has not obtained all the data necessary for classification in the above groups. The figures in respect to such plants will be found later in this report.

TABLE XVI.

INVESTMENT PER LAMP IN PRIVATE PLANTS, STEAM.

Group A.—Full Arcs and Incandescents.

	No. Lamps in use.		3. Total 2000 c.p. equivalents in use.	4. Capacity in 2000 c.p. lamps.	5. Investment.		Real estate per full arc of capacity.	Date of incorporation or commencement of business
	1. Arcs.	2. 16 c. p. or equivalent.			per full arc equivalent in use.	Per full arc of capacity.		
Boston E.L. Co., 135	3,215	25,000	6,304	6,755	$ 405	$ 380	$ 80	1888
Brookline Co. . 4	363	10,729	1,709	970	215	370	38	1887
Cambridge Co. . 66	508	8,785	1,437	1,070	335	460	74	1886
Charlestown Co.	257	460	615	701	155	135	–	1886
Chelsea Co. . . 16	282	3,998	753	580	187	240	24	1888
Fall River Co.	532	549	567	687	365	303	45	1883
Franklin Co. .	22	350		105	188	117	–	1886
Gloucester Co. . 24	85	1,755		275	533	533	140	1888
Gt. Barrington Co.	33	1,060		340	256	117	4	1888
Haverhill Co. . 17	219	1,900	[illegible]	760	535	320	63	1888
Hyde Park Co. .	159	5,834	886	690	250	310	30	1888
Lawrence Co. . 33	384	6,591	1,164	1,300	214	190	26	1887
Lowell Co. . . 97	723	7,076	1,607	1,560	320	328	17	1881
Lynn Co. . . . 40	657	8,446	1,604	1,366	225	265	75	1888
Newton Co. . .	128	7,443	1,018	725	220	303	41	1888
North Adams Co.	185	2,200	407	500	170	134	14	1885
Pittsfield Co. . 6	159	7,658	1,076	739	190	265	55	1885
Salem Co. . . . 17	300	9,100	1,424	1,100	195	245	41	1882
Suburban Co., Boston . . . 86	249	7,587	1,185	1,020	213	250	12	(1890)
Westfield Co. .	108	429	152	280	263	145	33	1887
Woburn Co. . . 6	143	7,517	1,054	720	320	456	31	1888
Worcester Co. . 1	744	6,852	1,600	1,796	215	190	42	1883

The 508 arcs of Cambridge and the 85 arcs of Gloucester are 1,200-candle-power, but are reduced to 2,000-candle-power equivalents in the third column, all other arcs in this Group are 2,000-candle-power.

Franklin is water-power, all the rest are steam.

Group B.— Sub-arcs and Incandescents, (*Column titles same as above, replacing 2,000-candle-power with 1,200-candle-power.*)

	1200 c.p. lamps in use.	16 c. p. lamps in use.	1200 c.p. equivalents in use.	1200 c.p. equivalents in capacity.	INVESTMENT.		Real estate per 1200 c.p. in capacity.	Date of construction.
					Per 1200 c.p. in use.	Per 1200 c.p. in capacity.		
Amherst Co. . .	22	1,650	330	245	$ 127	$ 175	$ 50	(1890)
Andover Co. . .	31	1,360	283	537	225	115	23	1888
Clinton Co. . . .	51	2,676	500	670	204	170	35	1887
Dedham Co. . .	33	3,256	605	424	204	290	35	1888
Fitchburg Co. . .	273	1,800	610	735	187	155	30	1889
Framingham Co. .	64	3,180	653	660	209	206	19	1888
Gardner Co. . .	102	3,320	720	437	74	122	15	1888
Greenfield Co. . 2	46	1,838	400	340	113	130	12	1886
Malden Co. . . 4	198	17,936	3,214	1,632	120	235	17	1888
Marlborough Co. .	117	2,547	591	652	188	170	35	1886
Nantucket Co. . .	40	1,614	340	487	165	117	4	1888
Northampton Co.	143	1,830	483	743	245	162	50	1886
Southbridge Co. .	90	1,070	290	400	190	137	16	–
Taunton Co. . .	197	2,639	700	1,156	150	90	14	1882
Union Co. (Franklin)	46	1,813	383	265	150	209	17	1889
Waltham Co. . 18	173	3,525	830	986	170	140	13	1886
Ware Co. . . .	69	941	250	200	174	217	33	1887
Webster Co. . .	79	650	200	173	260	300	58	1889
Westborough Co.	28	2,049	412	443	176	108	13	1886
Weymouth Co. .	32	3,740	722	680	243	256	20	1889
Whitman Co. . .	53	2,047	432	380	162	184	16	1888
Winchendon Co. .	32	1,136	243	170	126	180	—	1889

Group C.— Unmixed Plants.

	No. Lamps in use.	Candle power.	Capacity in lamps.	Candle power.	INVESTMENT.		Real Estate per lamp capacity.	Date of Construction.
					Per lamp in use.	Per lamp capacity.		
Easthampton Co.	33	1,800	35	1,800	$ 332	$ 313	$ 75	(1[illegible]0)
Athol Co. . . .	41	1,200	50	1,200	380	310	10	(1[illegible]0)
Chicopee Co. . .	113	1,200	150	1,200	130	90	7	1887
Spencer Co. . .	70	1,200	70	1,200	357	357	–	1886
Stoughton Co. .	70	800	70	800	185	185	40	1889
Citizens' Co., (Reading) . .	700	16	920	16	111	87	14	1888
Cohasset Co. . .	1,250	16	2,300	16	37	20	2	(1890)
Eliot Falls Co. .	28	16	1,000	16	4,000	111	19	1892
Leicester Co. . .	1,484	16	1,550	16	34	33	6	1887
Milton Co. . . .	3,200	16	1,650	16	21	41	6	1892
S. Hadley Falls Co.	1,000	16	1,400	16	10	7½	–	1888

The figures placed with the name of the company in Group A and B indicate the number of customers using only power, and not light. The amount of current used by these customers is not reported, and the commissioners have been unable to get the figures, though they have called for them, year after year. A single consumer of power might be equivalent to hundreds of lamps, and the figures of column 5 might be considerably lower for Boston, Cambridge, Gloucester, Lawrence, Lowell, Lynn, etc., if allowance could be made for this unreported current. This question of power supply does not affect the sixth and seventh columns of this table.

The dates in parentheses are not reported with precision. The companies dated 1890 do not appear in the Commissioners' Report for 1890, but they did business in 1891 so we judge that they began operations in 1890 or 1891.

It will be noticed that in commercial plants, both public and private, the number of lamps in use is frequently greater than the "capacity" of the plant. The word capacity has two meanings, which may be designated as the "running capacity," and the "simultaneous capacity." In these tables it has the latter meaning, and refers to the number of kilowatts the plant can put out at one time, or the number of lamps the plant can light at the same time. But many plants run one group of lamps in the daytime, and another at night, so that the total number of lamps in use may far exceed the number that the engines and dynamos could supply at one time. It is entirely possible that the number of lamps in use should be double or more than double the dynamo capacity; i. e., the running or successional capacity of the plant is very much greater than its simultaneous capacity. The Brookline and Malden works show a use nearly double the dynamo power. This reduces the investment per lamp in use far below the investment per lamp capacity, while in street plants the investment per lamp in use is equal to or greater than the investment per lamp capacity.

So far we have been dealing with overhead service, with the exception of a few unimportant bits of underground work, mixed with the overhead systems—one-seventh of one per cent of the wiring in Brookline, one fourth of one per cent in Pittsfield, one half of one per cent in Great Barrington, and seven per cent in Lawrence and Springfield. Now we will look at the underground system.

TABLE XVII.

INVESTMENT IN UNDERGROUND SYSTEMS.

	NO. OF LAMPS IN USE.		Capacity in lamps.	INVESTMENT.			Real estate per 480 watt capacity.	Date of construction.
	2000 c.p.	16 c. p.		Per lamp in use.	Per lamp capacity.	Per 480 watt capacity.		
Chicago, Ill. . . .	1,110	–	1,850	$620	$367	$367	$152	1887
Edison Co., Boston,	–	88,500	76,800	40	46	368	72	1885
Fall River, Edison,	–	9,650	7,910	17	21	168	32	1883

In the Fall River Edison Co. 80 per cent of the wires are underground; practically all the wires of the other two plants are buried. The Boston Co. has 551 power customers, and the Fall River Co. 33;—these unknown quantities would reduce the figures of column 4, but do not affect columns 5, 6, and 7.

The 88,500 lampage of the Boston Co.—11,062 in terms of full arcs—includes 800 arcs from 600 c. p. to 2,000 c. p. and 14 arcs of 3,000 c. p. The Fall River Co. reports no arcs.

Several important conclusions emerge from the data set forth in these three tables of electric investment and the studies they suggest.

First. A steam street plant of good quality, with 50 or more 2,000-candle-power arcs, can be built for $150 to $200 per arc, $300 being the outside price for the very finest materials, gilt-edged work, and full reserve.

The Easton plant is a good example. It has a fine brick station, a large lot, two Rice automatic engines of 200-horse each, three tubular boilers 120-horse each, two Worthington duplex steam pumps, one Hancock inspirator, one Wainwright horizontal feed-water heater of 400-horse capacity, four 45-light Western Electric dynamos, 122 full arcs installed on 13 miles of line, with 460 poles and 22 miles of No. 5 insulated wire; cost $40,000, including the loss occasioned by building too small at first and having to change to a larger system. The present plant is working only a fraction of its capacity. To bring the plant up to 360 lamps would require a further investment not exceeding $30,000 in lines, lamps, dynamos, etc., making a total of $70,000 or $190 per lamp, and the system could be brought to a 400-lamp installation at a cost of about $185 per arc.

The Little Rock plant has a brick building, 40x60 feet, four 60-light Wood dynamos 9½ amperes, two Hamilton-Corliss engines 125-horse each, four boilers, two of which, are in use, forty miles of wire, 210 lamps of 2,000 candle-power, run on the Philadelphia schedule at a cost of 1⅓ cents per lamp hour, with coal at $3.15. Cost of plant $35,000. The full capacity is 240 lights. The present investment is $146 per arc capacity. To run the whole 240 lamps would require 30 new 2,000-candle-power lamps at $24=$720; six miles of No. 6 B. & S. copper wire at 11 cents a pound, or $57.50 a mile=$345, plus $60 for putting it up; and 90 new poles, which would cost when in place, with insulators, etc., about $700, an additional expense altogether of $1,825, making the total investment $36,825, or $154 per arc. The Little Rock plant is run without reserve engines or dynamos. If one of the engines or dynamos should break down a part of the lights would go out. Not a few other plants are run in the same way, and there is little risk of serious interruption of business, if good machinery is bought, and carefully watched, especially if duplicates of the parts most likely to break are kept in stock. There is a great difference in engine companies in respect to the quickness with which they will furnish replacements; with some, you must wait till they manufacture a part like the one worn out or broken; with others, the duplicate is in the hands of the express within an hour after they get your telegram. The latter companies charge a little more for their engines, but cheap engines are like horses with "wums," they eat their heads off in repairs. To fit the Little Rock plant with a full reserve, about $2,000 would be spent for a new 125-horse-power engine, and $2,200 for another 60-light dynamo, making a total of $41,025, or $170 per arc for the 240 arcs that would then be in use.

The contract prices of leading construction companies, and other data fully confirm the tables. More than a year ago, a prominent electrical firm offered to build an 800-arc plant in Paterson, N. J., for $148,800, or $186 per arc, buildings and all, except land which would make the full cost about $200 an arc. D. Hunter Jr., superintendent of the Allegheny works, writes me, May 7, 1895, that they are constructing a 640-arc addition with 275 lights, installed at a contract cost of $115,000, or $180 per arc, buildings and all. To install the whole 640 arcs would cost about $21,000 more, making a total of about $212 per arc. In Evansville, Ind., a city of fifty-odd thousand inhabitants, the cost of electric light was investigated by the mayor and board of public works, with the aid of expert electricians. The facts were examined in 65 cities supplied by private companies, and in 55 cities operating their own light works. Careful estimates, for Evansville conditions, were made by the electricians, and the committee reported in respect to construction, as follows (*see Light, Heat, and Power*, March, 1894: "The entire cost of building an electric plant for our city, with 350 lights, would not exceed $75,000, or $215 per arc."

Detroit is building a public 2,000-full-arc street plant of the finest possible make at a contract cost of $600,000, or $300 per arc. This is about the sum figured on for a 2,000-arc street plant in Philadelphia by Chief Walker of the city electrical bureau. At $300 an arc the city pays for a full reserve, the finest materials made, the best known construction, and a good round reward for the reputation of the firm that does the work. Even for all that, Chief Walker told the councils that his estimate was a high one; he did not want to be below the truth, so that the actual bills would prove larger than his estimate, but above the truth so that the taxpayers would feel relieved to find the cost less than they expected.

If a city pays $300 an arc, and does not get the aforesaid superfine work and reputation, there is a job somewhere; the construction companies have imposed on the ignorance of the city officers, or the councils and officials have decided to speculate in electric light for their own benefit or charge the people a quiet commission for their services in arranging the contract. There is no necessity for expending more than $250 a full arc — that will build a good substantial plant with proper reserve, even in a large city with land at high rates. A city about to build should employ at the start a competent electrician and business man, who is to be superintendent of the works, when completed, and let him engineer the construction of the plant. Such a course will save thousands of dollars which would otherwise go to the manufacturing companies for superintendence, and high charges imposed on inexpert committees.

Mr. Foster obtained an average of $250 per arc from 14 full-arc public street plants (*Electrical Engineer*, Sept. 5, 1894, p. 188). He remarks that $250 per arc installed complete was the price formerly quoted by a prominent manufacturing company; but he neglects to state that the company would discount its quotations, and that electrical discounts are enormous, the net price often being 20 to 65 per cent below advertised figures. Moreover his own average of $250 is not per arc installed but per arc capacity. This average is clearly too high for the ordinary overhead service, because he has included the Chicago underground plant, and the Alameda plant of California, which is an abnormal case, not properly an element in an average to be used by Eastern cities, the cost running up to $986 a kilo-watt or $473 per arc. Nor has he the correct figures as to the capacity of the Little Rock and Easton plants, nor as to either investment or capacity in Fairfield. Leaving out Alameda and Chicago, and correcting the others just named, in accordance with figures given me by their respective superintendents, we find the Foster average falls to $186 per standard arc, which is only $3 more than our average in Group A, Table XV.

Second. A good steam street plant with arcs of 1200 candle-power can be built for $130 to $180 per arc, with $250 as a limit for the superfine.

The Danvers plant has two 90-light 1200-candle-power Brush dynamos, one 60-horse-power engine, one 80-horse-power boiler, 425 poles, two miles wire, and 80 lamps installed; total cost $16,555, real estate and all, or $92 per arc-capacity of dynamos. To add a 100-horse-power boiler and engine, extend the lines, and install 100 new lamps, would cost about $7,000, making $23,555, or $130 per arc, with the plant complete to 180 arcs without reserve.

The private plant of the Chicopee Co. (Group C, Table XVI), is a steam street plant that puts the water in its boilers and not in its investment returns. It has a capacity of 150 sub-arcs (1200 candle-power), uses 113 of them, and shows an investment of $90 per arc-capacity and $130 per arc in use. Its real estate is only $7 per arc, but it has ample steam power, and could install the remaining 37 arcs, and allow city prices for land, and still not exceed $130 per arc when running at full capacity.

The South Norwalk plant is a remarkably fine one — brick station 40x66, 125-horse-power tubular boiler, Weitmeyer patent furnace to economize fuel, iron smoke stack 70 feet high 33 inches diameter, 200-horse-power feed-water heater, 200-horse-power injector, one inch fire hose 60 feet long, large storage space, automatic damper regulator, 100-horse-power Ideal automatic high-speed engine, two Western Electric 60-arc dynamos, with automatic regulators and switches, by which the lamps can instantly be burned at 1200, 1600, or 2000 candle-power, etc. The investment is $179 per lamp capacity, and $218 per lamp in use (98 arcs). The lamps are run at 1400 on the average, but the plant is built to run at 2000 candle-power whenever desired, so that the investment should really be considered as belonging with Group A.

A 1200-candle-power plant should cost about one-eighth less per arc than a 2000 candle power plant of the same quality and number of lamps in the same place. A smaller wire will answer, but the lamps, poles, real estate, erecting lines, etc., are substantially the same. The main difference is in the engines, boilers, dynamos and stacks — all that is directly related to the horse-power used. A 1200-candle-power lamp takes about ⅓ less power than a 2000-candle-power lamp. The cost of engines, etc., does not diminish in proportion, but is only about one-fourth less, and as the portion directly related to the power constitutes ordinarily three-eighths to four-eighths of the whole investment, the total cost is about one-eighth less for a 1200-candle-power plant.

Third. A good incandescent plant can be built with steam power for $15 to $20 per 16-candle-power of simultaneous capacity.

Some plants show even a lower investment; see Group D of Table XV, and Group C of Table XVI. A 16-candle-power lamp is rated at 60 watts, and a 2000-candle-power at 480 watts, or 8 times the first; in practice it is more often 50 and 450, or 9 times. The investment required for a 2000-candle-power plant, however, is more than 8 or 9 times the cost of an incandescant plant of the same watt hours' capacity. A 2000-candle-power lamp costs $24 to $40, while a 16-candle-power lamp can be had for 25 cents, and in large quantities for 20 cents each; 8 times 20=$1.60, $22 to $38 difference in the cost per 480 watts in the single item of lamps; and even the $1.60 does not enter into the investment account of either a public or private plant, for the *consumer* pays for the incandescent lamps. Then the lampage in watts per mile is more, while much of the wire may be smaller than in the arc plant, the engines need not be so strongly built, and the dynamos and all the electrical machinery cost less per 1000 watts of capacity. It is important to keep these things in mind when comparing commercial plants with street plants.

Fourth. A good steam commercial plant can be built for $100 to $175 per full-arc equivalent, or 480 watts of simultaneous capacity.

Some of the cases cited in Group E, Table XVI, show still lower figures: Westfield, N. Y., $70 per 480 watts; Schuyler, Neb., $72; Luverne, Minn., $60; Metropolis, Ill., $56; Alexandria, Minn., $48, etc. Such figures raise a question of the quality of machinery and construction, even where the real estate item is at zero, yet these plants produce good results. There may be an error in the returns in some instances but hardly in all. In some cases of surprising cheapness it is probable that influential men of strong public spirit have secured to the people the benefit of purchases at manufacturer's cost, free of all profit.

The Braintree plant is a good example of a well-built system, combining arc and incandescent lights. It figures $166 per 480 watts of capacity, and $132 per 480 watts of lampage in use. The plant consists of two boilers=250 horse-power, 2 engines=225 horse, 3 Thomson-Houston 1,200-candle-power dynamos=150 arcs, 2 Westinghouse alternators=1,800 incandescents 16 candle-power; 56 miles of wire on 821 poles in 18 miles of street; 90 arcs, and 106 incandescents. 25 candle-power, are used in the streets and 2,642 incandescents, 16 candle-power, are in use by private customers. Total cost, $54,600.

When we turn from Group E of Table XV, with its frequent entries of $120 to $170, and its average of $125 per standard arc-equivalent, and examine Groups A and B of Table XVI, we find that the investment in some of the private companies is about the same as in the municipal plants, but in the majority of cases the returns show an enormous excess, $300, $400, $500 an arc-equivalent in commercial plants! The companies would not like to have us think they were swindled by the manufacturers and builders, nor that they don't tell the truth about their investment.

What then? Have they better machinery? No, many of the public plants have the best that can be bought. Have they more reserve? In some cases, yes; but back of many of the lofty figures we find the company using its full capacity. Is it a question of iron posts? No, the incandescents do not have iron posts, nor the indoor arcs, nor the line holders; and if every one of the Boston Company's outdoor arcs had an iron post it would make only a difference of about $80,000, or $12 per arc-equivalent of capacity, leaving the figure at $368 still. The Gloucester and Woburn Companies are not suspected of having any iron posts, but if every arc they report were posted on iron, it would make a difference of only $15 per 480 watts in Gloucester, and $11 in Woburn, leaving them $518 and $445 respectively. Is it a question of using house-attachments instead of poles, or of making pole-intervals long? No, Franklin has 9½ poles to a thousand feet of line, and Worcester 10, while Boston has but 7½, Woburn 6½, and Gloucester 2¾. When the Boston Company was reported as using 912 roof fixtures to save poles, and Gloucester was using trees and brackets, the Worcester and Franklin Companies were reported as using only poles. Is it area or length of lines? No, some minor differences are partly explainable so, but not the differences between the group of high reports and the group of low reports. The Worcester Company has 6 full arc-equivalents to the 1,000 feet of street, while the Boston Company has 38 equivalents to the 1,000 feet — a condensation more than sixfold that of Worcester. Chicopee has nine-tenths of an arc per 1,000 feet of street, and Woburn has 2.5 — nearly three times the density. Neither is the case any better in respect to length of wire per lamp. Here are the facts.

TABLE XVIII.

	Length of street covered by lines in thousands of feet.	Density or No. 480 watts of output for each 1000 ft. of street	No. of poles in street.	No. of poles to 1000 ft. of street.	Length of wire in thousands of feet.	Value of lines per foot of wire including lamps, fixtures, meters and transformers, in cents.	Value of lines excluding the four items last mentioned, in cents	Length of wire in feet per 480 watts of output.
Boston . . .	162	38.0	1,217	7½	4,132	20	14	665
Brookline . . .	180	9.4	1,324	7½	761	17½	15	447
Cambridge . .	265	5.4	1,982	7½	933	13	—	648
Charlestown .	47½	13.0	334	7½	250	—	—	406
Chelsea . . .	179½	4.2	1,372	7½	572	9	8	760
Chicopee . . .	79	.9	400	5	164	3	—	2,250
Citizens' Co. .	96	.9	589	6	222	11	—	2,550
Fall River . .	213	2.6	1,483	7	541	12	—	955
Franklin . . .	9	7.0	86	9½	12	40	21	185
Gloucester . .	275	.9	700	2¾	245	10	—	1,000
Gt. Barrington .	46	3.4	280	6	83	13⅓	12	530
Lowell	345½	4.6	1,100	3½	870	21	—	545
Lynn	528	3.0	3,500	6½	1,847	6	—	1,150
S. Hadley Falls,	44	2.8	265	6	50	7	—	400
Spencer . . .	40	1.2	400	10	42	—	—	887
Suburban . . .	39	30.0	350	9½	337	—	—	285
Woburn . . .	417	2.5	2,648	6½	976	16	—	925
Worcester . .	262	6.0	2,685	10	913	10	6	570

Look at these returns. The Chicopee street plant has more wire to a lamp than any of the commercial companies except the Citizens', yet its capitalization is only $165 per unit of 480 watts in use, and $135 per unit capacity. Lynn comes next with $225 and $265 per unit — quite moderate, compared with the Boston Co.'s $405 and $380, with only half the length of wire and one-twelfth of the street length to a lamp too. Chelsea has more line per unit than the Boston Co. but claims only $187 and $240 against the other's $405 and $380. Woburn, Boston, and Gloucester have more wire to a unit of lampage, or of capacity, than Worcester, Franklin, or Great Barrington, but the difference does not account for the chasm in the claims of capitalization. If the Worcester lines were elongated to the Woburn style of 925 feet to 480 watts of lampage, and 1350 feet per 480 watts of capacity, it would add, at the Worcester cost of six cents a foot, $21 to the investment per 480 watts in use, and $44 per 480 watts of capacity, leaving $100 to $245 a unit still unaccounted for. To put another 100 feet of line per unit in the Worcester plant so as to give it as much wire per 480 watts as the Boston plant would add $6 to the capitalization per full arc-equivalent, or $14, if we take the Boston Company's valuation per foot, leaving $180 investment per arc unexplained. The same process with Gloucester leaves $320 a unit in mystery still. For a business so dense as that of the Boston Electric Light Co., the length of wire it reports is very great. The Suburban comes nearest in density, having 30 full arc-equivalents per 1,000 feet of street, and it reports 285 feet of wire per arc-equivalent. The wire per arc should be still less in the Boston Co., but taking its own returns the wire cannot explain the trouble.

Is it a question of age? Were the big-figure plants built earlier? Some of them — not all; but age is clearly not the determining fact. Look at Hannibal, 1885, $100 per full arc, and then at Gloucester, 1888, $533 per full arc; note Worcester, 1883, $190, and then Woburn, 1888, $456; glance at North Adams, 1885, $134, and then at the Suburban, 1890, $250, etc. Age will not solve the problem, nor area, nor any of the elements of construction. What, then, is the matter with the figures? The reader would never guess, so the committee will tell him, — it is water.

The Boston Electric Light Co. claims a total investment of $2,552,802 — that is what it turns in to the light commissioners as the amount on which it must earn interest and dividends; but when we turn to the assessors' books, how insignificant the Boston Electric Light Co. becomes. Its total valuation is only $710,900 — over 1¾ millions more ground to raise dividends than to raise taxes in the same lot. Part of the difference is under-assessment and the rest is water. The true value of the plant exclusive of the franchise is probably but little over a million; it would be $1,351,000, at $200 per arc-equivalent of capacity, which is a high estimate for a commercial plant half incandescent. More than a million of fluid remains, and the remains are not sweet. The Gloucester Co. claims 146,650 investments, and pays taxes on 43,000. Woburn Co. claims 334,900 investment and pays taxes on 35,000 — less than one-ninth — beats Boston at its own game.

How different with the companies that are modest about their capital! Worcester claims $349,000 and is assessed for $253,300; Franklin claims $12,300 and is taxed on $9,000; Chicopee claims $14,433 and is taxed upon $15,000. Of course it is possible for a company to be assessed too low, although its investment returns to the light commissioners have a reasonable look, as is the case with Great Barrington, and it is also possible that a company should be willing to be assessed above the truth, if needful to give countenance to a swollen capitalization account; but when the investment return is very large, as measured by the known investment in public plants of similar character and by the returns of other private companies, and at the same time the assessment is exceedingly low, a small fraction of the alleged investment, then the conclusion seems irresistible that a part of the said financial allegation consists of the liquidated lie, by courtesy called "water."

The average investment in Massachusetts companies (Commissioners' Report, 1895, pp. 125-32), is $546 per kilo-watt, or $260 per full arc-equivalent of capacity, which is about double the fair value of commercial plants with arc and incandescent mixed, as in nearly all the companies of the Bay State. The average in New York state is almost $1,000 a kilo-watt, or nearly $500 an arc (or was, in 1890; see Electric Census of New York by A. R. Foote, pp. 249, 251). A large part of this, however, was the estimated value of patent rights held by the companies, and another part is underground construction. The entire average per arc in New York city was $646 — $308 for patents, and $90 for underground work, which leaves about $250 an arc for the approximate claim in respect to overhead service. In the state, outside of the city, the average per arc is $344, $83 of it for patent rights and $14 for underground work, leaving about $247 an arc for overhead service, which would do very well for the claim of a pure street plant with nothing but arc lamps, wide apart, but which looks rather ample for commercial plants, more than half of whose business is incandescent.

The returns in the same census (p. 246) from isolated plants owned by private individuals, merchants, manufacturing companies, etc., in New York city and state, form a striking contrast to the bloated figures of the Electric Companies. The investment claim is only $106 per arc equivalent, and $10.50 per incandescent equivalent in New York city, and $113 per arc equivalent, and $9.50 per incandescent equivalent in the state, outside the city. These isolated plants of course escape, for the most part, the expense of real estate, and of outdoor wiring; adding these items at the Worcester rates, which are certainly not below the truth, we have $180 per arc and $14 per incandescent.

Mr. Foster's average for commercial plants is $123.25 per full arc-equivalent of capacity (*Electrical Engineer*, Sept. 5, 1894, p. 188). This agrees almost precisely with the average we found in Group E, Table XV.

Fifth. Combination with other departments of city service sometimes permits a considerable saving in the cost of construction.

This fact is not apparent in the average of Table XV but is clearly shown in the reports of some of the plants. For example, Bangor uses the water power, and the pump house of the city water works. Dunkirk made room for the light plant in the water works building, and uses the same boilers and stack for both systems, etc. The effect of combination does not make itself felt in the averages because the combination in a number of cases is not in the construction but in the operation (these two classes would have been separated, had the returns made it possible), and because the low cost of real estate per lamp in the case of consolidation with the established system of water-works is balanced by equally low investment in realty in many of the separate systems — the city being already possessed of land and buildings that could be used for the purpose.

Sixth. Exclusive reliance on water-power saves 8 or 10 per cent on the construction account.

This fact also is obscured in our tables by the fact that the water-power light plants usually put in a steam reserve, which brings the cost of construction up to about the level of the ordinary steam plant; this is the case with Bangor and Lewiston. We have the facts in respect to pure water-power plants in Foote's Electrical Census of New York State, p. 256. The investment of 13 stations using water-power only is given as $194,000 for 9,521 horse-power, 905 of which is reserve steam-power. This makes water-power $20 a horse. The same page places the investment in 88 steam stations at $1,390,099 for 26,787 steam power, or $52 a horse. As the mixture of steam reserve in the 13 water plants, is very small, we may conclude that sole reliance on water power saves about one-half to three-fifths the cost of power construction. The cost of the power plant in a steam station generally runs from 15 to 20 per cent of the total cost of the system, exclusive of patents, averaging about 17 per cent, so that the use of water-power without steam reserve would save about one-half to three-fifths of 17 per cent, or 8 to 10 per cent on the whole investment.

Seventh. The additional cost of putting the wires underground varies with the density of the system and the method of burial. In the street lighting system of Chicago, the extra cost per arc is about $200; in Philadelphia it is $135; while in commercial plants it falls to $75 or even $50 per arc-equivalent.

Chicago has 584,496 feet of underground circuit in iron pipes, and 12,109 feet of conduit. It is said that the conduit system, cable, posts, and all, is worth $152,552, or $12.50 a foot, and the pipe system is worth $164,495, or 28 cents a foot (*see Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1895). As there are 1,110 lights installed, the entire underground system figures $285 per arc. There are 540 feet of line, and 880 feet of wire to an arc, according to the department reports. About 100 to 150 feet more wire per arc is needed for the underground system than in overhead work, so that with arcs spaced as in Chicago, an ordinary overhead system would need about 750 feet of wire, and 6 poles per arc. This would cost about $75 to $85 an arc, so that the extra cost in Chicago due to underground work is about $200 an arc.

The Chicago plant is still incomplete. D. M. Hyland, assistant superintendent, writes me that "The electric light system has never been completed, and there is a large amount of pipe laid in the main subways which is not and will not be in service until the three districts which are at present partially lighted, shall be lighted up to the original plans." As nearly as the committee can ascertain the facts by correspondence and official reports it would have required $77,700 to install 740 new lamps and bring the operation of the plant up to its capacity of 1893, making the total investment $766,100, or $414 per arc in use, $150 of which would represent the extra cost due to the underground system and iron posts. If the plant were brought up to 3,000 arcs the new investment beyond that of 1893 (including the cost of the dynamos, engines, etc., purchased since that date, which have already made the dynamo capacity nearly 3,000 arcs) would be about $275,000, making a total of $963,310, or about $320 per arc in use, about $130 of which would represent the extra cost of underground system and iron posts.

In Philadelphia the city electrical department in charge of Chief Walker, has laid many miles of conduit at a cost of

16 cents per foot of duct for the 12-duct conduits.
18 " " " " " " " 9 " "
21 " " " " " " " 4 " "

— Electrical Bureau Report, 1893, p. 81.

The lamps are about 250 feet apart in Philadelphia. This requires about 330 feet of duct to an arc, as the student will see for himself, if he maps out a group of city blocks, 500 feet square, with a lamp in every 250 feet of street, and then estimates the length of level circuit, waste wire, and all. With the 12-duct conduits, therefore, the cost per arc would be $52.80, and $69.30 with the 4-duct conduit. In the business part of the city it is not wise to put down small conduits. Chief Walker tells me that he wishes he had laid 20-duct conduits on the best streets for he has already rented every duct in the 12-compartment system, and could rent more. With a 20-duct system the cost would be less than $50 an arc; the duct costs about 14 cents a foot, and the digging, replacement of street, etc., about 24 cents a foot of line. The underground system requires a better cable than the air circuit. Chief Walker uses a No. 4, lead-covered, painted, and braided, costing 15.9 cents a foot. He does this to make the insulation sure. If water should, by any possibility, get into the duct, it will not affect the lighting, for the cable is good enough to lay in the river channel. This cable must run, not only through the 330 feet of duct per arc, but must pass up and down the lamp posts and to and from the conduit, adding 90 to 120 feet per arc, so that we have to allow about $72 per arc for cable, ten times as much as the overhead No. 4 wire would cost. Then, with so fine and permanent a system, wooden poles seem out of place, and iron posts are obtained at a cost of $14.30 for a 25-foot wrought iron post, steps and all, and $16.15 for a 30-foot post, steps and all. At the street corners it is best to hang the lamp well out over the road. In small towns this can be done by running a wire across the street and suspending the lamp from the centre. In busy cities this would not do, for the lineman would find it dangerous to stand in the street while he fixed the carbons each day; the unsightliness and danger of wires, which it is the object of the underground system to overcome, are also against such methods. An ordinary gas-pipe bracket or mast arm can be had for about $5 a lamp, pulley and all; but the gilt-edged contrivance which Chief Walker buys costs $1.23 a foot, and is 15 to 18 feet long. It makes a splendid mast arm, and is perhaps worth the expense, though it seems pretty heavy. Then the okonite wire that runs out the arm from the pole and back again costs 9 cents a foot, and adds $3.50 per arc to the cost. The iron post, set with mast arm and okonite in place, represents about $45, or $30 to $40 more than the ordinary wooden pole in position. Altogether, therefore, an underground system like the one in Philadelphia costs $167 per arc, waterproof cable, creosoted duct, iron post, mast arm, and all. The cost of circuit in the ordinary overhead system with lamps 250 feet apart, would not exceed $30 or $40, so that the extra cost of the Philadelphia duct system is about $135 per arc, with two lamps to a 500-foot block, as on Market, Chestnut, and other good streets.

Mr. Kepler of the Kepler Construction Company, 531 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, a man whose business it is to build electric light plants, who furnishes estimates and makes contracts every day, and who is thoroughly familiar with every detail of the work, tells me that a good underground circuit can be laid at the rate of 37 cents a foot, 12 cents for the cable, 7 cents for iron pipe per foot, and 18 cents for digging and replacing the paving.

The Edison Company of Fall River reports 48 cents per foot of wire, and $2 per foot of conduit for the underground 4-conductor Kreuse system. It has one arc-equivalent to every 37½ feet of line, so that the underground construction amounts to $75 an arc, or no more than overhead construction in a wide-spaced street plant.

The Edison Company of Boston values its lines at $1 per foot of wire, and $4 per foot of conduit. It has one arc-equivalent to 28 feet of conduit, making the underground investment claim $112 per arc-equivalent.

The Lawrence Co.'s returns indicate about $2 per foot of conduit. The company has one arc equivalent to 270 feet of street line, making the extra cost of the underground system $540 an arc.

There may be some water in these figures. The assessment of the Boston Edison is only about one-third its claimed investment, Fall River a little more than half, Lawrence about one-sixth.

In a pure street plant, or any diffused system, underground circuits are very expensive, but in a commercial plant of high density, like the Boston E. L. Co. for example, which has an arc-equivalent for every 27 feet of street line, the additional cost would be very slight — not more than $50 per arc-equivalent. Thus we come upon a new reason for throwing the whole lighting of a city into one system, so that it may be possible, at reasonable expense, to put all wires underground, where beauty and safety require them to be. The true method would be for our cities to build sub-ways, beneath strong pavements of glass and iron, and locate all wires, pipes, etc., in them in such a manner that they could be gotten at with ease, comfort, and at small expense, without any tearing up of streets, or interference with travel, traffic, or health.

Further information in respect to investment may be gathered from the following table, showing the division of capitalization among the various items that make up an electric lighting plant. Such a study is absolutely necessary to a thorough comprehension of the subject of depreciation. The figures in the table that indicate the percentage and amount of depreciation will be fully explained hereafter. It may help the student to grasp the full meaning of this important table if he keeps in mind the fact that at present prices a good substantial electric street plant can be built with two arcs to a 500-foot block at a cost per arc of $25 to $50 for real estate, $25 for dynamos, $25 for the lamp, $30 to $40 for wire and poles, $20 miscellaneous, and $50 per horse for steam plant — $175 to $210 per arc altogether; 35-foot and 40-foot chestnut poles cost from $5 to $8, painted and set; insulated copper wire is quoted at 11 cents a pound, (No. 4, B. S. and G. runs 7 feet to the pound, and therefore costs $83 a mile; No. 6 runs 10 feet to the pound and costs $58 a mile); to put the wire in place costs $10 or $12 a mile, so that a mile of No. 4 wire in position represents about $100. Chief Walker says that to secure the best results, and allow for additional lamps, the wire in a full-arc circuit should not be smaller than No. 4.*

TABLE XIX.

Distribution of Investment and Depreciation.

A.— The Braintree Plant.

	Street Plant, 1892. 75 sub-arcs. 80 inc., 25 c. p.	House Lighting Extension, 1893, 1500 inc. lamps in operation.	Double System Commercial Plant, 1894, with 118 street sub-arc equivalents, and 2642 inc., 16 c. p.	Per cent of depreciation.	Amount of depreciation.
Land	$ 940	0	$ 940	0	0
Buildings	6.630	0	6,630	1	$ 66
Steam Plant	6,660	$ 5,120	11,900	4	476
Electric Plant . . .	2,740	3.420	7,640	3	229
Lines	4,970	6,920	13.580	1	136
Poles	3,080	250	3,630	10	363
Lamps	3,700	000	4,630	4	185
Meters		950	1,560	2	31
Transformers . . .		1,620	2,280	3	68
Tools and Furniture .	230	210	580	8	46
Supplies	690	680	610	0	
Services of Architect and Engineer . . .	620		620	0	
Total	$30,160	$19,070	$54,600		$1600

Some description of the plant has already been given on p. 95. We may add that it is built on a good lot, having 175 feet frontage on tide water. The station is of brick, 80x40 feet; 250 horse; foundations of granite laid in cement; brick chimney 100 feet high and 10 feet square at the base. There are 62 meters, and 43 transformers; 30-foot poles cost $2 each, 35-foot poles $2.90 each, and 40-foot poles $3.90. The setting cost $1.25 each, and painting 80 cents. The average cost of the whole 821 chestnut poles, painted and set, was $4.50 apiece. The steam plant cost about $47 per horse-power — $36 per arc-equivalent of capacity; and the electric plant cost $24 per arc-equivalent of capacity.

	B.— The Easton Street Plant. 122 full arcs installed.			*C.— Chicago Underground Plant.* 1,110 street arcs installed.		
	Values.	Per cent depreciation.	Amount of depreciation.	Values.	Per cent depreciation.	Amount of depreciation.
Land	$ 800	0	0	$100,000	0	0
Buildings	6,722	1	$ 67	66,987	1	$ 669
Steam Plant . . .	13,450	4	538	95,518	4	3,820
Electric Plant . .	7,500	3	225	58,075	3	1,742
Lines	2,200	1	22	317,040	1	3,170
Poles	3,450	10	345			
Lamps	4,987	4	200	41,240	4	1,650
Tools and Furniture	500	8	40	610	8	50
Supplies	500	0	0	8,840	0	0
Total . . .	$40,109		$1437	$688,310		$11,101

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*While the above was in the printer's hands, an estimate for a 180 full arc street plant by the contractor Kepler already mentioned, came into the committees possession. It reads, 40 per horse-power, for steam plant, $35 per arc for dynamos; $90 a mile for No. 6 wire in place; $26 per arc lamp; $104 per arc installed for the plant complete, including all but land and buildings. These figures include superintendence and time of expert in setting up and starting the plant and giving instructions.

This plant is described above, p. 93. In the steam plant cost, $3,000 is for foundations, the rest is for engines, boilers, heater, shafting, etc., $37 a horse-power altogether. The dynamos and appurtenances cost $40 per 2,500 candle-power light; the 40-foot poles $7.50 each, painted and set; the lamps $37.50 apiece, 122 installed and 11 reserve; the lines of No. 5 wire cost $100 a mile in position.

These figures refer to 1893, the latest I could obtain. The steam plant includes 14 engines of 1925 total horse-power, shafting, tools, etc., and 21 tubular boilers, heaters, pumps, etc., of 2475 total horse-power,—nearly $50 per usable horse-power. The dynamos and appurtenances cost $31 per arc capacity for 43 machines of 1850 light capacity. The lines consist of 185 miles of lead-covered cable, 12,109 feet of conduit, and 584,496 feet of iron pipe. Chicago is building a new station now.

D.—Chief Walker's estimate for a 2,000 street arc plant in Philadelphia, overhead service.

E. — Manager Cowling's estimate for a 400 arc underground street plant in Philadelphia.

	Values.	Per cent depreciation.	Amount of depreciation.	Values.	Per cent depreciation.	Amount of depreciation.
Real Estate . . .	$145,000	½	$ 720	$40,000	½	$200
Steam Plant . . .	126,500	4	5,060	54,050	4	2,162
Electric Plant . .	96,000	3	2,880	26,600	3	798
Lines and Posts .	144,000	1	1,440	80,000	1	800
Poles	30,000	10	3 000	–	–	–
Lamps	90,000	4	3,600	18,000	4	720
Repair Shops, Tools etc.	5,000	5	250	2,500	8	200
Total . . .	$636,500	–	$16,900	$221,150	–	$4.880

This estimate was made by the head of the Philadelphia Electric Bureau, at the request of Mayor and Councils in 1894. It is published in Vol. II of the Journal of Select Councils, p. 123. The chief says that he purposely made his estimate high, and it is recorded in the volume just mentioned (p. 275), that he so informed the committee of councils. He also told councils that 3% on three-quarters of the investment would cover all depreciation. This is a little lower than the result of our analysis, which we know is full high. The liberality of the chief's estimate of cost is very clear. He figures 2000 horse-power water tube boilers and appurtenances at $25 a horse, 4 Corliss engines of 500 horse-power each, at $20 a horse, belting, shafting, etc., for 2,000 horse-power, at $15 a horse, 1 Corliss engine, 500 horse, reserve, at $13 a horse,—making $63 for each available horse-power, which is certainly pretty high, being one-quarter more than the actual cost per horse in Chicago, one-third more than in Braintree, and one-half more than in Easton, and all these plants are of fine construction. The chief figures on 40 dynamos, 60 lights each, with all appurtenances in position, at $40 a light. Detroit contracted last year for splendid dynamos at $22.91 per light. Then comes 300 miles of 4 B. and S. G. wire at $115 a mile, and 2,000 iron posts complete, with mast-arms, etc., at $50 each. We have already seen that the real cost from the actual expenditures of the city in putting up such posts is $45 complete in position, mast-arm, okonite, and all,—the figures being given to me direct from the books of the Bureau; so there is a $10,000 over-estimate in that item which perhaps was allowed for contractor's

Mr. Cowling is manager for the Powelton Electric Company which sells the city several hundred arc lights at 45 cents a night, or $164 a year. His business before the committee was to prove that it would be foolish for the city to build a light plant, so we need have no doubt that his estimate is sufficiently liberal,—$108 per available horse-power is not low, and $200 per arc for the underground system is certainly large for lamps placed as they are in Philadelphia. In the course of his argument, Mr. Cowling assured the committee that the actual cost of production per arc was $146 a year, leaving the company $17 for water-rent, license fees, pole and line taxes, general taxes and profits.

Such a statement to one who knows that returns from more than a hundred stations, public and private, show the cost of producing arc lights to be less than $75 a year, may suggest a suspicion of the reliability of anything that Mr. Cowling says; nevertheless his estimate is of interest as showing the utmost that can be claimed by one not overburdened with regard for the profit; indeed all the items seem more like a very high contractor's figures than the amount for which the city could build directly for itself. As for the wire, 150 miles will be more than enough to install 2,000 arcs, one to each 250 feet of street, as in Philadelphia. If the reader will draw a picture of a group of city blocks, 21 blocks one way and 19 the other, and place the lamps, and draw the circuits, he will have 2,056 lamps, with only 130 miles of wire in the straight even if he arranges the circuits in the least economical way; allowing 20 miles for sag, winding, and miscellaneous waste, which is ample, according to information received from experts, we have a total of 150 miles, so there is an overestimate of at least one-half in this item. Then the chestnut poles are figured at $15 each, but we have already seen that half the amount is ample. Arc lamps to the number of 2,250 are estimated at $40 each, which is much too high for present rates. Mr. Kepler quoted me last week, a first-class lamp at $26.50, and a good, substantial article can be had for $24. The whole plant could undoubtedly be built of the finest materials for $520,000, and probably for less. No wonder the best construction companies assured Director Beitler that they were ready to put up the plant at the chief's figures, and no wonder the chief said his estimate was high, and contemplated with pleasure the satisfaction of the tax-payers when they saw how much below the estimate the real expenditure would fall.

truth, and under the pressure of strong motives to make the cost appear as large as possible. And it is also of interest because, with all Mr. Cowling's anxiety to magnify the expense, once, as manager of a private electric company desirous of preserving the frail thread of infinitesimal profit on which its life depends, and once as a patriotic citizen desirous of preventing the city from going into a ruinous business,—in spite of all this he figures depreciation at less than 4 per cent of the whole valuation.

F.— Boston Electric Light Co.
5,375 horse-power.
6,755 arc equivalents of capacity.

G.— Edison Co. (Boston).
5,875 horse-power.
9,600 arc equivalents of capacity.

	Values in thousands of dollars.	Per cent depreciation.	Amt. of depreciation in thousands of dollars.	Values in thousands of dollars.	Per cent depreciation.	Amt. of depreciation in thousands of dollars.
Real estate . . .	532⅓	½	2.66	717	½	3.58
Steam plant . . .	436½	4	17.46	638	4	25.52
Electric plant . .	449½	3	13.48	240	3	7.20
Lines	765½	1	7.65	1,329	1	13.29
Poles	12	10	1.20	–	–	–
Lamps	174½	4	6.98	25	4	1.00
Furniture, etc. . .	5½	8	.44	–	–	–
Supplies	45	0	–	66	0	–
Patents	0	–	–	338	6	20.28
Cash	31	0	–	80	0	–
Bills	100	5	5.00	90	5	4.50
Total . . .	2,553	–	54.87	3,534	–	75.37

Twenty-five dollars per arc-equivalent of dynamo capacity in the Edison plant is not so very unreasonable, though it is plenty. In Braintree the incandescent plant cost $2⅓ per 16 candle-power of capacity or $18⅔ per arc, and Buckley gives the cost of large incandescent systems at $2 per 16 candle-power for the electric plant or $16 per arc. One hundred dollars per horse-power and $4 per foot of line construction seem pretty large.

In the Boston Electrical Company we have $80 a horse for the steam plant, $66 an arc for the electric plant, and almost *$1,000 per mile of wire* for overhead construction of line; while Braintree, Easton, and Chicago, all with first-class machinery, show only $50 a horse for steam plant with all modern improvements, $24 to $31 per full-arc equivalent of electric plant, and $100 to $300 a mile of wire for overhead lines —$100 in Easton, $300 in Braintree—with meters, transformers, and all. "Oh, but the meters and transformers are so much more numerous in a mile of Boston wire." Well, the Boston Company reports $50,000 for meters and transformers on 785 miles of wire—about $64 a mile, and the Braintree figure is $67 a mile for meters and transformers, so that won't explain the situation. If we subtract the $50,000 we have $715,500 for wiring in the Boston Company—over $900 for a mile of wire, which is more than enough to buy lead-covered, river-proof cable, let alone the common, every-day overhead wire that hangs on the Boston poles and ought not to average over $200 or $300 a mile at the very utmost. No wonder there is a water gap between the company's returns to the assessors, and the figures it sends to the long-suffering commissioners of light.

H.—Miscellaneous Private Plants.

The values and depreciation are expressed in thousands of dollars.

	Worcester commercial plant, 1200 horse, 965 full arc capacity plus 6650 16 c. p. or 1796 arc equivalents, total.	Brookline commercial plant, 750 horse, 450 full arcs capacity plus 4150 inc. or 970 arc equivalents, total.	Cambridge commercial plant, 1000 horse, 630 sub-arcs capacity plus 5200 inc. or 1070 full arc equivalents, total.	Chicopee street plant, 100 horse, 150 sub-arcs of dynamo capacity, =100 full arcs.	Edison Co. of Fall River, 635 horse, 7,910 inc. 16 c. p. capacity or 989 arc equivalents.	Edison Co. of Brockton, 750 horse, 250 arcs plus 7586 inc. capacity or 948 arc equivalents, total.
	Values.	Values.	Values.	Values.	Values.	Values.
Real Estate .	75	47	74	1	30	53
Steam Plant .	55	74	95	2½	24⅓	37
Electric Plant,	79	87	152	5	17¼	80½
Lines . . .	53	114	98	2⅓	52¼	51
Poles	13½	10	15	1½	1	12½
Lamps . . .	23	16	20	3½	5⅓	6
Supplies . . .	9½	3	6	–	13⅓	3½
Furniture, etc.,	2	3	1	–	–	9
Patents . . .	0	0	0	–	–	19
Cash	27½	25	1	½	20	1
Bills	11½	8	13½	½	6	10
Total value,	349	387	475½	17	169½	282½
Depreciation.	9	9¼	13	.6	2.8	8¾

The depreciation is calculated at the same rates as in the preceding cases except that the depreciation on the compound item of real estate is taken at three-quarters of one per cent to one per cent in the small places where nearly the whole value is in the buildings, instead of one half of one per cent as in the large cities where half the realty is land value.

For the horse-power, the lowest figure is taken each time. For example the Worcester boilers are 1200 horse and the engines 1400 horse; the Fall River boilers are 712 horse and the engines 635. The available horse-power is not more than the power of the boilers, nor more than the power of the engines, so that the lower figure must be taken in every case. Brookline and Cambridge follow Boston's lead, $100 and $150 respectively for the cost of steam plant per horse; but it is refreshing to find the Fall River Edison claiming only $38 a horse, Brockton $50, Worcester $46, and Chicopee $25.

As to dynamos and appurtenances, the commercial arc and incandescent company of Brookline claims $90 an arc-equivalent, Cambridge $140! Fall River Edison claims $18, Brockton Edison $85, Worcester commercial $44, Chicopee street plant $50. The companies of Fall River, Worcester, and Chicopee seem to have more than the average candor; the contrast runs all through the returns and even gets into the assessors' books as we have already partially noted. The Brockton Edison is taxed on less than one-third of its claimed valuation, the Brookline is assessed at a little over one-quarter of its return to the light commissioners, while the Fall River Edison is taxed on considerably over half the investment it claims. Worcester pays taxes on nearly three-quarters of its capitalization, and Chicopee is assessed on more than it claims to possess; the company having been taxed on more than seven-eighths of the value put into the plant, the depreciation written off by the company during the eight years of its existence, has brought the value now claimed by it below the assessment.

FIXED CHARGES.

We come now to the study of the fixed charges, taxes, insurance, interest, and depreciation. A public plant pays no taxes, but the taxes that would be received from a private lighting company are lost, and must be considered as part of the expense of municipal ownership. The amount actually paid by the companies is about $2 per arc-equivalent, or three-quarters of one per cent to one per cent on the fair investment.

The rate of taxation is $1.28 on the hundred in Boston, $1.75 in New York, and $1.85 in Philadelphia. But this rate is not paid on the whole value. The people get taxes on about one-third of the valuation of the Boston Edison Co. and on less than one-third of the valuation claimed by the Boston E. L. Co. The total amount of taxes paid by Massachusetts electric light companies in 1894 was $133,718, and the total valuation was nearly $15,000,000, so that the taxes actually received came to nine-tenths of one per cent (Commissioners' Report, 1895, pp. 124–5). The full-arc equivalents in use in Massachusetts are 61,400, so that the taxes amount to about $2 an arc.

In New York the Foote Census shows a total valuation of $30,000,000, for the electric light companies, and $114,500 taxes paid, or about one-third of one per cent on the valuation. Eleven millions of the value is for patents, and if that is omitted, the taxation will be but six-tenths of one per cent of the claimed investment. In the state, outside of New York City, the valuation was $14,157,760 — patents $3,434,450; taxes $63,877 for 129 plants — a rate of taxation equal to about one-half of one per cent. The total number of arc-equivalents in use was 55,701 in the entire state, and 36,381 outside of New York City, wherefore the tax paid by the electric light companies was about $2 per arc-equivalent. This is probably the fairest way of estimating the taxes lost to the city by displacing the private companies, for it avoids the water in the valuation. These taxes include all the assessments on poles, line wire, etc., and represent the total sums paid by the companies to the public for the privilege of assessing one and one-half millions of overcharges on the citizens of Massachusetts and two millions on the people of New York.

Insurance, so far as it is an item in the fixed charges, is amply covered by one per cent on the investment to be protected.

Insurance is a very small item in a good city plant. The object of insurance is to distribute accidental losses among a large number of people, instead of allowing them to rest with crushing weight on a few individuals. A private investor or a small town must pay the insurance company the amount necessary to make good the losses that occur, together with the cost of distributing the funds and doing the work incident to insurance, and a good margin of profit besides. A large city offers in itself a sufficient field for the wide distribution of losses, so that it can insure its own plant and save more than half what it would have to pay a private company for insurance. Director Beitler told the committee of councils in Philadelphia that he would not put one dollar of insurance on the public plant — that he would not insure his own property in the public buildings — the risk was so infinitesimal, and that the city did not carry any insurance on its station houses, fire-engine houses, or river boats. It is certainly the true policy for a city to build wisely and well, and then do its own insuring. The losses will amount to far less than the premiums it would have to pay a private company — one per cent being an ample allowance for the risk, since the companies insure electric plants at one and one-half to two per cent, and it is well known that more than half the premiums paid to them is consumed in the expenses of carrying on the business and in profits. Moreover the value of the land is not to be included in estimating the insurance.

Small towns and cities, as we said, find it best to insure, and the cost is entered as part of the running expenses — Braintree $139, Swanton $225, Easton $275, Little Rock $300, Danville $77, Painesville $45, Marietta $150, etc. Such policies, however, do not cover the whole value of the plant; for example, the Easton plant is worth about $40,000 but insures against fire only half the value of buildings and machinery, or $12,000 at $2 a hundred=$240, and against damage to life or property by boiler explosion to the extent of $5,000 for $35 a year. This leaves a risk equal to about six-tenths of one per cent still on the town. The total amount that should be debited to insurance, including the risk not covered by the policies, is about $1.50 per arc-equivlent in Braintree, and $4 an arc in Easton. In cities bearing the whole risk for themselves, the cost should not exceed one per cent on the investment, as we have seen, or $1 to $2 per arc-equivalent in commercial plants, and $2 to $3 per arc in street plants. One per cent is more than enough to allow under the head of fixed charges in the case of plants that buy private insurance on part of their value, and put the premiums in the column of running expenses, so that one per cent will cover the point in both classes of cases. With state insurance and inspection, it is not improbable that the rate would fall to less than half of one per cent.

Interest is not an item in the fixed charges of a public plant free of debt, as was fully shown in § 2 of this report. When the capital is borrowed three per cent must be added for interest in the case of first-class cities, and four per cent in most of the smaller cities and towns.

Finally we come to depreciation, concerning which there exists more confusion of thought than attaches to any other topic in electrical engineering. As frequently happens in cases of conflict, we find a double meaning at the bottom of the difficulty. There are two sorts of depreciation, a shrinkage of value for use, and a shrinkage of value for sale. The latter includes the former, but involves other elements also. If you buy a tooth brush, and use it for a day, the market depreciation is 100 per cent, but the depreciation for use is only one or two per cent. If you buy a dynamo, at $40 per arc, and five years from now electrical construction becomes so much cheaper that the same machine can be made for $30 an arc, the *selling* value of your dynamo will have fallen by an amount equal to the depreciation from wear and tear *plus* the depreciation of $10 per arc, due to the cheapened processes of construction, expiration of patents, etc., *plus* the depreciation due to the prejudice against buying second-hand goods; the depreciation for use may be less than one per cent while the depreciation for sale may be 40 or 50 per cent. The invention of better machinery is another factor producing wonderful changes in market value. For example, I bought a Columbia bicycle five years ago, a $135 wheel of the best make; it is in fine condition, has been well kept and but little used, and for use is almost as good as it ever was, but I could not sell it for more than $10 or $15, because the market is full of wheels of half the weight, with pneumatic tires and all modern improvements, and nobody wants the old style.

Now a private company takes into account, not only the wear and tear of its plant, but the shrinkage in market price, because it wants to know at all times what its assets are worth in exchangeable values. Of course the company must also consider the rising values of land and franchise. The increase of population and business creates a larger demand, which enables the company or city to do more work with the same system — the plant becomes a more valuable instrument of production by the change in surrounding conditions. It is not fair to figure depreciation on building and machinery, and neglect the appreciation of land and franchise; and that the latter often far exceeds the former, especially in the large cities, is frequently attested by the rising values of electric stocks, even in spite of dilution. In very many cases, when all the facts are considered, appreciation as above, repairs, improvements, etc., that enter into the running expenses, there is nothing left in the depreciation column — it is all cancelled; the plant is worth as much or more than it was at the beginning of the year, without including improvements that are set down to new construction. These facts are fully recognized by the companies themselves, as we shall see hereafter.*

A public plant has nothing to do with the depreciation of the market. Its sole concern in this connection is the depreciation in usefulness. If the city pays $6,000 for an engine that runs 30 years, the depreciation (beyond the repairs which are covered by the running expense account) is $200 a year, and no more, although the engine might have been bought for $4,000 the year after the city secured it; $200 worth of engine per year, on an average, has been ground into product, in addition to the running expenses, and if the portion of investment yearly ground into product be added to running expenses together with insurance and taxes, the total cost of producing light under public ownership is found. The sole question here is the *life* of the plant — how long do buildings, lines, and machinery endure before they have to be replaced because of wear, or the necessity of using superior types?

The committee has given a great deal of attention to this question. It has gathered information in respect to each part of an electric system from private companies and public plants, from expert electricians and engineers in both public and private employ, from scientific works of standard authority and from actual records of endurance in specific cases, and it has reached the conclusion that three per cent on the total investment is usually more than sufficient to cover all depreciation beyond current repairs. It will also appear that in many cases the new and permanent values entering into the running expenses balance the depreciation, justifying the plant or the planter in omitting an additional allowance on that score, and that this fact, together with the growth in the values of land and franchise, leads the great majority of even private companies to write off only a fraction of one per cent, or nothing at all, to cover depreciation.

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* There is another matter which bears upon the question of fixed charges in private companies, viz., the fact that capital is not properly perpetual. The idea that a man is entitled to 6 per cent on his money to the end of eternity is an error. Capital is born and dies, it is not immortal. It is so with money put into live stock — the horses die; so with machinery — if a man builds an engine and rents it, the time comes when the rent or interest ceases, because the engine is worn out: so with a farm — its soil becomes exhausted. It ought to be the same with corporate investments; it is not right to claim interest forever on the original capital. When a man has drawn 3 or 4 per cent for forty years on his investment, he ought to be willing to cancel the debt, and make further investment of new funds he has earned and saved, if he wants any more interest. If he gets 10 per cent he ought to call it square in 12 to 15 years any way. So that even where operating charges and increased value of land and franchise do not balance depreciation, if there are any such cases, still the life of the plant is sufficient (averaging the endurance of buildings and machinery), to make a moderate interest a full return for the investment by the time it runs out, without any necessity of allowing a percentage for depreciation, which in reality is simply giving back to the capitalist, not merely his capital plus a good addition for its use, but giving him his capital twice plus said addition; as if I should rent a machine or a horse, and having paid for its use at a rate that during the time I had it netted its owner a good sum over and above its value at the time I took it, I should still be required to give the owner another one as good as it was at first, when it wore out or died.

Upon land, foundations, supplies, and cash, there is no depreciation in use. Upon buildings of good construction, one per cent is ample allowance. If the land and buildings are welded into one item under the title "real estate," as in many of the reports, it is safe, in case of a plant located in a large city, to estimate depreciation at one half of one per cent on the whole value of the realty; but in a small town, where the land is a very small part of the real estate item, depreciation should be calculated at nearly or quite one per cent.

A good steam engine lasts 35 to 50 years, with proper care and timely repairs—this is the average; under the best conditions the life of an engine is much more than 50 years. Thurston says, in his standard Manual of the Steam Engine, Vol. II, p. 577–8: "Engines meeting with no accident resulting in a general wreck should endure a century. . . . All parts exposed to wear are made readily removable, and easy of replacement. . . . Wear is reduced to a minimum by ample lubrication. The author has known a main journal brass to work ten years constantly without appreciable or measurable wear." I have seen a number of engines that have been used in electric light stations from the beginning, 8 to 10 years ago, that had not the least appearance of age or incompetence. Some of the engines in the Philadelphia water works at Spring Garden Station have been in use more than 40 years and they are as good to-day as they ever were. Engineers of long experience have assured me that three per cent is high for depreciation on a good stationary engine,* including the probable need of replacement by later types. To the question, "How long will an engine last with ordinary care and proper repairs?" they have answered, "A lifetime," "Forever," "As long as you want it to," etc.

The boilers are not so hardy. Their average life is 15 to 20 years. Bad water and carelessness may, of course, be fatal in a year or two, but, with good treatment, an ordinary tubular boiler lasts 20 to 25 years, so I am told by Mr. Goodrich, of Corbin & Goodrich, the well-known Philadelphia specialists, so long and extensively engaged in the business of insuring and inspecting boilers. A water tube boiler with vertical jacket lined with fire brick and horizontal curving tubes without any ends exposed, like the Climax, looks as though it might last a lifetime, and it is the opinion of experts that there is practically no depreciation to it beyond the current repairs incident to putting in a new tube now and then. To be on the safe side with the average case, however, I have taken seven per cent for boiler depreciation. In a well constructed steam plant, the foundations represent at least one-tenth of the cost, the boilers and appurtenances about three-tenths, and the engines, wlth shafting, feed-water heaters, and other appurtenances, six-tenths. Calculating depreciation on foundations at no per cent, on boilers seven per cent, engines, etc., three per cent, gives 3.9 per cent on the entire steam plant; the committee has used four per cent in estimating steam plant depreciation beyond the current repairs.

A dynamo will last as long as an engine. The brushes, if the dynamo uses brushes, wear out in a year or a year and a half, but are replaced at very small cost; the commutators wear 3 or 4 years, often more, and are easily replaced; an armature may need to be rewound now and then; these items belong to ordinary repairs, and already enter fully into the running expense accounts in all the older plants. Beyond this there is nothing about a dynamo but a solid frame, coils of wire on bars of iron, and a wheel and axle—nothing to wear out any faster, or even so fast as an engine, so that three per cent beyond repairs is ample allowance for dynamos, including the possible advisability of replacement by superior types. Engineers and superintendents tell me that the first dynamos, made and put in operation 12 or 13 years ago, are running to-day in as good condition as they ever were, and doing almost if not quite as effective work as any of later make. For the switch-boards and other appurtenances of the dynamo plant three per cent is more than enough.

The lamps require frequent repairs of a small nature, but with such repairs, will be good for twenty-five years at least. So I am assured by Mr. Lerch, the able superintendent of the Easton plant, who attends to the lamp repairing in person, and his statement is confirmed by other experts. Four per cent, therefore, will be our figure for lamp depreciation beyond repairs,

The poles cannot be counted on to last more than 10 or 12 years, unless treated with a preservative. Men of long experience with telegraph-poles tell me that under good conditions chestnut poles from near the sea will last 15 years, but mountain poles set in sandy soil will decay in 10 or 12 years on an average, some sooner, some later. Ten per cent is therefore our figure for pole depreciation, though in truth the item has already begun to enter the repair accounts of the older stations — Easton for example, where more than $150 was spent last year in the replacement of poles. There is a preparation called "Woodiline," sold by F. S. Hovey of Beverly, N. J., and being used by the Pennsylvania Road, which is said by the road officials to have shown itself able to double the life of the wood, and it costs only 8 cents a pole to put it on. (The committee gets no commission on sales made through this advertisement, but it is a matter that ought to be known to municipal superintendents, so long as they continue to use poles.) Iron posts live many times the life of a wooden pole; under reasonable conditions, there is practically no depreciation upon them, but we have used one per cent.

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* The word stationary is used with emphasis, for a locomotive engine cannot be counted on to last more that 10 or 12 years. Exposure to all sorts of weather outside and all sorts of water inside, the tremendous vibration caused by rapid movement over uneven roads, aud the peculiar nature of a locomotive as boiler and engine welded together, ensure a much more rapid wear than in the case of a stationary engine. This is one of the reasons why electricity is a cheaper means of transportation than steam,—it permits the use of stationary engines.

The lines last a very long time. In answer to my question, "How long?" expert after expert has said, "Forever," "There is no wear out to the wires," "The wires lose their insulation to some extent by long exposure, but their depreciation is practically nothing." The reason is that the value of the wire depends on the copper that it contains, and copper does not depreciate. Even old scrap copper finds a steady market at two-thirds the price per pound of the new metal (see the *Metal Worker*, July 6, 1895, price lists in the back), so that even if the whole line were replaced every 35 years one per cent beyond current repairs would be more than enough to cover depreciation.

Meters and transformers, aside from accidents which come under the head of insurance, do not materially alter the percentage.

In underground systems, the cast-iron pipe or the creosoted wood is good for a century — so Chief Walker tells me in respect to the wooden ducts he uses, saying that his statement is based on actual experience with such ducts in the old world. As to cast-iron pipes, men of experience in water and gas construction say that a crust of rust forms on the surface, and then oxidation stops (except under very disadvantageous circumstances) and the pipe will last indefinitely.

Supplies are used while fresh, and suffer no depreciation in usefulness during their storage as supplies.

For tools, horses and wagons, furniture, etc., an average of eight per cent is a fair allowance; patents six per cent, as they last 17 years; cash no per cent; bills five per cent, though we think it a very high figure, since few sales of electric light are made except to persons who have abundant property to meet the debt. The last three items are found only in private plants.

If the reader will turn back now to Table XIX and apply the above percentages of depreciation in detail he will find that the total depreciation of the Braintree plant is a little less than three per cent of the investment, Easton a little more than three per cent, Chicago less than 2 per cent, Walker's Philadelphia plant $2\frac{3}{4}$, Cowling's $2\frac{1}{3}$, Boston Elec. Light Co. $2\frac{1}{6}$, Boston Edison $2\frac{1}{7}$, Worcester, Brookline, and Cambridge less than 3, Chicopee $3\frac{1}{2}$, Fall River Edison $1\frac{7}{10}$, the Edison of Brockton $3\frac{1}{7}$. The committee has analyzed the returns of nearly 100 stations, public and private, and finds the depreciation of use beyond repairs in almost all cases, less than three per cent. We therefore consider three per cent a full allowance for this item of cost. Chief Walker, as we have seen, expressed his belief to the Philadelphia councils that three per cent on about three-fourths of the investment would cover depreciation — that would be two and one-fourth per cent on the whole investment; and as Chief Walker is one of the foremost electricians of the day — "conservative, careful, and thoroughly master of his business," as Director Beitler wrote to Mayor Stuart — his statement furnishes additional reason for believing that three per cent is a liberal figure for depreciation.

Writers who favor public ownership have sometimes omitted all consideration of depreciation. Superintendents of public plants show a similar tendency to silence on the subject in their reports, but, if you question them, you will usually discover that they omit the item not because they do not give it thought, but because they are convinced that *the new value added to the plant each year, in the overlapping of repairs, in the little extensions and improvements that go into running expenses, more than balances the unrepaired wear and tear of the plant.* If this new value (V) which should in strictness be put down to new investment, gets mixed with running expenses, the operating account becomes too large by the amount V — for this V has not been used in producing the light of the year, but is permanent value added to the plant. Now if V, the said new value, is equal to D, the depreciation, then O, plus V, the present running expense account, consisting of the real operating cost plus the said new value in improvements, etc., is equal to O plus D, the real operating cost plus depreciation. In other words, to get at the actual cost of producing light, aside from taxes and insurance, we must take the amount expended during the year, subtract V, the new value added during the year, and add D, the depreciation — that is, the actual amount that has been ground into product during the year; but if D and V are equal, we shall have the same amount at the end of the calculation as we had at the beginning, and we would have reached practically the same result by taking the running expense account, with its mixture of new value, as covering depreciation, making any further allowance on that head unnecessary. To take a concrete case, suppose the running expenses during the year are $60 an arc, but $15 of it represents permanent value added to the plant, so that $45 was all of the $60 that really went into the year's product, the rest being still in the plant. Then if the depreciation, the amount of investment that has been ground up into product during the year, is $15, we have $45 plus $15 for the total values used up in producing an arc light for one year. We have already seen in the note to Table X, that Prof. John P. Barrett, superintendent of the Chicago City Telegraph and Electric Light Plant, says that the running account for the electric plant fully covers depreciation. The same thing is true in South Evanston, Chariton, DeGraff, Easton, Madison, and many other plants; it is apt to be the case in all well kept and growing plants except those which, like South Norwalk and Braintree, keep a strict and separate account of new values even down to small items.

Writers who oppose public ownership frequently claim that 7 or 8 per cent must be added to the official returns in order to cover depreciation. They take no note of the mixture of accounts mentioned above, nor has it apparently occurred to them that the depreciation of the market which they very properly allow for in their private concerns has no application to public enterprises, nor do they make any deduction for the rising values of land and franchise. The private companies themselves show a much more accurate appreciation of the facts than their defenders. *Out of 86 electric companies reporting in Massachusetts in 1895, only 33 write off anything at all for depreciation, and 10 of the 33 do not exceed one per cent.* The majority recognize the fact that the new values in their expense accounts, and the increasing value of land and franchise overcome depreciation, not only in use, but in market value also. Even those companies which write off a sum for depreciation usually make the item very small. The Boston Electric Light Company writes off one-eightieth of one per cent, Brookline and Cambridge nothing, the Edison of Boston one-half of one per cent, the Suburban nothing, the Edison of Brockton one eleventh of one per cent, Somerville, Quincy, Hyde Park, Spencer, Waltham, etc., nothing. There was plenty of surplus to devote to a depreciation fund, and the presence of the item on the return blanks, and its being filled in by some of the companies, precludes the hypothesis of oversight, even if such a supposition were otherwise admissible in the case. Chicopee and Worcester have laid aside a larger fund to cover depreciation than almost any of the other companies, and yet the total sums written off by them for wear and tear, shrinkage of market and all, since the beginning of their operations in 1887 and 1883 respectively, amount to little more than three per cent a year on the investment. It seems very clear that three per cent is sufficient allowance for depreciation even in case of a private company — more than sufficient for a public plant — and that in many cases, both public and private, no allowance at all beyond the operating account is necessary.

Looking now at the fixed charges as a whole, we see that five per cent on the whole investment will provide for them all, even where full depreciation is reckoned in addition to all items in the running expense account — one per cent for taxes, one per cent for insurance, and three per cent for depreciation beyond repairs. When the investment is $200 per arc, as in the ordinary street plant, the fixed charges will come to about $10 an arc. If the investment is $300, as in the very finest plants like that in Detroit, the fixed charges may be placed at $15; — they will really be less, for the depreciation in a $300 plant, built up to the money, will be considerably less than three per cent. In a commercial plant, with $150 invested per arc-equivalent, the fixed charges will average about $7.50. These examples afford a general idea; more specific results will be obtained when we study the operating expenses in the several plants, and add the fixed charges appropriate to each case, to which part of our labors we now betake ourselves.

(*To be continued.*)

PROF. GEORGE D. HERRON: THE MAN AND HIS WORK IN CALIFORNIA.

A SYMPOSIUM DEALING WITH THE CRUSADE NOW BEING WAGED BETWEEN THE DEFENDERS OF THE RELIGION OF JESUS AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF POPULAR CONVENTIONAL CHURCHIANITY.

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INTRODUCTION.

The visit of Professor Herron to the Pacific coast has become matter of history. He was invited to come here by certain Congregational clergymen of the cities about the Bay. These brethren were anxious to hear the new teacher who had arisen in the east, and believed the people of California would, as well as they, hear him gladly. In point of fact the people thronged eagerly to listen to the professor from Grinnell. We have had many great teachers on this coast, but it is probable that not one of them ever produced so profound a sensation, or awakened so many people to a sense of the hopefulness, after all, of the effort to attain national righteousness, as Dr. Herron has done.

But he also aroused opposition. There can be no doubt but that, were the Founder of Christianity again to appear on earth, there would be found many earnest and zealous followers of His faith, as they understand it, who could not conscientiously fellowship Him. The servant is not greater than his Lord, and what Jesus of Nazareth would inevitably encounter Dr. Herron encountered, on this coast, as he has done elsewhere. The opposition began with his first appearance before the Congregational Club, in San Francisco, Dr. Herron having on that occasion addressed the club, on its invitation, Rev. C. O. Brown, pastor of the First Congregational church in San Francisco, arose and made a virulent attack, not upon the address which Dr. Herron had just given, but upon the teachings of the professor, as set forth in his published books. He denounced Dr. Herron as an anarchist, whose teachings meant destruction to all established institutions. When he was finally forced by the chair to obey the established rules governing all meetings of the club, and refrain from the rambling irrelevancies of the address he was determined to make, Dr. Brown thanked the assembly for the advertisement it had given of the sermon he meant to preach on the following Sabbath. "I shall preach against this man in my church next Sunday," he said, and left the place.

Not only on the following Sunday, but all during Dr. Herron's stay on the coast, and since his departure, Dr. Brown has been instant, in season and out of season, in a systematic attack upon the former's position. Calumny, misrepresentation, injustice, unfairness, are the methods by which the reverend gentleman has sought to bring discredit upon the new movement recently set forth, on this coast and elsewhere, which, for lack of a more ambitious title, has been called "Applied Christianity." The country has been flooded with papers, pamphlets, and manifestoes of various sorts, but of unvarying portent—and that portent, false witness against Dr. George D. Herron, a clergyman of the denomination to which Dr. Brown belongs.

In view of the wide circulation which the San Francisco pastor has given his efforts, and the wholly false light in which he has endeavored to place a work that promises more for good government and for humanity than any other work ever undertaken on this coast, it has been deemed best to attempt some refutation of the doctor's assertions. Dr. Herron is already well known to readers of the ARENA. The Rev. C. O. Brown may not hitherto have been, but he will now be afforded an introduction by a number of his fellow-clergymen, fellow-citizens and coworkers in the Lord's vineyard, on this coast.

ADELINE KNAPP.

I. A KODAK VIEW OF PROFESSOR HERRON'S PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Many persons have displayed phenomenal genius in misreading Dr. Herron. I doubt if his generation shall read him to a finis. My impressions of him, however, I am willing to give for what they may be worth.

All of his thought, and all of his expression of it are interpenetrated by his deep individuality. More objective minds, especially such as are of scientific turn, will therefore continually misunderstand and misvalue him. His gold not bearing the imprint of the realm will likely not be recognized by them as gold at all.

Professor Herron probably would be less complained of were he endowed with greater faculty for mental diversion. But he never in that case could so arouse the attention of his day as he is doing and seems appointed to do, for he could never so distinctly perceive, so deeply feel, nor so impressively proclaim its evils and its perils.

He is a man of the most exquisite sensitiveness. In this characteristic he closely approaches the feminine in type. In rating him as feminine (and he is so in many particulars) I do not wish to be understood as in the least implying that he is effeminate. Quite the reverse. The two things are vastly different. His feminine quality does not detract at all from the fulness of his virility. It is only that the tissue of his character is extraordinarily fine-grained. Few men I have ever met, perhaps none, have so represented to my mind what I conceive to have been in the respect just named the quality of Jesus, an essential feminineness joined with an equally developed masculinity. It is a rare and high conjunction of qualities.

Dr. Herron showed himself while in California to be, under most extreme provocation, a man of marvellous self-control. If he that ruleth his own spirit is better than he that taketh a city then this man is both good and great. He was while here at all times habitually and many times malignantly misrepresented. The wildest, most unfounded charges imaginable were brought against him; against his public utterances, his private attitudes, even against his personal sincerity. He was charged with saying things he never said, things counter to any he had ever said or thought; even charged with privately avowing views and beliefs totally at variance with those uttered and advocated by him in public. From first to last he exhibited under this fire of detraction a perfect serenity of spirit and an absolute freedom from all asperity of speech or feeling. This was the more remarkable from the fact that daily, hourly, he was beset by a swarm of the most persistent and skilful interviewers, commissioned by their chiefs and determined upon their own part to wring from him some sort of sensational rejoinder. But every artifice and enticement known to the profession were in vain. Unperturbed in spirit, calm of demeanor, kindly in expression towards all his detractors, he went his daily way in a manner that won the admiration of all who saw.

Of Dr. Herron's rare intellectual perception, I do not need particularly to speak, except as it was displayed in a single instance strongly illustrative, although quite aside from the ordinary tenor of his occupation here. The doctor has, it appears, been greatly interested for some years past in the poetical writings of a former well known resident of California—Professor Edward Rowland Sill—whose untimely death is increasingly regarded as a national calamity. Professor Herron never saw the poet, nor met any person who had seen him, but had from his writings alone constructed a mental and moral portraiture of him which by request he presented one evening to a roomful of Professor Sill's most intimate and admiring friends. Although the presentation was impromptu and wholly without opportunity for special preparation it was by acclamation pronounced a juster, fuller, more interior and finely shaded representation of our friend than any of us who had known him best could have produced. Such an experiment tends to strengthen confidence in the preacher's interpretation of the word and spirit of the Christ.

The only other thing I name in this hastily drawn and very imperfect characterization is the professor's spiritual susceptibility. Spiritual things are the most real to him of all things. He lives and moves and has his being in a spiritual atmosphere that is both dense and luminous. Above all those I have ever known he seems to me to come nearest to Moses' way, and to walk as seeing Him who is invisible. Professor Herron tells us that in his early life, when he was yet apprenticed to the printer's trade and earned his living at the compositor's case, he knew and had companionship with almost no human being. But God he knew and had companionship with in a way that was as real as any other reality of his life. And this experience has been a constant and increasing one from that day to this. The dread and solemn presence is ever about him.

God so appearing to the spiritual perception, it follows that all those things which make up the expression of the divine will stand out to his apprehension with corresponding vividness and power. This is the chief key to the man's character and aim and work in life. He is possessed of an overpowering sense of God: God's will, God's righteousness, God's leading, God's comfort; and has abiding joy in the Holy Ghost. This sense of divine things is so intense as to be both sustaining and consuming. It constrains the man to cry out with great St. Paul, "Woe is mine if I preach not the gospel." Whether man will heed or will forbear, Professor Herron so feels the hand of God upon him that he must speak out God's message to the world.

He has sometimes been called the modern Jeremiah. Let me quote a much more happy characterization lately made by a friend, a man of profound nature: "Professor Herron more nearly approaches a nineteenth-century Ezekiel. This is shown in his passion for Jehovah and His righteousness in all practical and political life, in the life of the nation as well as that of the individual, in the life of all nations no less than of his own Israel; also in his philosophy of history the best and fullest in the Bible and never to be surpassed in basal lines." In these and other things my friend finds a most interesting parallel between both the spirit and work of the older prophet and the new.

J. K. McLean.

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II. DR. BROWN VERSUS PROF. HERRON.

The knowledge of Professor Herron as a man, and of the spirit and aim and import of his teachings, to be derived from Dr. Brown's sermon is, in my judgment, much farther from the truth than is absolute ignorance. The sermon not only grossly misapprehends, it misleads and scatters cruel wrong in regard to Professor Herron. I have no personal quarrel with Dr. Brown. I am not a "follower" of Professor Herron, who is the last man to desire followers of Herron. He seeks to make followers of Jesus in the application of His law of righteousness to practical life.

Professor Herron teaches no new doctrine. The law of sacrifice is not new; the law of love is not new; the Golden Rule is not new. The chief charge of Dr. Brown and the class of beings of whom he is mouthpiece, against Professor Herron, is that he is revolutionary, dangerous to our institutions, anarchistic. From the time of Christ to the present hour, the Golden Rule and the command to "Love thy neighbor as thyself" have been revolutionary and anarchistic. There is neither reason, fact, nor religion, nor credit to the honesty of any preacher of Christianity who maintains that there is even a shadow of agreement between the general social and business methods of our time and Christ's law of love. The Golden Rule is utterly antagonistic to the spirit and practice of competition as it rules in business. It is therefore anarchistic and revolutionary.

I recollect well when the preaching of human freedom was stigmatized as revolutionary and anarchistic, and fraught with peril to the nation. To the defender of slavery the doctrine that all men are born free and equal was rankest anarchy. From the standpoint of human freedom the defender of slavery was the anarchist. Whether Dr. Brown or Professor Herron is the anarchist depends upon the standpoint of the judge. From the standpoint of property-rights as against the human rights of property's producers, from the standpoint of moneyed aristocracy, of parasites, and the merely shrewd and selfish, Professor Herron is anarchistic. From the standpoint of Christ's law of life, Dr. Brown and all his tribe of soulless, loveless political and social economists are not only the rankest of anarchists but are absolutely atheists. Dr. Brown's sermon is largely demagogic harangue, or it is an emanation from a public teacher criminally blind to the real economic and industrial conditions of our time. It bears evidence of being both thēse.

One is amazed at the batlike simplicity with which the doctor quotes detached utterances of Professor Herron. He can see nothing but sand-lotism in such sentences as the following: "As a nation we have betrayed our trust." If our "trust" is "Standard Oil," or "sugar" or "coal" or "railroad," Professor Herron is wrong. If our "trust" was to secure equality of rights for all, government of the people by the people, liberty and equal opportunity to live and make a living, then we have, as the voice of millions of unwillingly unemployed bears ominous witness, most woefully betrayed our trust.

"Our economic system is organized social wrong." True to the letter in every word, and the class is exceedingly small, and generally rich, who are foolish enough to deny it.

"Christ is becoming the social ideal of the mob." There was both tragedy and comedy in the political-campaign trickery used by Dr. Brown when he got hold of the word "mob." The "mob" is a disgusting word to polite ears; it is a terrible word for the well-fed and comfortable who have plenty of invested rights. But the "mob" of Professor Herron is only a name given to the wage-earning class generally. One can understand how capitalists and those who live by getting possession of large shares of labor's products might consistently object to Christ becoming the social idea of the "mob," but how a Christian minister can object to it is a startling mystery. What social ideal would Dr. Brown suggest for the mob?

"Politicians will be fuel to the burning that is coming"; and all good citizens say amen. Why is Dr. Brown suddenly seized with friendship for politicians? Unconsciously he has joined them in adding fuel.

One of Dr. Brown's political tricks—the trick most bald and dishonorable for a professed teacher of truth and righteousness—is the use he makes of quotations relating to a union of church and state. Professor Herron is as far as the east is from the west from desiring or advocating a popish union of church and state. He believes and teaches that the church and the state should alike be ruled by the law of Christ concerning human relations. When they are so ruled the oneness he advocates will have been attained. He does not think it well for us to have the state ruled by the devil, and the church professing to be ruled by Jesus Christ. Dr. Brown and his kind, by their position, their political economy, and their political methods, unwittingly advocate the double rule. Dr. Brown says: "To preach, in this land, the overthrow of institutions, is to deny that Americans are capable of self-government." That sounds very like arguments we have heard in favor of slavery. Was not slavery one of our institutions? Why does Dr. Brown preach against the Catholic church and the liquor traffic? These are legalized American institutions. The doctor should have said, "Not to preach for the overthrow of wrong institutions is to be recreant, alike, to Christ and the American people."

Dr. Brown counts it dangerous to call the wage system "slavery." Those who are so unfortunate as to be obliged to work for wages ought to know best what the system means. They call it "slavery"—slavery unrelieved by the ameliorating certainty that to-morrow may not be without work or bread. To the exploiters of labor, the wage system is, as was slavery to the slaveowner, a very easy, elegant, and successful way of getting a living and wealth by the work of others. It is not strange that many of Dr. Brown's backers like the system.

As a bugler in the army, Dr. Brown is said to have been lusty. As a trumpeter for capital he makes a loud noise, but for those who look to his sermon for a just view of Dr. Herron or his teachings, the words of Dr. Parkhurst are full of pertinence. He says that "Second-hand testimony is less reliable than ignorance." Such is the testimony of Dr. Brown's sermon.

Rev. J. E. Scott.

III. THE SECRET OF DR. HERRON'S POWER.

Limit of time and space will compel me to confine my emphasis to one feature of Dr. Herron's brilliant California campaign. His critics tells us he is "no thinker." How, then, is it, that no man before him has so powerfully, permanently—and, as many of us think, so profitably—stirred public thought in this state? The secret of his unique impression seems to me to be two-leaved.

First, the personality of the man. In this let us include his humble, gentle, unselfish spirit, his earnest eloquence, his consuming zeal for righteousness, his fearless denunciation of wrong and splendid advocacy of reform, his stern but loving loyalty to Christ, to the word of God, to Christian manhood, to the gospel ideal of both church and society and of broad and noble Christian living, together with his deep indignation and scorn over a selfish and unchristian order of things. If the prophetic type of character is to be found in the Christian ministry of to-day, Dr. Herron will be generally regarded as one of its most notable modern examples.

Second, his system of thought. This is even more remarkable. He stands for an entirely new constructive principle of theology (which of course shapes his ideas of man, of sin, and of society). For example: Calvin constructed his theological system about the truth of the sovereignty of God. Arminius built his about the free-will of man. The constructive principle of neither of these systems is sacrificial or redemptive. Both emphasize power and will—the one of the Creator, the other of the creature. In both the cross is a segment of the divine plan, rather than a great law of the divine nature underlying the entire being and activity of God. Dr. Herron, however, builds his entire system about self-sacrifice, taking as his central idea the "Lamb slain before the foundation of the world." For this reason, while Calvin's system may be called the most logical, and that of Arminius the most flattering, Herron's is the most Christian. And his view has a wonderfully attractive force on Christian hearts—the attractive force of the cross itself; and, consciously or unconsciously, nearly all who meet him, or read his writings, will be found to be reconstructing or modifying their systems of thought in accord with that fundamental law of self-sacrifice. Here lies his originality, his peerless excellence. It is this that makes people think and causes such divergent opinions. For, at a glance, one can see what a widely overturning force such a system of thought becomes.

Is self-sacrifice the fundamental law of God's being? Then much that has been called theology is overturned.

Is self-sacrifice the law of man's being? Then we have been given a new conception of human life.

Is self-sacrifice the first law of nature? Then the foundations of materialistic sciences are destroyed.

Is self-sacrifice the law of business? Then most of our present commercial methods must be unsparingly condemned.

Is self-sacrifice the law of society? No statement could be a greater exposure of its hollow, heartless selfishness.

Is the life of the church bound up in this law? Then what language can be too severe against ease-loving indifference?

Can this be the divine law for politics and government as well? Then it shows the fearful degradation of the one, and the utter recreancy of the other.

Self-sacrifice as the law of human progress plays havoc with past interpretations and philosophies of history, and with the common conceptions of its ruling forces, its purpose, and its heroes. The confusion and consternation occasioned by a rigid application of this law to all life is easily imagined. When sin's hornet nests are stirred there is always lively fighting. From all quarters, therefore, a hot and steady fire was poured in on Dr. Herron's positions. It came from good but mistaken men, and from men not so mistaken as to the disastrous effect of such teaching on their selfish interests; from the offended theologian, the atheistic scientist, the greed-loving merchant, the infidel historian; from proud society slaves, and worshippers of vested interests; from unfaithful churches, unchristian rulers and dignitaries, and unscrupulous politicians. No wonder there was a stormy sea of conflicting interests, misunderstandings, and misrepresentations, under this stiff breeze. What else could be expected?

As my space limit has been reached, I must leave the reader to guess of the good accomplished by this sacrificial aspect of God's universe. Only let me say by way of closing, that besides quickening our thought, Dr. Herron has sent us in earnest search after our shortcomings and after better attainments; he has helped us to insist more loyally on the adoption of Christ's standard for all kinds of living; more patiently and lovingly to bear the cross after Him; more heroically to stand against entrenched sin; more industriously to labor for humanity; and with larger faith and hope to pray for and expect the coming of that time when the Father's will will be done in earth even as it is in heaven, in the completed kingdom of Jesus Christ His Son.

REV. W. W. SCUDDER, JR.

IV. THE TWOFOLD SIGNIFICANCE OF PROF. HERRON'S VISIT.

Prof. George D. Herron's visit to California was made notable both by the intense and enthusiastic interest, and by the bitter and persistent hostility, aroused by his lectures. There was a deep feeling among friends and foes that his message meant something real and practical. He came not with an entirely new, but with a very unusual interpretation of Christianity. To him it was meant to socialize human life, and its power and importance lay chiefly in the fact that it was so meant. He claimed that the multitudes, who are longing and working for a juster order of society, are, unconsciously, it may be, but really, going after Christ "for social right and political truth."

His reception by the people was significant because it shows that the churches are ready for an exposition of the teachings of Jesus that is more human and rational than any the pulpit is now offering them; and that the unbelievers will welcome a Christianity which means social redemption, although they cannot be interested in conventional orthodoxy. Christian people really want to discover some way by which their lives can be rescued from disorder, and arranged around some common centre of unity. They are not simply curious to hear some new thing, but are longing for a real spiritual leadership, and dimly conscious that the social content of Christ's teaching is after all the "Christian faith," to deny or ignore which is infidelity and apostasy. It is not strange, therefore, that they gladly heard a man who, taking the emphasis from dogma, puts it upon life, who finds no adequate justification for even the central doctrines of theology except as they contain social truth, and who believes that Christianity has power to reconstruct society in both its industrial and its political life according to the divine ideal.

The opposition to Professor Herron was equally significant because it was both an example and proof of the truth of his powerful indictment of the church for its "religious arrogance" and "essential apostasy from its true faith and mission." It is an illustration of that kind of political and religious orthodoxy which, in the name of patriotism and Christian loyalty, has stood directly in the path of progress for centuries.

Rev. C. O. Brown, pastor of the First Congregational church of San Francisco, was leader of the opposition. He showed great vigor and persistence in his attacks, but also singular confusion of mind and inability to understand both the meaning of Professor Herron's writings and the significance of present social conditions. After hearing his several philippics against the new heretic and carefully reading his printed "Review of Professor Herron's Teachings," one cannot but feel that Mr. Brown's zeal has led him to sacrifice his understanding to his cause. He speaks more as a paid attorney than as an honest defender of the truth. To him any change in our institutions for the purpose of bringing in greater industrial freedom and security would involve the destruction of all that our fathers won at such cost of "blood and sacrifice"; and to advocate such change is dangerous, if not incendiary and treasonable.

His method of attack is one that he would be the first to condemn as unfair, if directed against himself, and justly, because it consists of distorting certain statements taken out of their relation to the whole. His quotations can be shown in some instances, at least, to be the grossest misrepresentations. Take a single instance. Mr. Brown quotes the following words as a sentence from Professor Herron, and clearly they are to him particularly atrocious, since he repeats them three times on a single page, and in a context which makes them a grave accusation: "The politicians will be fuel to the burning that is coming." Here is the sentence from which he took them: "The politics that remains insensible to the waking social consciousness, the politicians who ignore the social conscience and make the holy watchwords of the past the hypocrisy and traffic of the present, will be but fuel for burning in the day of wrath that is coming to consume our trade politics and false social philosophies as stubble" (Christian State," p. 19). What fair-minded man, capable of understanding plain speech, would single out a part of this sentence as a "deliberate intention to stir up mob violence," or as the ground of "a charge of inciting to riot"? And yet it is by such means as this that Professor Herron is convicted of being an "anarchist" and a "public enemy."

The main contention of this "incendiary" writer is that Christianity was meant to be practised. He asserts that love is the supreme law of life, and can be obeyed in business and in politics. He denies that there are two standards of right, one for religion and the other for economics. There is one standard of right for all life, and all life is religious. It is only as the kingdom of God rules that there is order and government. All else is disorder and anarchy. The state is the only organ through which the people can act together to secure social righteousness, and the state whose institutions progressively express such righteousness will be the Christian state, or a union of church and state in the true sense. Competition is *not* the law of life, but a contradiction of every principle of Christianity. The liberty of the individual consists, not in protection in social antagonisms, but in association in social sacrifice. The progress of democracy cannot stop where it is without disaster, but must go on until fulfilled in direct self-government by the people. There must be democracy in industry as well as in politics. Property must be made subordinate to the interests of man. This involves the position, also, that the wage-system is economic slavery, "a profane traffic in human flesh and blood." The failure of present institutions is plainly pointed out, and changes, even revolutionary changes, are declared to be necessary, to redeem the state from anarchy and make it the organ of justice; but these changes will be effected gradually, not by destruction, but by the inbreathing of a new life into the old order.

It is singular that a Christian minister should find nothing to approve in all this, but should assume the contradictory position of one who professes to believe in the right of Christianity to rule the world, and who yet antagonizes the assertion of that right. If he does not deny these teachings, fairness would require him to judge of them apart from any inferences and exaggerations that might accompany them in Professor Herron's writings. At any rate he makes a bold defence of competition and the wage-system, and curiously enough, for a gentleman who claims to be logical and philosophic, he disposes of the doctrine that the wage-system is slavery, by asserting that this is the doctrine of the "sand-lots" and of the saloons. But if this be true, then it might also be true that the "sand lots" and the saloons are apter students of economic conditions than Rev. Mr. Brown.

ELDER M. J. FERGUSON,
Pastor Christian Church, San Francisco.

V. DR. HERRON'S MESSAGE.

Dr. Herron is beyond question a man of sincere instinct and an apostle burdened with the iniquities of the present system.

Let us be candid. The essential genius of Jesus and the essential genius of the world as it now is are parted by a broad and serious chasm. The ethics of paganism have passed as current coinage with a Christian superscription. The generic idea of the brotherhood of man based on the

Fatherhood of God has inspired eloquent sermons, while on the thick arenas of human enterprise men resort to every safe extreme to down a brother. Each man is every other man's foe. Life degenerates into a selfish scramble. The most unscrupulous survive.

All men concede and deplore these evils of our modern life. The cause, fundamentally, of all its delirious conditions is ethical. The cure must be ethical. Men cannot reorganize society by the ballot box or by congress, for the reason that too often the franchise of the people is frustrated by cunning wealth; besides, the law-making power does not, in the nature of things, rise much higher than the ethical water-line of the people. The statute-book determines the direction of the people more than the people determine the statutes. No; the cause of wrong conditions is fundamental, ethical. The Sermon on the Mount is sufficient to produce human harmony—when it is practised!

Three faculties are necessary to meet the crisis. One is a thorough insight into the social system as it now is; another is an equal insight into the ethical essentials that will make a reasonably perfect human order; the third is a genius equal to the grasp of those forces which, whether by evolution or by revolution, will change a wrong world into a right world. No genius is divine enough to possess these three unique faculties. Some men possess two of them. Most possess one. This accounts for sincere men at war with one another on these vexed issues.

I believe Professor Herron to be sincere, burning with the sense of the wide world's wrong. He preaches a message that is revolutionary in the same sense as every fundamental ideal is revolutionary; but as a point by the way let us ask if anything else is so anarchic and tyrannous and perilous to society as selfishness. Is not greed to blame for most of the present depression? Is not the deep heart of the practical world uttering a muffled and half-unconscious cry for men to treat one another more humanely and therefore more justly?

Much of the acerbity against the professor arises from his denunciation of competition as a principle suicidal in itself and alien to Christ. He exalts Christ as the Prophet of the right social order. By competition the professor means simply the pagan passion of beating and downing one another. Emulation is better. By the first a man feels at his best because he has forced a fellow-man below him. By the second, a man feels provoked to his best by watching another man working at his best.

We should welcome the men who shame society up from a baser plane to a diviner. We may dissent from many details of Dr. Herron's teaching, but we cannot, without crime, impeach these ideas. We find them in Jesus. A man must work out his best by helping every brother-man to work out his best.

Will these spiritual ideals undermine commerce or menace government? Will they take the sinew and heroism out of life's stern struggle? Let time tell. The shot is fired and the echoes will be heard the world around. Both far-looking and near-looking souls have reached vaguely for a true socialistic gospel. For my own part, while differing on many points with Dr. Herron, I find my views chiming deeply with his and many others of his caste, and I avow the faith that what makes man better and braver and brotherlier cannot but improve the whole social system.

REV. J. CUMMINGS SMITH,
Pastor of Trinity Presbyterian Church, San Francisco.

VI. MR. HERRON IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

In view of the opposition to Mr. Herron on the part of a few, who would be known as Christians and who claim to oppose him in the interest of Christianity, I am much more than willing to add my testimony to the truly Christian character of his teaching and preaching while with us.

These things characterized his public utterances, as well as his private conversation, to wit: First, enthusiastic loylaty to Jesus Christ as a teacher whom it is our highest wisdom thoroughly to understand and entirely to obey; second, sympathy with humanity, good-will toward men; third, a wide and inclusive knowledge of the political, commercial, and social conditions at present prevailing; fourth, an unusually clear understanding of the present imperative duty of those who would apply the precepts of Christ, in the spirit of Christ, to politics and business; fifth, calmness and self-control. Add to these, kindliness of manner; fearlessness, mixed with gentleness; an honest radicalism, joined with a wise conservatism; and you have the man as he impressed himself upon the great majority of those who heard him.

It is difficult to understand how one calling himself a Christian can find fault with the work of Professor Herron —unless he considers religion one thing and business another, not made for the same day and place. I can see readily enough how, as certain religious men regarded Jesus ("because they were covetous they derided Him"), there may be Christians—so-called—who in a railway company push the business, not as servants of God, but as servants of Mammon, "for all the traffic will bear," or, who, in some great monopoly, look more to dividends than to the public welfare; I can see how such men, as did their sort against Jesus, "gnash upon him with their teeth." But how any true disciple of Jesus—seeking actually to carry out His precepts—can deride or oppose Mr. Herron I cannot in the least understand.

Many of us, down here, of all sects, hailed his utterances as God's message faithfully delivered, and were filled with new hope and courage. For we said one to another: "If the churches and colleges will really maintain such teachers and preachers, or if such are forthcoming in any considerable numbers, whether maintained or not by the churches, surely the people will know their voice as the true shepherds, and will follow them." Such men are as truly God's prophets for our time as were Isaiah and Amos and Joel for theirs.

While here Professor Herron spoke some fifteen times in the ten days he was with us, and "The common people heard him gladly." If a few belated theologians and scribes and doctors of the law were moved against him by reason of some of his words, it was no more than happened to all the great prophets and to Jesus Himself. Calm, sane, and loving minds and hearts will take such opposition as rather in his favor—saving him from that "woe" which is "unto you when *all* men speak well of you." If he has arrayed the representatives and servants of gold and monopoly against him, that ought to commend him to the faithful lovers of God and men. I find my own heart warmed toward him, my mind instructed by him, and my spirit cheered.

Rev. R. M. Webster.

VII. THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT.

Dr. George D. Herron of Grinnell College has been disturbing the spiritual repose of the Pacific Coast, and some of the sleepers woke up in anger.

One of the first portions of scripture I ever committed to memory reads thus: "When Herod, the king, had heard these things he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him." While the musical cadence of this passage fascinated me I often, in my childish ignorance, used to wonder what there was in the birth of a child to be afraid of, and why the great and powerful Herod should be troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. But as I read and understood more of the "old, old story" I discovered that what troubled Herod was the announcement and introduction of a new *leaven* in society—a disturbing force which afterwards incited the civil and religious tyrants, bigots, and hypocrites to condemn and crucify for "blasphemy and sedition" the Man who all His life had been helping and healing others, and whom Herod had failed to murder when a babe in Bethlehem—the same force which still later on unhorsed and converted Saul, and, through Saul, made Felix tremble, and which ever since, when actually "applied" as a gauge to selfish and corrupt men and unjust systems and institutions, has troubled state, church, and time-serving preachers to the extent of their guilt, and will continue to until it permeates, controls, and *combines* every human interest, and becomes society's acknowledged law of gravity.

That this is the ideal of Dr. George D. Herron, in his reference to the "Christian State," and that it has nothing to do with the theological or church aspects of the question as understood by Christians who favor formal legal recognition of God or Christ in the written organic law, no candid, intelligent reader of Herron's books and lectures need to be told. That he has made his position on this subject so clear and unmistakable that the wayfaring man, though a sensational preacher in search of a "bill board" for advertising purposes, need not err therein, is evident to every student of Herron and his printed utterances. To those who recognize Christianity as a refined, refining, and regulating *essence* whose chief end is equity and kind, sympathetic unity among men, rather than by its forms, past and present—precisely as we recognize and value the rivers and lakes of the world for the *water* they carry, and upon which they float ships and through which they feed vegetation, rather than by former water-marks and channels—Dr. Herron is not in the least offensive or incomprehensible.

But, of course, every radical reformer of church and state creeds and institutions is an "anarchist and heretic," and even "blasphemer" in the eyes of that class who have no conception of anything save through the visible, tangible letter and form. In every age Jerusalem is stoning its prophets and killing those who are sent to save it; and states—with the very "constitutions" and written "laws" that were created to protect men—are constantly killing the spirit of liberty and justice.

The First Congregational church of San Francisco has lately issued an address by the pastor, in which Dr. Herron's expressions are quoted in the most fragmentary and misleading manner possible, and many of his best and most irrefutable propositions so cut up and reconstructed that they convey half-truths only, when, if examined as a whole and as originally stated, they would contain their own defence and vindication.

The "winding in and winding out" of this snaky device of Dr. Brown in his warfare on Dr. Herron—a device as old, at least, as the famous trial before Pilate—is everywhere present in the former's "Address," which, accompanied by an appropriate circular signed by the Church Trustees, has been sent to all the Y. M. C. A.s and sown generally wherever there is soil to receive it.

It is a significant fact that in less than three weeks after Dr. Brown's indiscriminate and sweeping condemnation of Professor Herron's arraignment of our present economic and political institutions, four out of nine judges in the highest tribunal of the nation issued a minority opinion condemning the action of their five associates and peers touching the most important and far-reaching question that has come before the supreme court since the Dred Scott decision. And the points made by the four members of a "house divided against itself," in repudiating the action of the five, as "revolutionary," etc., form a complete vindication of Dr. Herron's attitude, and fully justify his words, which Dr. Brown's church trustees claim "ought to stir the indignation of every loyal citizen." Will Dr. Brown class those four supreme judges with "disturbers and anarchists," as he repeatedly has Professor Herron for like utterances?

The following is an abbreviation of the circular sent out with Dr. Brown's "Address."

San Francisco, Cal., May 8, 1895.

The trustees of the First Congregational Church of San Francisco believe that the time has fully come when some voice should be raised against the socialistic propaganda now actively at work among the Christian pulpits and churches of America. No more striking proof could be given than the fact that numbers of evangelical pastors welcome the unbridled socialism of Professor Herron and hail him as a prophet inspired of God.

Our city and state have suffered quite enough from such agitation in the past. To have such views proclaimed in the name of religion seems to us quite unendurable. Such words, as many of Professor Herron's, ought to stir the indignation of every loyal citizen. . . .

The laity of our churches do not approve of socialism and will not follow its leadership. Hitherto, Professor Herron has gone from association to club and from place to place, frequently leaving behind him a number, who have been influenced, to propagate his views. We believe that Dr. Brown has done wisely in calling the attention of our churches throughout the land to this tendency, and squarely forcing the issue as to whether the churches are to furnish the platform for destructive socialism.

Ira P. Rankin,	Edward Coleman,
W. F. Whittier,	Wm. J. Dutton,
John F. Merrill,	H. L. Dodge,
F. A. Frank,	I. H. Morse,

Trustees.

The modesty displayed by these eight trustees in the announcement that "the time has fully come when some voice should be raised against the" flood of applied Christianity "now actively at work" irrigating "the Christian pulpits and churches of America,"—that the rapidly growing stream is to be withdrawn and bottled up and corked by Dr. Brown, and labelled, "None genuine unless the portrait and name of the pastor are blown in the glass," "seems to us quite unendurable." But we will let that pass, and, "in the name of religion," forgive them if they or Dr. Brown will explain wherein Dr. Herron's ethics and general premises differ in any essential respect from the direct and explicit doctrines and commands that fell from the lips of the Master Himself in the streets and in the groves of Palestine two thousand years ago. But they will not and dare not try to do this, simply because they are aware that it cannot be done. They always fear discussion.

At the close of a Saturday afternoon lecture by Dr. Herron, in Pasadena, a resident Congregational pastor—one of the most intelligent on the coast—pressed forward into the circle of earnest people who had crowded around the speaker—whose worst sin up to date has consisted in taking Jesus at His word—and in tones and accents that all could hear, said: "Doctor, this is no new doctrine. It is just what I and many other Congregational pastors have been preaching for the past twenty years." Then, as if reproved by some mental suggestion and accuser, he added with a lower voice and a regretful smile, "Only we have, perhaps, not applied it *quite* as closely as you do."

That last phrase is the key to the situation. Herron's heresy lies in the honest conviction that when Jesus said, "He that heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them will I liken to the man who founded his house upon a rock; he that heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them not will I liken to a man who founded his house upon the sand," He meant just that and nothing else. There are many sects, but only two distinct classes of Christians—the doers and the non-doers—and Dr. Herron is reblazing the trees that mark the boundary line between God and Baal.

The kind of socialism which the San Francisco pastor—or rather the power behind him, and which acts as his sponsor and prompter—denounces as "destructive," is Christianity in *motion* and everyday garb. It would no doubt be destructive to that limited and selfish form of socialism through which certain prominent and wealthy Christian "philanthropists" combine to pack our courts, control congress, make laws (?), and corner and steal the community lands, produce, and transportation facilities, with an occasional clergyman thrown in.

Once more the order, "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve," is cleaving the moral atmosphere and ringing in the ears of dying systems, and once more—perhaps for the last time—the sheep are being separated from the goats, the servants of God from the servants of Mammon; while

"The choice goes on forever
'Twixt *that* darkness and that light."

What John the Baptist was to the advent of the historic Christ, Dr. George D. Herron is to the applied Christianity of to-day, and as such he will be remembered in a future epoch when the remote descendants of his present persecutors shall be regretting that their ancestors were ever born to be trustees of the First Congregational Church in San Francisco.

The past mission of theology and the creeds has been to hold up in view of the world the Christ-image and ideal, and it was a mission that we should neither ignore nor underestimate. But the time has come when, in spite of all this, our courts are without conscience and our institutions without souls—that last stage of decay which precedes national destruction—and when teachers, if they are to be "heard gladly," must insist upon the practical application and assimilation of the Christ-*character* as a purifier and regulator of state and of church in all their varied institutions and phases. This and nothing less is what the "laity of our churches," as well as the outside world—even the "mob," so-called—are beginning to "approve of," and demand of teachers, and what they will not easily be diverted and driven from by bugbear terms and theological nursery tales indulged in by ecclesiastical cowards and moral middlemen who are causing the very stones to cry out: "O Christianity, what frauds are protected and humbugs exalted in thy name!"

James G. Clark.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

A SKETCH WRITTEN FOR A PURPOSE.

BY JOHN DAVIS.

CHAPTER III.

The Prevalence and Power of Liberal Sentiments in Europe.

I have briefly sketched the ancient régime of despotism in France which preceded the revolution. The revolution was a storm of fury and madness. Yet there was method in that madness. That storm-cloud had a silver lining of hope and sunshine; and that fury was but the gale which purified the atmosphere of its former corruptions. The revolution was as turbulent as chaos unchained, and as intolerant of contradiction or of compromise with the past as despotism itself. The party of to-day decapitated the party of yesterday, and all, by turns, felt the edge or the danger of the guillotine.

Yet in all that chaotic wrath there were decreed numerous laws for the benefit of humanity. The Convention was a furnace and also a forge. The heat passed away, but the moulded products remained.

The Convention declared the equality of all citizens as to legal rights and responsibilities; it established asylums and hospitals for the indigent and the infirm; it condemned the slave-trade and abolished slavery in the French dominions; it organized education and decreed gratuitous instruction to the young; it endowed schools; it created conservatories and museums and established the Institute. It insisted upon unity of the laws, unity of weights and measures, and unity of calculation by the decimal system.

Victor Hugo, in his "Ninety-Three," sums up the work of the revolutionary Convention as follows:

> Of the 11,210 decrees passed by the Convention, one-third have a political aim, and two-thirds have a humanitarian aim. It declared morals to be the universal foundation of society, and conscience the universal foundation of law. And all this: slavery abolished; brotherhood proclaimed; humanity protected; human conscience rectified; the law of work transformed to a privilege,

and from being onerous made hopeful; national wealth strengthened; childhood brightened and assisted; letters and science promulgated; light shed on every summit; help for all the wretched; encouragement for all principles;—all this the Convention brought about, having in its vitals that hydra, La Vendée, and on its shoulders that pile of tigers, the kings.

By all these decrees on the side of equal rights and just government, the Convention was attacking every monarch in Europe, and earning the respect, confidence and friendship of all oppressed peoples. By inoculating the surrounding nations with the sentiment of equal rights among men, as taught by the immortal Declaration in America, and learned and proclaimed in the face of all Europe by the French Convention and by all the republican writers, every adjacent nation became honeycombed with liberal sentiments.

This guaranteed to the French republican armies easy victories when the gage of battle came. The French armies met only the hostility of the governments and the regular armies of the neighboring nations. The oppressed peoples were friendly to the French, even to the extent of sometimes serving in the ranks of the French armies against their own rulers. This was the first tangible and obvious preparation of the great field of action ultimately to be occupied by Napoleon.

Another step taken by the revolution, leading to even more potent results than the foregoing, was the confiscation of the landed estates of the nobility and clergy, and the subdivision of the lands into millions of small homes for the people, as mentioned in my last chapter. This gave the French people something to defend and for which to fight. The love of home, family and friends, and the numerous ties and associations clustering about them, are the strongest passions and sentiments of the human heart. These sentiments were created and nurtured in the French breast by the decrees of the Convention. All Frenchmen had been declared *citizens of the republic*, and with a handful of cheap currency a citizen could become a freeholder. He then had an established *home*, with all that is embodied in that sacred word.

The titles to those millions of small homes depended on the success of the revolution. Hence every new landholder in France was resolved that the wheels of the revolution should not roll backward. And when the neighboring monarchs marched their armies into France for the avowed purpose of restoring the Bourbons and the old order of things, the French armies met them as heroes defending their firesides. In the armies of the kings were the regular soldiers, with courage and obedient discipline, but with no personal enthusiasm. On the side of the French Republic were armies of new recruits, half-fed, scantily clothed and poorly paid, but eagerly learning the art of war, and full of ardent patriotism. At first they were French citizens defending their homes; later on they were French patriots propagating the glorious principles of liberty among the neighboring and sympathetic peoples. This condition of things gave to the French armies the most astounding successes, as may be seen by anyone studying the campaigns of the republican generals, prior to the public appearance of General Bonaparte.

There was another condition seldom mentioned by writers discussing this period of French history. Sir Archibald Alison, estimating the military capabilities of nations, fixes one per cent of the population as the average strength of the armies in time of war, and, by a little thought on the subject, my readers will probably admit that the historian has placed the figure quite high enough. Thus, a nation of thirty millions would find the average limit of its armies during a long series of years about three hundred thousand men. More than that would prove exhaustive, and bearable only for short periods, with intervals for rest and recuperation.

Now, if one per cent of the population of a nation may enter the army as regular soldiers, ninety-nine per cent will be left to sustain the financial arm of the country; to arm, pay, clothe, feed, recruit and recuperate the armies. The sword-arm of the nation is one per cent of the population; the purse-arm is ninety-nine per cent.

With that rule in mind let us examine the condition of France. Among the first decrees of the Convention was one creating a system of paper currency to meet all expenses. For five years that currency relieved the nation almost wholly from the burdens of taxation. Instead of calling on the people to sustain the financial arm of the nation, the Convention met the demand with the printing-press. Having few financial burdens to bear, the nation threw its entire force and energies into the military arm of the country. In this way the French armies very frequently comprised two to three per cent of the entire population. So, viewing the situation from all sides, the republican armies of France were two or three times the usual strength in proportion to population; and they were superlatively patriotic, enthusiastic and intrepid. They fought for a purpose, as the

Greeks fought on "old Platæa's day"; as Americans fought in 1776, when "life, liberty, and sacred honor" were at stake. With all these advantages on their side the French patriots met in the field mere discipline and sullen obedience. There was no enthusiasm in the ranks of their enemies. And, when marching through foreign territories, the French troops quite frequently found themselves among friends; or, at worst, among people who were not a unit against them.

The foregoing conditions in Europe were inherited by Napoleon when he came to the front as a military commander. He found France more completely organized as a military nation than any other in Europe; he found himself at the head of the most ardent, active, courageous, and aggressive armies in the world; and he found it no difficult task to meet the poorest. When first marching into Italy, Rhenish Prussia, and other countries as an invader, he continually heard himself called "the liberator of the people!"

To sustain the position here taken we have but to refer to the details of Napoleon's career. Italy was permeated by liberal sentiments, and Napoleon's first campaigns there are pronounced the most wonderful and astounding in history But, as he uniformly proved faithless to democratic sentiment after he had aroused and profited by it, his second campaigns, to hold or to reconquer his former conquests, were usually more difficult. Among a people who had heard of Napoleon as a friend of liberty and the builder of republics, carrying "war to the palace and peace to the cottage," his conquests were easy and his victories rapid and brilliant. But in all cases where the people had witnessed his treacheries and felt the merciless weight of his extortions and oppressions, they never willingly submitted again. The battle of Marengo belongs to the second conquest of Italy. It was far more difficult and costly than any of the numerous battles of his earlier campaigns. At first the people were on the side of Napoleon, and furnished him with all needed information respecting the strength and movements of the enemy; but afterwards they were less friendly, and Napoleon was utterly surprised and almost ruined at Marengo before he knew he was in the presence of the enemy.

The people of Prussia and Austria never met the French armies as inveterate and personal enemies until after they had personally witnessed his treason to liberty and felt the weight of his spoliations and despotisms. Even in Spain, where liberal sentiments were less prevalent, the earlier campaigns were less difficult than the later ones. And, as a rule, it may be stated that, with all his great genius as a military hero and conqueror, Napoleon was not a marked success except where he was aided by the local democratic sentiment. He entered Syria and Russia as a victorious conqueror. He found no friendly sentiment among the people; and he returned in each case as a defeated fugitive. He sent sixty thousand men to overwhelm the people and to reëstablish slavery in San Domingo. The people were a unit against him; and the bones of his army whitened the plains of the island, and his general returned in a coffin.

I know it is claimed that in Russia it was the cold weather that ruined Napoleon. That is a mistake. He lost more than two-thirds of his men before he reached Moscow in September, when the weather was still as mild as springtime in Andalusia or as autumn days at Fontainebleau. It was the Russians that defeated Napoleon in Russia, *because they were a unit against him*, and because his French troops felt that they were neither defending their own firesides nor propagating the liberal sentiments of the French Republic.

It is well to note in this place the magnificent successes of the French armies under other generals than Napoleon. The achievements of Dumaurier in 1792, and of Mareau, Pichegru, Hoche, Jourdan, and others, in the three years prior to the time of Napoleon, were far more valuable to the cause of liberty and scarcely less brilliant than any of the campaigns of the First Consul or the Emperor. Indeed these early successes seem to have been necessary preliminaries in the creation and growth of that veteran military spirit and prestige, which Napoleon afterwards used so effectively. Alison's History (vol. ii, p. 336), says: "The victories of Dumaurier rolled back to the Rhine the tide of foreign invasion;" and (p. 477) he continues: "From the cannonade at Valmy [September, 1792] may be dated the commencement of the career of victory which carried their armies to Vienna and the Kremlin." At the close of 1794 a retrospect of the three past years showed the achievements of the French armies to have been most brilliant and the diplomacy of the new republic entirely successful. The policy had been mainly defensive within the liberal boundaries known as the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees, permitting the republican sentiment outside of that to support itself, encouraged and guided by the example of France, but not sustained by French arms. This just policy appeared to be so nearly satisfactory, that there were reasonable hopes that the powers of Europe would, ere long, assent to the new situation and agree to a general peace.

When Napoleon came to the front, in October, 1795, through his victory over the revolutionary sections, he at once adopted, upon one pretext or another, the policy of invasion. Not only must there be a French republic, but all Europe must become republican. He declared as his military slogan, "War to the palace, and peace to the cottage." His first enterprise was for the deliverance of Italy from the despotism of Austria. He found in Lombardy three parties: (1) one which was friendly to France and obeyed French orders; (2) one that aimed at liberty and national independence; and (3) one that was friendly to Austria and hostile to France. Writing to the Directory in Paris, he said, "I support the first, restrain the second, and put down the third."

South of the Po, Napoleon again found three parties similar to the above, and his policy was not materially different. In each and every case he found a friendly party which aided him materially in his military operations against the Austrians. As his victorious armies drove out the Austrians, new Italian republics sprang up as if natural to the soil. Genoa, with her new constitution, became the Ligurian Republic, and Milan became the capital of the Cisalpine Republic. By the treaty of Campoformio Lombardy was attached to the latter.

The violence, the pillaging, and the despotism which attended these Italian campaigns were immense and deplorable, but the halo of the brilliant victories hid them from view, and when Napoleon returned to Paris in December, 1797, he was hailed as "the liberator of Italy!" In the short space of two years he had won a series of the most splendid victories. He had humbled Austria and had acquired for France large accessions of territory. The mystery of these successes and triumphs is easily explained by the fact that Napoleon had commanded the best troops in Europe, and had met the poorest, as to enthusiasm and cheerful service. Italy had fed, clothed and paid his troops, and thousands of the friendly Italians had volunteered to serve in the French armies, in order to aid in expelling the hated Austrians. I will give a single case, illustrating the general situation. Discribing Napoleon's early campaigns in Italy, Alison in his "History of Europe" (vol. iv, p. 69), says:

> Great was the enthusiasm, unbounded the joy, which these unparalleled successes and [Napoleon's] eloquent words excited among that ardent and generous part of the Italian people who panted for civil liberty and national independence. To them Napoleon appeared as the destined regenerator of Italy, the hero who was to achieve their liberation from Transalpine oppression

> and bring back the glorious days of Roman virtue. His burning words, his splendid actions, and the antique character of his thoughts diffused a universal enchantment. Even the coolest heads began to turn at the brilliant career thus begun by a general not yet eight-and-twenty years of age, and the boundless anticipations of future triumphs, of which he spoke with prophetic certainty. From every part of Italy the young and the ardent flocked to Milan; balls and festivities gave token to the universal joy; every word and look of the conqueror was watched; the patriots compared him to Scipio and Hannibal, and the ladies on the popular side knew no bounds in their adulation.
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> But this illusion was of short duration, and Italy was soon destined to experience the bitter fate and cruel degradation of every people who look for their deliverance to foreign assistance. In the midst of the general joy, a contribution of twenty millions of francs, 800,000 pounds sterling, struck Milan with astonishment. . . . So enormous a contribution upon a single city seemed scarcely to be realized; but the sword of the victor offered no alternative. Great requisitions were, at the same time, made of horses, for the artillery and cavalry, in all the Milanese territory; and provisions were amassed on all sides at the expense of the inhabitants.

The Duke of Modena was compelled to purchase peace by a contribution of ten million francs, and twenty paintings from his gallery for the museum in Paris. Liberated Italy was treated with more severity than is generally the lot of conquered states.

Alison continues the subject as follows (vol. iv. pp. 70–71):

> Thus commenced the system of "making war support war," which contributed so much to the early success of the republican arms, which compensated for all the penury and exhaustion of republican territory, which raised to the clouds the glory of the empire, and brought about inevitably its ultimate destruction. While the other armies of the republic were suffering under the horrors of penury, the army of Italy was rolling in opulence, and the spoils of vanquished states gave them every enjoyment of life. From that time there was no want of soldiers to follow the career of the conqueror. The passes of the Alps were covered with files of troops, pressing forward to the theatre of renown; and all the chasms occasioned by the relentless system of war which he followed were filled up by the multitudes whom the illusions of victory brought to his ranks. . . . Clothed, fed, and lodged at the expense of the Milanese, the soldiers pursued with thoughtless eagerness and career of glory which had opened before them. The artillery and cavalry were soon in the finest condition; and hospitals were established for fifteen thousand patients or wounded, in the different towns in the conquered territory;—for to that immense number had the rapidity of the marches and the multiplicity of the combats swelled the list. Having amply provided for his own army, Napoleon dispatched several millions by the route of Genoa for the service of the Directory, and one million over the Alps to Moreau, to relieve the pressing wants of the army of the upper Rhine.

The powerful influence of the democratic sentiment among the people in the countries invaded by Napoleon cannot be too thoroughly illustrated nor too strongly emphasized. It certainly gave to him multitudes of easy victories, which, being credited to his "transcendent military genius," have surrounded his name with an unmerited halo of glory pernicious in its tendencies. He won his many brilliant victories by false promises to the people; and he fastened upon them his crushing military despotism through treason to liberty and by the most shameless treachery toward all who trusted him.

Speaking generally of the liberal sentiment in nations adjacent to France, Sir Walter Scott, in his "Life of Napoleon" (p. 161), says:

> One important part of the subject can be here treated but slightly. We allude to the great advantages derived by the French arms from the reception of their political doctrines at this period, among the people whom they invaded. They proclaimed aloud that they made war on castles and palaces, but were at peace with the cottages; and as on some occasions besieging generals are said to have bribed a governor of a place to surrender it, by promising that they would leave in his unchallenged possession the military chest of the garrison, so the French in all cases held out to the populace the plunder of their own nobles, as an inducement for them to favor, at least not to oppose, the invasion of their country. Thus their armies were always preceded by their principles. A party favorable to France, and listening with delight to the doctrines of liberty and equality, was formed in the bosom of each neighboring state, so that the power of the invaded nation was crushed, and its spirit quenched, under a sense of internal discontent and discord. The French were often received at once as conquerors and deliverers by the countries they invaded; and in almost all cases the governments on which they made war were obliged to trust exclusively to such regular forces as they could bring into the field, being deprived of the inappreciable advantage of general zeal among their subjects in their behalf. It was not long ere the inhabitants of those deceived countries found that the fruits of the misnamed tree of liberty resembled those said to grow by the Dead Sea—fair and goodly to the eye, but to the taste all filth and bitterness.

The liberal sentiments so prevalent in Europe in the time of Napoleon existed in a most threatening form among the people of England. And if England had been a continental country open to invasion by land, there is little doubt that the French troops would have marched into London, overthrown the monarchy, and, by the aid of the English people, established a republic. To sustain this statement it is but necessary to refer to the repeated mutinies in the British navy under the very eyes of the government. Describing one of these mutinies, Alison (vol. iv, pp. 233–5) says:

> The prevalence of these discontents was made known to Lord

Howe and the lords of the admiralty by a variety of anonymous communications during the whole spring of 1797. But they met with no attention; and, upon inquiry of the captains of vessels, they were so ill informed that they declared that no mutinous dispositions existed on board their respective ships. Meanwhile, however, a vast conspiracy, unknown to them, was already organized, which was brought to maturity on the return of the channel fleet to port in the beginning of April; and, on the signal being made from the Queen Charlotte, by Lord Bridport, to weigh anchor on the 15th of that month at Spithead, instead of obeying, its crew gave three cheers, which were returned by every vessel in the fleet, and the red flag of mutiny was hoisted at every masthead. In this perilous crisis, the officers of the squadron exerted themselves to the utmost to bring back their crews to a state of obedience; but all their efforts were in vain.

Meanwhile, the fleet being entirely in the possession of the insurgents, they used their power firmly but, to the honor of England be it said, with humanity and moderation. Order and discipline were universally observed; the most scrupulous attention was paid to the officers; those most obnoxious were sent ashore without molestation; delegates were appointed from all the ships to meet in Lord Howe's cabin, an oath to support the common cause was administered to every man in the fleet, and ropes were reeved to the yardarm of every vessel, as a signal of the punishment that would be inflicted on those that betrayed it. . . .

This unexpected mutiny produced the utmost alarm both in the country and the government; and the board of admiralty was immediately transferred to Portsmouth to endeavor to appease it. Earl Spencer hastened to the spot, and after some negotiation the demands of the fleet were acceded to by the admiralty, it being agreed that the pay of able-bodied seamen should be raised to a shilling a day, that of petty officers and ordinary seamen in the same proportion, and the green age pension augmented to ten pounds. This, however, the seamen refused to accept unless it was ratified by royal proclamation and act of parliament; the red flag which had been struck was rehoisted, and the fleet, after subordination had been in some degree restored, again broke out into open mutiny. Government, upon this, sent down Lord Howe to reassure the mutineers, and to convince them of the good faith with which they were animated. The personal influence of this illustrious man, the many years he had commanded the channel fleet, the recollection of his glorious victory at its head, all conspired to induce the sailors to listen to his representations; and in consequence of his assurance that the government would faithfully keep its promises, and grant an unlimited amnesty for the past, the whole fleet returned to its duty, and a few days afterwards put to sea, amounting to twenty-one ships of the line, to resume the blockade of Brest harbor.

Alison speaks of another mutiny as follows (vol. iv, pp. 235–6):

On the 22nd of May [1797] the fleet at the Nore, forming part of Lord Duncan's squadron, broke out into open mutiny, and on the 6th of June they were joined by all the vessels of that fleet, from the blockading station off the Texel, excepting his own line-of-battle ship and two frigates. These ships drew themselves up in order of battle across the Thames, stopped all vessels going up

> or down the river, appointed delegates and a provisional government for the fleet, and compelled the ships whose crews were thought to be wavering to take their station in the middle of the formidable array. At the head of the insurrection was a man of the name of Parker, a seaman on board the Sandwich, who assumed the title of "President of the Floating Republic," and was distinguished by undaunted resolution and no little ability. Their demands related chiefly to the unequal distribution of prize money, which had been overlooked by the channel mutineers; but they went so far in other respects, and were couched in such a menacing strain, as to be justly deemed totally inadmissible by the government.
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> At intelligence of this alarming insurrection, the utmost consternation seized all classes in the nation. Everything seemed falling at once. Their armies had been defeated, the bank had suspended payment, and now the fleet, the pride and glory of England, appeared on the point of deserting the national colors. The citizens of London dreaded the stoppage of the colliers and all the usual supplies of the metropolis; the public creditors apprehended the speedy dissolution of government and the cessation of their wonted payments from the treasury. Despair seized upon the boldest hearts; and such was the general panic, that the three per cents were sold as low as 45, after having been nearly 100 before the commencement of the war. Never, during the whole contest, had the consternation been so great, and never was Britain placed so near the verge of ruin.

It was with great difficulty that this mutiny was suppressed and the sailors were induced to return to their allegiance.

Alison proceeds to discuss other serious mutinies in the English navy, at Plymouth, Cadiz, and other points, describing "a widespread disaffection" which had been produced by "a dangerous member of the London Corresponding Society." Speaking of the mutiny off Cadiz, he says (vol. iv, p. 245):

> Excited by the agents of the Corresponding Society in England, it aimed at revolution, and tended to an alliance with the enemies of the country. The mutineers on board the Princess Royal pointed to Cadiz as their future country. It required all St. Vincent's firmness and energy to extinguish the widespread spirit, but he was equal to the crisis.

I will now introduce the testimony of Napoleon himself as to his estimate of the power of liberal sentiment in adjacent countries. Being asked by Dr. O'Meara, in St. Helena, if he had really intended to invade England, Napoleon replied, in part, as follows:

> I would have headed it [the invasion] myself. . . . By false intelligence adroitly managed, I calculated you would have sent your squadrons to the East and West Indies and Mediterranean in search of my fleets. Before they could return I would have had the command of the channel for two months, as I should have had about seventy sail of the line, besides the frigates. I should have

> hastened over my flotilla with two hundred thousand men, landed as near Chatham as possible, and proceeded direct to London, where I calculated to arrive in four days from the time of my landing. I would have proclaimed a republic (I was then First Consul), the abolition of the nobility and the House of Peers, the distribution of the property of such of the latter as opposed me, amongst my partisans, liberty, equality, and the sovereignty of the people. I would have allowed the House of Commons to remain; but would have introduced a great reform. I would have published a proclamation, declaring that we came as friends to the English, and to free the nation from a corrupt and flagitious aristocracy, and restore a popular form of government, a democracy, which would have been confirmed by the conduct of my army, as I would not have allowed the slightest outrage to be committed by my troops. Marauding or ill treatment of the inhabitants, or the most trifling infringement of my orders, I would have punished with instant death. I think that, with my promises, together with what I would actually have effected, I should have had the support of a great many. In a large city like London, where there are so many canaille and so many disaffected, I should have been joined by a formidable body. I would, at the same time, have excited an insurrection in Ireland. . . .
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> There is no knowing what would have happened, Mr. Doctor. Neither Pitt nor you nor I could have foretold what would have been the result. The hope of change for the better, and a division of property, would have operated wonderfully amongst the canaille, especially that of London. The canaille of rich nations are nearly alike. I would have made such promises as would have had a great effect. What resistance could an undisciplined army make against mine, in a country like England, abounding in plains? I considered all you have said, but I calculated on the effect that would be produced by the possession of a great and rich capital, the bank, and all your riches, the ships in the river and at Chatham. I expected that I should have had the command of the channel for two months, by which I should have had supplies of troops; and, when your fleet came back, they would have found their capital in the hands of an enemy, and their country overwhelmed by my armies. I would have abolished flogging and promised your seamen everything; which would have made a great impression upon their minds. The proclamation stating that we came only as friends, to relieve the English from an obnoxious and despotic aristocracy, whose object was to keep the nation eternally at war in order to enrich themselves and their families with the blood of the people, together with the proclaiming a republic, the abolition of the monarchical government and the nobility, the declaration of the forfeiture of the property of the latter, and its division amongst the partisans of the revolution, with a general equalization of property, would have gained me the support of the canaille and of all the idle, the profligate, and the disaffected in the kingdom. ("Napoleon in Exile", vol. i, pp. 215–7).

That was Napoleon's manner of warfare and his estimate of the power of the revolutionary influences and sentiments permeating the nations adjacent to France. On it he was willing to stake the supremacy of France against that of

England in European affairs, and to place at hazard his own political existence. But the defeat of Admiral Villeneuve in July, and the loss of the battle of Trafalgar, in which the naval power of France was completely broken, prevented the descent on England at the time, and made such an enterprise entirely impossible during Napoleon's subsequent reign. The troops actually on foot for the invasion of England, in July, 1805, were used on the continent, and in October and December of the same year won the battles of Ulm and Austerlitz.

(To be continued.)

THE LABOR EXCHANGE.

BY F. W. COTTON.

Out of the confusion arising from many diverse and conflicting efforts in the direction of a higher civilization, must be evolved a movement that will succeed. The successful movement, at some stage of its existence, must be an organization. It must also contain an idea of sufficient power to give it control over the minds of the populace. Thought moves the world. The thought which moves people most effectively to-day is the prevalent opinion that money is the most desirable of all things. The idea which can dethrone the money idea in the minds of the people is the one which can be depended upon to inaugurate a revolution in our business and social customs.

The Labor Exchange is an organization established for the purpose of conducting business by a system differing radically from the business system now in vogue. This new system includes, among the various devices necessary to work out the plan in detail, one central provision or idea upon which the others are founded and which constitutes the motive power of the movement. The central provision of the Labor Exchange is the certificate of deposit which enables people to conduct business without resort to legal-tender money.

The prevailing superstition that money issued by the edict of a central government is an all-important factor in the transaction of business can be overcome, gradually at first, but surely and rapidly in the end, by the use of certificates of deposit issued by voluntary associations for deposits of labor or property of value. Men and women in any part of the world may become members of the Labor Exchange general organization. A few of these members collected at one place may form a local branch of the Exchange. Upon electing officers and receiving a charter from the general organization they are in a position to carry on business as a Labor Exchange local branch.

The difficulty which usually presents itself to any small company of persons about to start into business is the want of money—money to buy labor, money to buy land, money to buy machinery, raw material, and anything and everything required in a productive enterprise. Many a hopeful undertaking is abandoned merely because money cannot be obtained to use as a purchasing medium. But at the very point where current money fails, the certificates of deposit become serviceable, and this fact makes it possible for the latter to overcome and drive out the former. The Labor Exchange branch, starting into business, issues certificates of deposit for land, labor, machinery, material, etc., just as the moneyed capitalist pays out money for the same.

The Labor Exchange means a medium of exchange without cost, thus doing away with interest. It means business in the hands of those who deposit labor and material into a common fund, thus doing away with private profits. It means consumable wealth balancing the issue of checks, and unconsumable wealth held by depositors as common capital, thus doing away with "overproduction." It means land deposited with branches for Labor Exchange checks, making it common property for coöperative use, thus doing away with private rent.

The advantages of the Labor-Exchange system of doing business are apparent to all who give the subject careful study. Many, however, who see the justice of the methods do not comprehend the power of the certificate of deposit. Let us consider the point more fully.

It has already been shown that where labor and property can be had and money is wanting, Labor-Exchange branches can be established and business can be carried on by using the Labor-Exchange certificate as an exchange or purchasing medium. Now, let the reader imagine these branches doing a moderately successful business in a thousand different places. Remember that all over the nation people are eager to sell not only labor but property of all kinds. Remember that an abundance of labor and capital is all that is necessary to produce all the wealth that can possibly be needed to supply material human wants. Remember that the certificates of deposit cost only the paper and the trouble of printing; and remember that they become better than gold as soon as they are issued for property of value.

How long would it take a thousand united organizations, with an unlimited power of purchase in their possession, to get control of the wealth of the nation, and make their system of doing business the one in universal use? The masses of the people will rush into the Labor Exchange rapidly enough when the foundation is laid. The movement now needs agitators, organizers and managers who will establish branches and get the new business system well started. Already much has been done. Over fifty branches have been organized in some twenty states of the Union, and enthusiastic writers and talkers are impressing the importance of the movement upon the minds of thinking people in hundreds of places.

PROGRESSIVE CHANGES IN UNIVERSALIST THOUGHT.

BY REV. MARION D. SHUTTER, D. D.

THE author of the fourth gospel attributes this remarkable utterance to Jesus: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all the truth." The Great Master is just about to be taken away. His three years of personal instruction are at an end. He admonishes His disciples not to think that He has told them everything — that He has given them a full and complete revelation of all that is to be known, of all that they and the world need to know. There will be growth and progress in religious thought. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." Ye are not yet prepared, O My disciples, for the entire realm of truth. I have led you across the boundary line into the new territory, but vast, unexplored regions lie beyond. "Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all the truth." God's Spirit of truth is to be always in the world, guiding men from age to age.

"The letter fails and systems fall,
And every symbol wanes;
The Spirit over-brooding all,
Eternal love, remains."

These words show us, in a very striking way, one phase of the work of Jesus Himself. He did not seek, as many of His followers have done, to bind men down to certain formulas, to limit their thinking to certain propositions, to prevent them from going beyond the revelations of that particular time. Remotest from His purpose was the attempt to fasten chains upon the human mind. He was a breaker of bonds; He was a destroyer of traditions; He was the outlawed heretic of His day, the prince of iconoclasts. He stirred men up, He made them think. He gave a marvellous impulse to the religious intellect. He taught the people of His day, and the people of every subsequent age, not to repose upon the teachings of the past, but to watch with sleepless eye the ever-opening and ever-enlarging unfoldings of God.

If Jesus were upon the earth to-day, who can doubt that He would heartily welcome, as portions of the everlasting gospel, the revelations of the astronomer's telescope, which show the work of God to be so much more vast than earlier generations dreamed; the revelations of the geologist's pick and spade, which extend the work of God through uncounted ages, and remove that wondrous "in the beginning" far into the twilight of the past eternity; the revelations that have come through the naturalist's researches, showing the methods of the Creator? All these would Jesus welcome to-day. He would command His followers to stand, with uncovered heads, before the rising and growing vision, and would Himself lead them in the ascription of praise — "Great and marvellous are Thy works, O Lord God Almighty."

How contrary to His high example the conduct of those who say: "Here in our creed is the truth of God, beyond which you must not go. We have it here in compact and definite shape. Beyond this is danger, destruction, damnation!" The denomination whose name appears in the title of this paper is not prepared to take such an attitude. We revere the past, but we do not idolize it. We do not break with it, but we are not fettered by it. We know full well that the foundations are laid there; but we know quite as well that we shall never get on with the building if we stop with the foundations. "One layeth the foundation, another buildeth thereupon." Our work is that of the builder. Every denomination that intends to live must adjust itself, in each generation, to new conditions of life and thought.

I. The earliest Universalism in this country is represented by that noble figure, of whose work and influence we must always speak with respect, —

JOHN MURRAY.

Born in Alton, England, Dec. 21, 1741, of Calvinistic parents, his home was constantly overshadowed by religious severity. No sunshine entered the life of the child. His father seldom indulged in a smile. The boy was taught that for any person not one of the elect to say of God or to God, "Our Father," was nothing better than blasphemy. Thus early in life were the terrors of religion impressed upon his soul. He passed through childhood, as many another has done, in constant agony, his childish imagination filled with pictures of the last day, the world in flames, and horrible devils carrying off the wicked to their doom. Like many another child he hardly dared to go to sleep at night, for fear of awaking next morning in hell! (Such were the teachings by which it was once thought to make religion attractive to children.)

As young Murray grew up, the Methodists began to come into his neighborhood. He was carried away by their enthusiasm, but never changed his Calvinistic views. He chose Whitefield, who was Calvinistic, rather than Wesley, as his guide, although Wesley himself made a class leader of John Murray. Later the young man came under the influence of James Relly, who, from being a preacher in Whitefield's connection, had become a preacher of Universalism. He was convinced by the reasoning of Relly and adopted his views of destiny. Then followed his excommunication from Whitefield's society, persecution by his old friends and neighbors, the death of his wife — one calamity after another, until, broken-hearted and in despair, he resolved to cross the ocean and seek in the new world "to close his life in solitude and complete retirement."

He came, but not to close his career. He came to begin the real work of his life. He came to start a movement that has never died and will not die — a movement that is destined to sweep from theology every vestige of cruelty and darkness that still lingers; a movement whose influences are seen today in the more humane tone of the pulpit and the growing demand for expurgated creeds. The story of his reception upon these shores is curious enough. It is not necessary to restate here the manner of his meeting with Thomas Potter on Cranberry Inlet, and the way in which, all unconsciously and without design, preparation had been made for his advent. If he had come to proclaim the old-fashioned message of burning wrath and relentless doom, his reception would have been called a "wonderful providence." He did not come, however, for the purpose of preaching any doctrine; he did not mean to open his lips; but when circumstances compelled him to speak, he preached the gospel of boundless love and universal victory over evil. We shall, therefore, refrain from calling the manner of his reception a "wonderful providence," that we may give no offence to our evangelical friends, and allow the whole transaction to be classed as an "inscrutable mystery."

This was the beginning. What were the theological opinions of Murray? Those opinions were, to a large extent, characteristic of the Universalism of his day. They represent the early period of the denomination, and are of interest as showing from what we have advanced. Murray was, in most particulars, a decided Calvinist. He was trinitarian in his ideas of God and in his views of Christ's nature and relation to God. He believed in the traditional fall of Adam and all its consequences, original sin and transmitted depravity. He believed in vicarious sacrifice. He held that endless punishment was, indeed, the just due of human sin; but that Christ had borne the penalty of all, and that all would at last be saved. He held, in his own peculiar way, the doctrine of election, but he enlarges it, in the event, to include all except the "spirits that fell from heaven." He did not go quite so far as Origen, who believed that the devil himself would finally be brought to the "mourner's bench" and soundly converted. Murray believed in a personal devil, but handed him over to be dealt with upon strictly orthodox principles.

Such was the theology of Murray. Such, for the most part, was early Universalism. Such was the rock from which we are hewn, the hole of the pit from which we are digged. There were, however, especially during the latter part of his ministry, those who differed from his views in regard to the person and mission of Christ. Among them were Rich, Winchester, and Ballou. Of these Murray was moved to say, "I know no persons further from Christianity, genuine Christianity, than such Universalists." Murray, honest and faithful, believed sincerely that there was to be no advance in Universalism beyond the form in which he held and delivered it. There was nothing to be said that he had not said. Departure from the paths he had marked out was departure from Christianity itself. Murray had himself departed from Whitefield and Wesley; but no one must depart from Murray!

Let us not blame him because he was mistaken. Let us reverence him for the work he did, and for making possible still later and better work. He brought, in a certain degree, the spirit of truth, the spirit of inquiry and investigation; and that spirit has led his disciples into fields beyond the dooryard of their master. It was glory enough for him that he rimmed with light the iron throne of Calvinism; that he found a heart of love in the God of that terrific system; that to the little band of the elect on earth, he added the mighty host of human souls in the hereafter; that he dropped the plummet of God's redeeming mercy to the bottom of hell!

II. I have suggested certain departures from his views among some of the Universalists, towards the latter part of Murray's career. We must, therefore, call attention to the second great figure in our history,

HOSEA BALLOU,

who stands for the next phase of denominational thought.

Born at Richmond, N. H., in 1771, thirty years after the birth of Murray, he also sprang from a Calvinistic family. His father was a Calvinistic Baptist minister. The youth of Ballou was as about as miserable, theologically speaking, as that of Murray. He himself relates:—

> We were all taught, and in our youth believed, that we were born into the world wholly depraved, and under the curse of a law which doomed every son and daughter of Adam to eternal woe. At the same time God had made provision for a select number of the human family, whereby they would be saved by the operations of the Divine Spirit, which would operate in what was called conversion sometime during the life of those elected. Those who were not elected would remain without any effectual calling, die, and be forever miserable. When I was a youth, it was the sentiment of all Christian people, so far as I knew, that not more than one in a thousand of the human family would be saved from endless condemnation.

With a mind naturally logical, Ballou, as he grew up, discovered the absurdities and inconsistencies of the prevailing theology, and before long we find him excommunicated from his father's church for being a Universalist. The father entreated and remonstrated, but the son was firm. Among the questions he put to his father was this: "Suppose I had the skill and power out of an inanimate substance to make an animate, and should make one, at the same time knowing that this creature of mine would suffer everlasting misery—

would my act of creating this creature be an act of goodness?" The question troubled his father, but it was never answered. The only answer, indeed, that the orthodoxy of Ballou's day, or of any other day, has ever made to such questions, is to solemnly warn against the use of human reason: "Do not think and question; only believe. The use of reason may destroy your soul!"

While the logical mind of Ballou could not rest satisfied with the orthodoxy of his day, no more could it rest satisfied with theology as John Murray would have it. In his remarkable work on "The Atonement," a work which embodies most of his own system, he distinctly repudiates the doctrine of the Trinity; he teaches that Christ was a dependent, created being, and not God; he rejects the vicarious and substitutionary sacrifice, and holds that Christ was sent into this world to teach men the way to God and reconcile them to Him. He also repudiates the doctrine of a fall and of inherited depravity, and insists on the originial rightness of human nature. In his early life he appears to have believed that there would be disciplinary suffering in the next world; but latterly he abandoned this idea. "His matured opinion seems to have been," according to Dr. Cone, "that sin is punished when and where it is committed; and as he did not believe that men would sin in the life to come, he did not think they would suffer punishment in that state of existence." His doctrine, for this reason, was known among his opponents as the "death-and-glory doctrine."

Mr. Ballou's book and preaching revolutionized — or, as Murray would have described it, "wrecked" — the denomination. Different from the spirit of Murray, in this respect, was the spirit of Hosea Ballou. He seems to have realized, as did Jesus, that the spirit of truth would constantly lead the earnest seeker into new regions; and in the preface to his great book, published about eighty years ago, he writes:—

> It is a happy circumstance that in the denomination of Universalists no one feels bound to support and defend the particular opinions of another any further than he is himself convinced of their truth and importance. Our platform of faith is general, and allows individuals an extensive latitude to think freely, to investigate minutely, and to adopt what particular views best comport with the honest convictions of the mind, and fearlessly to avow and defend the same.

Golden words, and words we do well to remember to-day.

Ballou accepted Murray's doctrine of destiny, and added to it the doctrine of the Divine Unity and of Christ's work as a moral power influencing men to God. A rational view of Deity and of the nature of salvation was Ballou's work upon Murray's foundation. Having finished his course and accomplished his task, he fell asleep in the year 1852. Says President Cone: —

> A great and spotless soul, he well deserves the meed of reverence and of honor from us of this generation who have entered into his labors. Well shall we do and deserve if we perform the work allotted to us with the zeal and consecration, with the courage and sincerity, and with the geniality and toleration which distinguished Hosea Ballou.

III. THE MODERN PERIOD.

Since the death of Ballou, we cannot say that any one man has become the embodiment and exponent of a period. There has been progress since his day, but the thought and tendencies of the modern epoch are not gathered up in one individual.

The denomination still stands with its foundations in the past. It retains the doctrine of human destiny for which Murray so zealously labored, but it disclaims the Calvinism with which that doctrine was associated in his mind. With Ballou, it repudiates his ideas of the Trinity, the deity of Christ, vicarious sacrifice, and total depravity. It accepts with Ballou the unity of God, the original rightness of human nature, and the morally educational work of Jesus Christ. But it no longer accepts the later teaching of Ballou, that punishment for sin is confined to this life; the vast majority to-day would say that penalty may extend and does extend into the other life, and lasts while sin lasts.

But if modern Universalism retains so much of the work and thought of the past, we may well ask, "Has it any characteristics of its own? What distinguishes the Universalism of to-day from the Universalism of the fathers?" It is already apparent that there is a large body of truth which we hold in common with them. Wherein do we differ?

1. The Universalism of to-day differs from that of yesterday, in some respects, as the oak differs from the acorn; *it is the development of certain germs of truth whose unfolding was long delayed.*

For example, our fathers, in the confession of 1803, departed so far from orthodoxy as to declare that the "Holy

Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments *contain* a revelation of the character of God, the duty, interest, and final destination of mankind." Orthodoxy said, "The Scriptures *are* such a revelation from beginning to end." We can hardly realize to-day the length of the departure measured by the word *contain*. The fathers also affirmed man's right to use his reason in the interpretation of the Bible, to whatever conclusion he might be led. The orthodoxy of the day insisted that reason must only be used so far as it brought one back to the predestined conclusions of the creeds. All this was before the day of scientific criticism, and while our fathers affirmed the difference in value and importance of different parts of the Bible, yet in their handling of proof texts they proceeded upon the orthodox assumption, and in their answers and arguments treated every passage, from whatever part of the Bible it came, as if it stood upon a level with every other passage. They denied the infallibility of Scripture, and yet built their theology upon the very infallibility they denied. They recognized the office of reason, but confined it to the explanation of texts.

That word "contain," however, was a seed that has germinated and marvellously grown under the influence of modern critical study. Within its wonderfully elastic boundary line, we find room for the results of the scholarship of to-day. We no longer assume infallibility. We recognize the progress in morality, in religion, in everything, that different portions of the Bible indicate. We recognize the human error, even while we feel the divine heart-beat underneath. To them the Bible was the book of theology; to us it is the book of life. To them it was the mathematics of dogma; to us it is the literature of religion. To them it was a magazine of proof texts; to us it is the torch of the spirit to kindle the flames of devotion and love. It decreases as a theological authority; it increases as a guide to duty, as an inspiration to holiness. A merely textual Universalism has had its day. We no longer think it worth while to show that a smiling countenance is hidden behind every frowning text. Reason, from the drudgery of interpretation, has been lifted to the supreme authority. But the change that has been wrought was all originally wrapped up in that word "contain."

2. The Universalism of to-day differs from that of yester-

day, in some other respects, as the kernel differs from the shell; *it makes use of the vital and essential truth of the past without the former discussions concerning the incidental and subordinate.*

One difficulty with the Universalism of other days was its terminology. It was loth to part with the expressions of orthodoxy. It used the Trinitarian formula in baptism, in benediction and doxology, although it denied the Trinity. From some of these expressions many suppose, even to-day, that the Universalist church believes in the doctrine of the Trinity. There is frequent necessity to correct this impression. It used the orthodox phraseology to describe the work of Christ, while denying the vicarious sacrifice; so that many thought and still think that the only difference between the Universalists and others upon this subject is in the *extent* of Christ's work and not at all in its *nature.* Then, too, there were many discussions about the person of Christ. There is still diversity of view. Not all in the denomination think alike concerning the miraculous birth, the preëxistence of Jesus, the exact place of His classification in the scheme of being, and the entire subject of the supernatural.

While in regard to the Bible we have felt the impulse of modern criticism, so in regard to all that has been believed to transcend the ordinary course of nature, we have felt the influence of modern science, The old distinction between natural and supernatural is vanishing. The kingdom of God is not divided into two antagonistic provinces. Slowly but resistlessly increases the thought that the doctrine of "special interferences" must go with the doctrine of "special creations"; that every apparent exception is in reality a part of the universal order. There is no diversity, however, regarding the moral power of Jesus, His life, His example, His teaching. These are the essential things. That exalted human personality, that incarnation of godliness into actual character, in its moving and moulding might, is still preached, while the nugatory questions of the past *about* Jesus, are allowed to pile themselves up like driftwood along the banks of the living stream.

3. Once more, the Universalism of to-day differs from that of yesterday, *as the demonstration in mathematics differs from the application to practical mechanics.*

It was, indeed, necessary for great principles to be wrought out, for great doctrines to be established ; and for this purpose line upon line, precept upon precept, were needed. The doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood must be veritably driven into the minds of men and fixed there. Sermon upon sermon up-piled, debate overtopping debate, these were needed to abolish the everlasting dungeons of the future. The work was done and well done. All honor to the sturdy fathers of the faith. Let none of the younger generation, who cannot realize the difficulties of that elder day or the heroism it took to meet them, say one word in contempt or depreciation. Let us do our work as faithfully as they did theirs.

It must strike one, however, that, from the very necessity laid upon them, the theology of the fathers was very largely a theology that centred in the future. Its field was the hereafter. Its prevailing aspect was that of "other-worldliness." It banished the clouds from the heavens, but left many a shadow resting upon the earth. It is for us to take the great truths of God's Fatherhood and of man's destiny, turn them earthward, and find here and now their application. Our fathers smote the tyrant of the skies ; it is for us to take the same principles by which they did it, and smite the oppressions of the earth. Our fathers affirmed an immortal worth in the vilest creature ; they said there was something in him that ages hence would burst into magnificent blossom in the sunlight of paradise. It is for us to insist that the processes of unfolding shall not be postponed ; that they shall begin on earth, and that the conditions for that unfolding shall be made as favorable as possible.

The immortal worth of every human being! Put that idea under society, and it is no longer a machine for turning out dollars, but a garden for the cultivation of men. It is this idea that is stirring the world to its foundations, and beginning to thaw the icy maxims of political economy. It is teaching us that human labor is not, in the ordinary sense, a commodity ; not to be bargained for in the market-place as if it were a barrel of flour or a load of lumber ; not to be driven to the wall by advantage taken of its pinching necessities ; that it differs from other commodities because behind every stroke of work is a brain whose powers of thought and inspiration are sparks from the infinite light, a heart whose throbs of affection pulsate with the immortal love and the immortal life.

The worth of a human being! We see it in every movement to abridge the hours of physical toil, that the mind may be more free for improvement. We see it in every law to protect life and limb for those who labor amid the complex machinery of the factory and mill. We see it in the laws to protect childhood from the blight of that toil to which so many are doomed even before their arms have "seven years' pith." We see it in the provisions that make attendance at school compulsory, and in the additional provisions to make that attendance effective by furnishing free text-books as well as other appliances. The value of humanity in *this* world is the moral of those old discussions about the future.

Well did our fathers say that no saint could bear the sight of endless misery over yonder; why should any real saint be able to bear any better the sight of the awful misery that still exists in this world — the "Inferno of Modern Civilization," as Mr. Flower has so well named it? O living saint, wait not for the future. Put aside that noblest of all dreams, the exploration of the regions of the lost hereafter, and carry your message of hope and love and restoration into these hells of to-day of which our cities are full — these hells of pauperism, of grinding poverty, of innocent suffering, of ghastly intemperance, hells of the sweater's shop and the loathsome tenement, hells whose fires "man's inhumanity to man" has lighted — and here let your gospel sound its music. Seraph-wing and savior-heart are needed *here* and *now.*

These are the lines along which must move the Universalism of to-day. Along these lines victory is certain. No nobler opportunity is before any people. We must keep in sympathy with the world's thought and the world's life. Let us apply the principles of our fathers, and coming generations will rise up and call us blessed, as we look back to Murray, Ballou, Winchester, and all the transfigured company who have gathered, crowned and radiant, in the heavens!

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

AN INSPIRING NOVEL OF THE NEW TIME.*

I have recently read "Roland Graeme, Knight," by Miss Agnes Maule Machar. It is a noble romance of the new time, at once wholesome, inspiring, and interesting. It is a nineteenth-century story, and the characters are real persons, rather than colossal types, although, being drawn with an artist's skill, they are necessarily typical in many instances. Thus in the æsthetic, music-loving clergyman, whose utterances were rich in fine thought no less than perfect in form, we see the intellectual but ease-loving theorist, whose words, though true and beautiful, lack the heart-quality which is needed to burn truth into the conscience. In this clergyman the reader will find many acquaintances, in and out of the pulpit, who are passing through the world saying, "Lord, Lord," but who are failing completely in "doing the will of the great Father." On the other hand in the less pretentious clergyman, Mr. Alden, we find an excellent character sketch of one who belongs to the *new reformation* which even now is pressing upon the thoughtful consideration of the conscience of Christendom, and which only awaits a Luther, Melanchthon or Zwingli to crystallize it into an aggressive body, whose ministers will be torch-bearers of progress, apostles of the light.

In Roland Graeme, the hero of the work, the interest of most readers will centre; he is a true knight, not of the old savage and barbarous character, for his pathway is illumined with the light of that love which is to redeem the world. The story is spirited and full of movement; at times it is quite dramatic, without ever being strained or overdrawn. Fine pictures of life among the rich and poor are given, and the problems and perplexities which are so profoundly stirring the civilized world to-day are dwelt upon in a wholesome, stimulating, and suggestive manner, although the author fights shy of the great fundamental social and economic demands of the present in a manner surprising in one who constantly refers to Mr. George's great works, as proving an inspiration to the hero, and who on at least two occasions puts in the mouths of her characters quotations from the great social prophet. One would naturally expect, at least, that Roland Graeme would deal some telling blows against the essential iniquity of monopoly in land, but in

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*"Roland Graeme, Knight," a novel of our time, by Agnes Maule Machar, author of "Stories of New France," "Marjorie's Canadian Winter," etc. Cloth; price $1. Fords, Howard & Hulbert, N. Y.

this we are disappointed. The story, however, is one very much needed as a John the Baptist to awaken people who have sufficient conviction to desire to live up to their best. It will awaken thought and broaden the religious ideals of thoughtful Christians, and, owing to the fact that Miss Machar has set out to write a readable story rather than to employ fiction as a framework for a theory of social philosophy, the work will prove far more interesting to the general story reader than most fiction dealing with social conditions of our time.
B. O. FLOWER.

A COTTAGE GRAY.*

Frances Margaret Milne has endeared herself to many thoughtful minds by her fine brain-work in her volume of progressive and reformative verses entitled "For To-Day." In her new work, "A Cottage Gray and Other Poems," we find something radically different from her preceding work, which reveals the versatility of the author in a marked manner. "A Cottage Gray" is a poem of considerable power. It is written in a minor key and expresses the yearnings, the heart-reachings, and the hopes of those who sit in the valley. Some of the lines are very fine, and the poem as a whole is a noble creation. Here are some stanzas which follow the heart-cry of a grief-shadowed heart:

Was her prayer answered? From the far unseen
  Did Love reach down a gentle hand to her?
And did Love feel the voice that erst had been
  Earth's sweetest music, through Heaven's rapture stir?
Did not fond pity drop a tender tear,
Amid the splendor of a sinless sphere?

I can not answer: answer ye who will!
  Yet, as she turned to gaze upon his face,
With passionate, yearning eyes, what mystic thrill,
  As of his presence, shook the lonely place?
Why did her feet, like one on holy ground,
Tread lightly as if fearing mortal sound?

So lightly treading, did she pause before
  The pictured image of her loved and lost.
The summer sunshine through the open door
  Above the broad poetic forehead crossed;
An aureole of light, it crowned his brows
With crown more royal than this earth allows.

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* "A Cottage Gray, and other Poems," by Francis Margaret Milne. Edition limited to six hundred copies. Extra cloth. Letter page red and black. Charles Wells Moulton, Publisher, Buffalo, N. Y.

Ay, and upon her pallid features fell
  The same bright glory and celestial calm.
Some influence her long regret to quell,
  Seemed floating round her, like a solemn psalm
That chants the mystery of life and death,
Rebuking sobbing cry and quivering breath.

Yes, *they were there*, her mourned-for, her beloved!
  The darlings who had slumbered on her heart;
And he whose footsteps with her own had moved,
  So blent, of life itself they seemed a part.
Ah, did he from those shining heights descend,
To comfort her, his earliest, sweetest friend?

The closing stanza, which runs as follows, is addressed to the Infinite One who dwells in Light and whose name is Love:

O Thou, the Love Supreme: to Thee we lift,
  From hearts or glad or sighing, contrite praise.
Not here we know the fulness of thy gift;
  Not here, unworthy, may our voices raise
The choral music. Yet, to Thee we come:
Lord! open to us Love's eternal home!

"A Cottage Gray," which occupies thirty-six pages, is the most important poem in the work, but there are many other creations in this little book of more than ordinary merit. The following, entitled "Lilac Lane," is a delicate and charming conceit:

The fragrant boughs of blossom
  Were arching all the way;
And changeful skies of April,
  With light and shade at play,
Smiled clear with gleams of sunshine,
  Or grieved with fitful rain—
That happy day in springtime
  We walked in Lilac Lane.

I see her white dress flitting
  Beside me even now;
One rounded arm uplifted
  To bend the swaying bough;
The nodding plumes, in answer,
  Send down a perfumed rain,
To hide her silken tresses—
  That day in Lilac Lane.

Oh, leave the bough to frolic
With every passing breeze;
The spring will soon be over
For fragile blooms like these,
And listen to my story—
If gladness, or if pain,
Shall be its end I know not—
This day in Lilac Lane.

Sweet eyes where maiden fancies
Lie mirrored in the blue,
They will not raise their fringes—
To make me answer true;
The little hand that trembles
Upon my arm is fain
To cling a moment closer—
That day in Lilac Lane.

No, I'll not name the story
I whispered in her ear,
It was for me to tell it;
It was for her to hear.
And any careless listener
The secret would profane,
Of what was asked and answered—
That day in Lilac Lane.

Again the plumes of lilac
Are sending down their spray,
As underneath their fragrance
We take our happy way;
For hand in hand together—
Through sunshine and through rain—
We pledged our troth forever,
That day in Lilac Lane.

In strong contrast to the above are the following lines entitled "To My Beloved." They reveal a reverent trust and that noble self-sacrifice which is the sign-manual of a high-born soul. The author, who is crushed under an appalling bereavement which can be appreciated only by those who have passed through such a night, forgets self in the desire for the happiness and peace of the one who has passed before:

I would not call thee back
To this sad world of strife and sin and tears.
Oh, no! my own: pursue thy spirit's track,
Through the immortal years.

Ah, not for thee the pain,
  The hot tear dropping, and the anguished thought.
Through long, long days and nights thou didst attain
  The peace by suffering wrought.

And as a tired child
  Leans on his mother's bosom trustful head,
So gently was thy weariness beguiled,
  What time thy spirit fled.

Oh, wonderful relief—
  From fetters of the clay released at last!
Oh dignity of death!—rebuking grief—
  Earth's fitful fever past!

The ruthless rush of life
  No more disturbs that infinite repose;
Greed's sordid deed, nor misery's maddened strife,
  Nor helpless sorrow's woes.

Ah, tender heart and true!
  That beat in sympathy for every wrong.
Now, rest thee, Love: in heavenly calm renew
  Thy being tried so long.

I would not call thee back
  (Though thy fond hand would softly wipe these tears).
Oh, no! my own: pursue thy spirit's track,
  Through the immortal years.

And here is a poem which gives us another glimpse of the author's power and versatility. It was written in memory of Rev. Isaac Errett, the founder of the *Christian Standard*, one of the ablest papers published by the denomination known as the Disciples of Christ or Christians. Isaac Errett was a man of spotless life, of great spiritual worth, and endowed with a vigorous intellect. The tribute is in every way worthy of the noble life which inspired the following lines:

The years shall pass on with their sorrow and sinning,
  With struggle and failure, and recompense meet;
But naught shall imperil the crown of his winning,
  Who sat like a child at the Nazarene's feet.
Oh, softly we name him, with heart-broken voicings,
  And lonely the pathway bereft of him here;
But full is the anthem of heaven's rejoicings,
  That echo in vain on our earth-fettered ear.

Pale grief had walked with him, and shown his meek spirit
  The darkest abodes of her sombre domain;
But pure was the faith which doth all things inherit,
  And broken and vanquished the shaft of her pain.
Oh, loyal and tender, his strong heart was beating,
  To comfort the struggling who faint by the way;
And dumbly our souls, to our souls, are repeating
  The message of Heaven he brought us, to-day.

Up! linger no more in the valley of shadow
  (Methinks that I hear him entreating anew).
There is work to be done in the world's harvest meadow;
  Delay not!—it urges—it calls upon *you*.
There is wrong to be righted, and truth to be spoken,
  And love's gentle ministry yet to fulfil;
Oh, let not the box of anointing, unbroken
  Remain for the service of Brotherhood still!

The years shall sweep on to eternity's ocean;
  The ages unceasing, their purpose fulfil;
But the life-giving force of his spirit's devotion,
  Shall blend with the currents of destiny still.
Tho' his shrine were unbuilt, and his name were unspoken,
  Should honor and truth in the dust be defaced?
Or, think you such proof of remembrance the token
  By which the high path of his being were traced?

He is one with the hope, he is one with the sorrow,
  That beats in humanity's bosom for aye;
He is one with Love's work of to-day and to-morrow,
  He is one with the faith that can never decay.
Why stand we here gazing? The clouds that were rifting,
  Will give him no more to our tear-darkened view:
There are souls for the saving, and burdens for lifting;
  Up! faltering never, the journey pursue.

These selections reveal in a degree the scope and power as well as the delicate intuitive and poetic insight of Mrs. Milne. The author is a sincere reformer as well as a woman of literary merit. She stands for justice and progress; she belongs to the chosen coterie who are writing to usher in a nobler day.

B. O. FLOWER.

TWO NOTABLE RELIGIOUS WORKS—"CHRISTIANITY REINTERPRETED" AND "THE DIVINE INDWELLING."*

Two religious works of great interest have recently appeared. One is from the pen of a liberal clergyman, and the other is by an orthodox thinker, but while the points of view from which these scholars write are far removed from each other, both books breathe the spirit of the new day. It is plain to be seen that each author is able, sincere, and profoundly religious. The first of the volumes is entitled "Christianity Reinterpreted" and comes from the pen of Charles Strong, D. D., minister of the Australian Church, Melbourne. Dr. Strong is a man of intellectual power and spiritual discernment; a liberal thinker who believes that when one learns that a house has been builded on the sands it is the part of wisdom to remove it to a foundation of substantial masonry. In his opening chapter he says:

> For years it has seemed to us that a time was coming when Christianity would be tried as in the fire, and that it was wisdom to prepare for the day of trial, as a wise sailor, warned by the falling barometer, takes in sail and makes his ship ready to pass through the storm. The time anticipated is arriving, and around the Christian ship the waves begin to leap. The minds of men and women are restless and unsettled, and old beliefs have lost their power.

The author puts the question of questions which presses on the spiritual mind as follows:

> Is man a child of God, or a child's soap-bubble, and an accidental result of the fortuitous concourse of atoms? All thinking, sooner or later, runs up into this: Are we the outcome of a "cosmic force," whose nature is essentially rational, which corresponds to what we feel to be highest and best in ourselves, or are we "such stuff as dreams are made of," without the reality even of a dreaming mind?

And on this point he continues:

> When you think calmly on life, is not this the question—the religious question—which forces itself upon us? This is the great dividing range down one side or the other of which man must go. On the one side lies the valley of mud and dust primeval, in which our destiny is to be choked; on the other the fathomless ocean of God, inviting us to launch our ships and sail for "the blessed isles." The question of religion is not the question merely of our acceptance or rejection of this belief or that, but of what side of the dividing range we will take. And need I point out what an enormous difference it must make in the history of man, whether he will decide for dust or for God?
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> "Whate'er thou lovest, man, one with it grow thou must;
> God, if thou lovest God; dust, if thou lovest dust."

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*"Christianity Reinterpreted," by Charles Strong, D. D. Cloth; pp. 132. George Robertson & Co., Melbourne, Australia.

*"The Divine Indwelling," by E. Woodward Brown. Cloth; pp. 316; price $1.25. F. H. Revell & Co., New York, N. Y.

To touch religion, therefore, is, as we have already said, to touch the deepest spring of human life and progress, and sooner or later the effect must be felt in the whole tone and character of society. For though the multitude are not philosophers, or given to thinking deeply, they are unconsciously influenced and governed by thoughts and ideas. We are all in the power of forces greater than we know, and the most thoughtless persons cannot escape the pressure of the atmosphere in which they live and breathe.

The difficulties confronting Christianity are not only real but are of such a character that they can no longer be ignored or evaded. Different courses may be adopted by those who appreciate the fact that the time has come when people who think will no longer tolerate the ostrich policy. Of these courses our author speaks as follows:

First there is the course adopted by some who bid us shut our eyes. What they say is this: "All those doubts and difficulties which are arising in people's minds to-day go to prove more and more conclusively that rest can be found only by renouncing your own private judgment, and submitting yourself humbly to a supernaturally appointed authority." The Roman dogmatist says that this authority is the pope and priesthood; the Protestant, a supernatural book. "There is no hope for the world," they both cry; "there can be nothing but scepticism and confusion, and final ruin, unless there is an infallible guide appointed by Heaven, to declare authoritatively to man what he must believe and do."

A second course is that adopted by those who try to "reconcile" the new with the old—putting a new piece to the old garment, and new wine into old wine-skins. They explain away this and that, try to show that there is no difficulty at all, and while perhaps admitting that some outworks of the Christian citadel may have to be given up, persist in declaring that certain historical and dogmatic beliefs must be retained, which they designate "*essentials.*" You may hold your own opinion about the story of creation, you may accept the latest conclusions of critics about the authorship of the Psalms or the Hexateuch, you may even quietly put aside the good old dogma of eternal punishment, and include pagans and non-elect infants in your hope and charity; but after you have lopped off an arm here and a leg there and cut away a lot of superfluous flesh, there is a point beyond which you must not go, otherwise the man will expire: your pruning process must stop short of the heart, which is one or two of the old beliefs still held to be "necessary to salvation," and "essential" to the church, and to the religion of Jesus.

Neither of these courses commends itself to us. For, as to the first, we can find no proof that there is an infallible pope and priesthood ordained of God, or that God has given us miraculously endowed council, or a miraculuous book, to which He has commanded us to surrender our reason and our conscience, and the whole guidance of our lives.

As to the second, these so-called "reconciliations" seem to us sorry affairs. Often they are but special pleadings, not quite ingenuous, ignoring the real question at issue, and the logical consequences of admissions made. Doubt the infallibility of the story of creation as given in Genesis, and what becomes of the popular doctrine of the fall of man, and the vast superstructure raised on this story by theologians? Take away the eternal hell to which the whole human race is naturally doomed, from Calvin and Augustine, and from what is called, but falsely so, "evangelical theology," and the whole system crumbles into dust. To try to reconcile it with the modern study of history, the teachings of science, or the new ideal, is like trying to *reconcile the Ptolemaic with the Copernican theory of the solar system.* For the centre of the religious universe has been shifted from this little speck called earth to the great sun round which the earth, with other planets, revolves.

A third course still remains—to reinterpret Christianity in the light of modern knowledge, the principle of development, and the spirit of religion as distinguished from the letter; to reinterpret Christianity just as Copernicus and Galileo reinterpreted astronomy. Let me endeavor to put before you in outline, as simply as I can, what is meant by this reinterpretation of Christianity.

First, it means fully and freely accepting the results of the modern study of History—history of the earth, the heavens, and man—fully and freely accepting the results, also, of the critical study of the Bible and the story of the church.

Popular Christianity depends upon the belief that the earth was made in six days, that man was created miraculously and placed in a garden of Eden, where he ate a forbidden fruit and fell, and became subject to death; that there is a place of eternal fire, to which, accordingly, all are naturally on their way, unless "saved" by believing that Jesus endured for them the wrath of God, and bought literally with His blood a place for them in heaven. The popular theology depends, further, upon the hypothesis of an absolutely infallible church or book, which, as far as we can see, is swept clean away by a knowledge of facts, and a reverent but scientific study of the Bible.

The first thing, therefore, is to acknowledge that we have been mistaken, and frankly and fully to accept facts regardless of what the consequences may be. No special pleading, or "reconciliations of religion and science," which are no reconciliations. "Let us have facts," cry the advocates of this course, "and carefully weigh all that sober criticism, whether of the church or of the Bible, has got to say. To tamper with facts is dishonest, even when they upset our theories and refuse to fit in with our cherished systems of theology. Let us listen to all that geology and astronomy and anthropology have got to tell us, and boldly submit to the comparison of Christian religion with other religions of the world. Does the old theology rest on ignorance or misunderstanding of facts? Then it must be sacrificed. Theology, after all, is a human science, and we no more destroy God and Jesus, and the religion of Jesus, by pulling an old theological house to pieces than we destroy the stars by exploding old-world theories about the earth being a plane, and stars rising above it and setting below it.

The reinterpretation of Christianity means, secondly, the acceptance of the idea of development. The old theology is built upon the hypothesis of a direct revelation from Heaven, to which nothing can be added, from which nothing can be taken. You are a condemned sinner by nature and by actual transgression, and God in His mercy has revealed to you a way of escape. The church has had intrusted to her the keeping of the gate of heaven, and the "means of grace" —that is, the means of escaping hell and getting into heaven. So say the Romanists. The Bible is the repository of "the means of grace." So say the Protestants. From beginning to end it is a "revelation" of "the scheme of salvation," without knowledge of, and belief in which, no one can be "saved." It is supernaturally penned, unique, inerrant.

Now, what says the study of Bible history and church history to all this? It says: "Both church and Bible grew. The ancient religion of Israel developed, and the theology of the church has developed—all these dogmas have a history. When we are children we speak the language of children, in religion as in all things else. The Bible and the church are a revelation of God, but a revelation not given once for all from outside, but slowly growing up from within, in the minds and hearts of men—a revelation which is still going on. God spake, God still speaks, and each age must translate His word into its own language. Each age must weave its own theology: 'Slowly the Bible of the race is writ.' "

Theology thus ceases to be *final;* like all other sciences it is necessarily subject to change. We must expect, therefore, to find, even in the Bible, representations and conceptions of the Eternal and His guidance of the world, which we have outgrown. The Bible is not so much a cut-and-dried theology, as a history of the process by which man has been led to a knowledge of the true God, of the steps by which he has risen to a truer conception of the meaning of religion. And the religion called Christianity, however noble and beautiful may be its teaching, is one among many religions. It may, on comparison, be found to be the highest rung in the ladder, but it cannot cut itself off from other religions, but must take its place with them in God's "education of the human race." You can never say that Christianity is this dogma or that, this institution or that, for it is still growing, and must die if it ceases to grow.

Here, you see, is an entirely new view of Christianity, its doctrines and institutions. The doctrine of development, with which our physical sciences have made us so familiar, has been carried into theology, and has changed it into a progressive science, in which is no absolute finality so long as man continues to grow in knowledge and experience, and God opens the eyes of the soul.

These extracts illustrate the breadth of vision and the rational attitude taken by this thinker, who, though at all times fearless, is never other than reverent. The discussions on the "Differences and Unity of the Gospels and Epistles," "Progress and the Church," "Christ's Narrow Way to Life," "Faith and Reason," "Revelation," and "The Way, the Truth, and the Life," are rich in thought and permeated with the spirit of a better day. This work is very timely and ought to do much good. It is encouraging, as it shows how the fine new thought is taking vigorous root in far-off Australia. It is one of the many indications of a world-wide awakening to a better, truer, and higher appreciation of life and the duties which true religion implies.

The second volume of which I have spoken is entitled "The Divine Indwelling," and is from the pen of E. Woodward Brown. Although the author is strictly orthodox he is also broad within certain limits, and the charm and power of the work lie in the presence throughout of the spirit rather than the letter of the law. It is not in the long prayer or the enlarged phylacteries that our author finds that religious help which must nourish and sustain man as he rises to higher and nobler altitudes of being, but rather in the Divine indwelling, the still small voice, or the inner light of our Quaker friends. Of the possible universality of the Divine indwelling and leading. our author observes:

> This indwelling is as possible for all as is the air that speeds over the earth, pervades every place, sweeps round and round all things; this when over the sea and across the mountain and over the valley; this when filling all broad, free spaces, all far-spreading distances. This indwelling Spirit is as possible for all as is the sun; no particularity, no exclusiveness, no unfairness in dealing with any; never and in no circumstances out of reach of any.

The spirit of this work is broad and noble and deeply religious in a high sense of that much-abused term, but it appears to me that the author labors at a disadvantage at times, owing to the trammels of some beliefs he is unable to cast aside which are not wholly consistent with the broad, all-embracing love and wisdom which he teaches, and which, according to my conception, is the only belief in a Divine Being which can inspire love and reverence or help us to a higher and nobler life.

It is, however, very significant that such works as "The Divine Indwelling" and such writings as those of Professor Drummond and Professor Herron find ready sale among evangelical thinkers. It reveals the fact that the religious world is weary of the husks of creed and dogma, and yearns for something more satisfying to soul and brain.

B. O. FLOWER.

THE WORLD BEAUTIFUL.*

I have only recently had the opportunity of reading Lilian Whiting's work, "The World Beautiful," and it has impressed me as being so helpful, so clean, pure, and uplifting in influence that I feel it should be brought to the attention of readers of this review in such a way as to acquaint them with its character and spirit. The present is calling for spiritual food. Pomp, show, and form which pleased the masses at certain stages in man's progress are to-day as inadequate to satisfy the higher demands of the finest natures as are creeds, dogmas, and lip-service. To-day man is beginning to appreciate the significance of the profound utterance, "The kingdom of heaven is within you," and "The kingdom of heaven cometh not with observation." In the opening page of Miss Whiting's book we find the following passage which will serve to illustrate the thought as well as the style of our author:

> There has been of late a new form of philanthropic work, which is

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*"The World Beautiful," by Lillian Whiting. Extra cloth; pp. 194; price $1. Roberts Brothers, Boston, Mass.

known by the general name of "college settlements." It is simply for one individual, or several, to go into the poorer quarters of a city and live as a neighbor to the ignorant, the defective, the very poor, or the degraded. It is less a mission than it is a ministry—the natural and informal ministry of right-doing. It is to found a home which shall be a standing object-lesson in better ways of living; which shall illustrate the beauty of order, of cleanliness, of gentle ways, of generous thoughtfulness, of friendly sympathy. The men and women who are doing this do not keep a house of correction, or a house of refuge, or an asylum of any kind. They keep a *home*. They do not go out into the highways to preach or teach, ostensibly, but they endeavor so to order their lives as to give constantly the indirect teaching of example. Perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that to a greater or less degree they show forth the beauty of holiness. There is a twofold blessing in such living as this—it blesses him who gives and him who takes—and perhaps of all forms of humanitarian work it is the one best calculated to effect good results.

Why, indeed, should not the principle of the college settlement be carried into living under the usual surroundings? Why not fill one's usual place in life, do one's usual work—meet the customary duties, pleasures, courtesies, only meeting them from new motives, and inspiring the duties with higher purposes? It is not only the poor, the ignorant, or even the degraded, who need to have good done them; who need the sunniness of hope, the sweetness of content, the renewal of courage, the unfaltering devotion of heroism. People are not necessarily rich in happiness or in hope, because they live in more or less luxury of the material comforts and privileges of life. There is just as much need of the ministry of higher ideals to the comfortable as to the uncomfortable, to the intelligent as to the ignorant, to those who are reaching forward after truth and progress as to those who are receding from them. There is a vast amount of enthusiasm in the world over helping the unfortunate and defective and degraded classes, and so far as this zeal is genuine and discreet, it is to be commended; but the righteous as well as the sinner, the moral as well as the immoral, the refined as well as the rude, are not altogether unworthy some degree of both private and public consideration.

Unfailing thoughtfulness of others in all those trifles that make up daily contact in daily life, sweetness of spirit, the exhilaration of gladness and of joy, and that exaltation of feeling which is the inevitable result of mental peace and loving thought—these make up the World Beautiful, in which each one may live as in an atmosphere always attending his presence.

Like the kingdom of heaven, the World Beautiful is within; and it is not only a privilege, but an absolute duty, so to live that we are always in its atmosphere. Happiness, like health, is the normal state; and when this is not felt, the cause should be looked for, just as in illness the causes should be scrutinized and removed. Live in the sweet, sunny atmosphere of serenity and light and exaltation—in that love and loveliness that creates the World Beautiful.

Here also are some characteristic extracts which will enable our readers better to appreciate the merits of this fine little work:

All men who have been greatest have been in closest touch with life. Shakespeare, Michael Angelo, Dante, Goethe, are among those whose names will readily recur as the greatest creative artists, who, nevertheless, lived in touch with the world and drew from it such suggestiveness and insight that when the higher vision dawned on them they were able to relate it to the human need.

Life is a fine art; it is the supreme consummation of all the arts, the final finish and flower. Achievements are not the results only, nor even chiefly, of conscious labor; they spring triumphant from the power of thought brought to bear upon the elements out of which success springs. We all remember the legend of Friar Jerome and the Beautiful Book, how, when the monk left his work on the richly illuminated missal to answer the call of human needs, he found, on his return, that an angel had stood at his desk and wrought at the task all the time he had been absent.

The legend is typical of life. The painter leaves his canvas or his clay, or the poet leaves his poem, to fulfil claims that press upon him from humanity; and lo! the angel presence is there, and in some way we cannot explain the miracle is wrought. But it can only be wrought for those who keep their atmosphere magnetic with love and faith, for this is the only atmosphere into which spiritual force can enter and assert its power. Even the work of Christ Himself was subject to conditions. "And he did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief," we read. "*Because of their unbelief,*" —therein lies the significance. Even Jesus could not work in an atmosphere rendered negative by want of faith. Spiritual power, like electricity, must work through the conditions that conduct it.

Humanity is already on the very threshold of its higher development. We stand on the brink of such untold joys and deeper satisfactions that there is no room for repining or regret. Mental and psychic power is beginning to assert its potent sway. We are to live in enthusiasm and exaltation. In this new state we shall realize the transformation effected by this liberation of energy.

Now the jars and discords come mostly from without; the harmony and sweetness must first be found within. If one is conscious of a fretful and discordant state, let him seek entire solitude, if only for a moment. Then call up the spiritual forces. Take a strong stand in the affirmative. "I and my Father are one." That is not merely a phrase of rhetoric or an assertion that Jesus alone could make. We may all make it. "I and my Father are one." He is the vine; we the branches. Demand to be taken into the true life, into one's own life. Do not merely *desire* to be at peace with all, to love all, but affirm that you are so. The love of God and all His creatures will set toward you till you are upborne on the current of divine magnetism.

> "His strength was as the strength of ten
> Because his heart was pure,"

writes the poet of Sir Galahad. Therein lies the true philosophy. The latter line explains *why* he had the tenfold strength. All life is truly such, only as it exists in harmony with its environment. We are now entering into the spiritual age—a fact that is just as true statistically as was that of the stone age or of the iron age. We have lived through the ages where the physical and then the intellectual powers were those most in harmony with the environment of the time. Now the environment is spiritual, and the spiritual faculties must be those developed. It is the age of supernaturalism, one may say, if we may so call that law just higher than the ordinary and familiar one, and quite as natural on its own plane. The supernatural, after all, is merely that the higher has taken the place of the lower. Emerson said, fifty years ago: "Our painful labors are unnecessary; there is a better way." Now we are coming into the actual knowledge of that better way. The soul that can hold itself in direct and responsive relation to the Infinite Love will command undreamed-of potency. It will at once enter on the true enlargement of life.

From these selections it will be seen that "The World Beautiful" is a deeply spiritual little work, a volume which will prove helpful to many a thinking soul who is wellnigh fainting by the wayside for the want of draughts of that spirit which giveth life.

B. O. FLOWER.

THE NEW STANDARD DICTIONARY.*

Probably the most important literary achievement of recent years is found in the publication of the New Standard Dictionary of the English Language. For more than five years over two hundred and fifty eminent scholars and specialists have been busily engaged in preparing and perfecting this work, which, in my judgment, stands without a peer among dictionaries of our language. The Standard contains seventy-five thousand more terms than the voluminous Century and more than one hundred and seventy-five thousand more terms than any other English dictionary.

A short time since, in writing a paper on Florida, I had occasion to look up the word kumquat; the International and other dictionaries at hand failed to give the term, but in this new work I readily found it; this is merely one instance out of several where I have had occasion to look up words which were only found in the New Standard. The student looks in vain through all general dictionaries in the English language until he comes to the Standard for such words as *appendicitis, criminology, mafia, linotype* and scores upon scores of other terms which have recently come into general use.

But the excellence of this work is everywhere evinced, and nowhere so markedly as in the rare judgment and precision displayed by the editors in their definitions and explanatory terms. A dictionary might be great in bulk, it might eclipse all other works in the number of terms employed, and yet be of little value to the student in comparison to other works, but the excellence of the Standard is most marked at the points where the discriminating lexicographer is most exacting. The admirable methods employed to give the reader the exact pronunciation of a word is another point of special excellence in this work.

It is a genuine pleasure to be able to speak thus highly of a literary achievement accomplished by our countrymen. And without desiring to disparage the excellent Century, the International, or Worcester's, I feel it is simple justice to the Standard to say that in this case the latest is unquestionably the best dictionary of the English language.

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*"The Standard Dictionary of the English Language." I. R. Funk, D. D., Editor-in-chief. Francis A. Marsh, LL. D., L. H. D., Consulting Editor. J. D. Champlain, M. A., Arthur E. Bostwick, Ph. D., Rossiter Johnson, Ph. D., LL. D., Associate Editors. Assisted by two hundred and forty-seven Editors and specialists. In one volume, half Russia $12, full Russia $14; two volumes, half Russia $15, full Russia $17. Funk & Wagnalls, New York.

B. O. FLOWER.

KERCHIEFS TO HUNT SOULS.*

This a remarkably clever and interesting realistic novel with a purpose. It gives the life history of a young woman, or rather—she being but two-and-thirty or thereabouts when the last chapter leaves her—a portion of her life history. She herself appears to believe that her life is virtually ended, but she will realize her error in time, and discover that the best part of it has yet to be lived.

The story has one heroine and two heroes. The heroine, a young Canadian woman rejoicing in the pleasing appellation of Dorothy Pembroke, was "of medium height, slight and delicately formed, small head, low forehead, dark-brown hair worn high, straight nose, small, determined mouth. In repose she was pretty, animated she was superb. It was her eyes, people said, made the difference, and at the same time many did not admire them. They were blue framed in black, not only by the long, curling lashes, but by the blue veins which came prominently to the surface on the under lid extending back to the temples; not what the French call *cernés*, and we sometimes term 'set with dirty fingers,' but something utterly indefinable. People never knew how to interpret those eyes. They were naturally almond-shaped, and Dorothy commonly looked out of them sideways, but if she did not understand the question at issue, or wished to reprove, she raised her lids and seemed to be looking you through and through with two round, inquiring orbs that revealed nothing but wonder on the part of the possessor."

It may be remarked, in passing, that Dorothy by no means possessed a monopoly of this peculiar gaze, which, under the name of "the baby stare," was, a few years ago, much affected by a certain order of young women. In the case of these, however, for the most part, it was a cult, whereas with Dorothy it seems to have been a natural gift, and few girls have been endowed with it in equal plentitude.

It is hardly necessary to add that Dorothy, in common with most of the heroines of women's novels, was "like a highly strung musical instrument, responsive to every touch."

Of the two heroes, one, Harry Alexander, is an Englishman of ample means, a widower past his first youth, with a young daughter. The other is a young Parisian painter.

The personality of the heroine being such as is above described, it is needless to say that both the heroes are either in love with her or want to marry her; that is to say, to particularize, the Englishman wants to marry her, but is not in love with her; while the Frenchman is in love with her, but does not want to marry her.

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*"Kerchiefs to Hunt Souls," a Novel, by M. Amelia Fytche. Cloth $1.25, paper 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

At the outset of the story Dorothy is the principal of a young ladies' boarding school in a small town in Nova Scotia. Her father is an Anglican clergyman, who, a few years after the death of his wife, Dorothy's mother, presented to Dorothy a stepmother of about her own age. His justly indignant daughter thereupon found it convenient to forego the shelter of the paternal roof, and to undertake the struggle for existence alone and unaided. After five years of teaching Dorothy has so far succeeded as to have established herself in a very cosy, not to say luxurious, sanctum, of which a very enticing description is given. Here her one particular friend and most welcome visitor is Harry Alexander, who has left England in order to withdraw his daughter, Hilda, a healthy young girl, from the influence of a dipsomaniac mother. This woman he had married in his hot youth in a fit of romantic passion, contrary to the wishes of his parents. After the birth of Hilda, the mother had given way to her inherited passion for alcohol; her second child, in consequence, "God mercifully recalled almost as soon as given"; and her third became a hopeless idiot, and had to be sent to an asylum.

Like many another novel by the new woman, then, the present specimen has its problems in heredity and physiology, and its "pathologic moments." Novelists with a new idea are a good deal like children with a new toy; they run it to death for a time, become wearied of it, and then cast it aside in favor of something more up-to-date. In this way, for some years past the world has been deluged with novels of theosophy, reincarnation, spiritualism, Christian Scientism, hypnotism, psychism, occultism, and other "isms" generally. The subjects, however, specially affected by advanced women, who, through the influence of works of *fiction*, are going to regenerate the world in a few weeks, are heredity and pathology. The phase is a passing one. The world of novel readers will soon weary of such subjects; and, the demand ceasing, the supply will cease with it. This, by the way of parenthesis.

Harry, being left a widower, and effectually cured of all romance and passion, presses his peculiar suit upon Dorothy with persistence, if not with ardor, candidly telling her that he does not love her, and that passion is played out so far as he is concerned, but pointing out the suitability of their marriage for stirpicultural reasons, which he urges—not forgetting an incidental allusion to "horse-raising"— with an engaging frankness almost matching that displayed by Miss Gallia Hamesthwaite towards her two lovers in Miss Dowie's clever but extremely unconventional novel.

But, Dorothy, though herself a good deal of the new woman, is sufficiently old-fashioned and romantic to desire to be loved "passionately," "to distraction"; to have a lover who will "go through fire and water" for her sake. "Her passionate nature yearned for something more than friendship." She longed for love so much that she sometimes thought she would willingly, Faust-like, barter her soul for it. Needless to say, therefore, that she will have none of Alexander's proffered friendship and lukewarm affection. Masculine affection, to come up to the Dorothy standard, must be, not lukewarm, but red-hot. The language is not hers, but the sentiment is.

And so it comes about that, for no particular reason that the reader can discern, unless it be that she is tired of the monotony of her existence and wishes to see more of the world, or perhaps partly also a trifle weary of Harry's lectures on stirpiculture and "marriages of reason *vs.* marriages of love," she sells off all her belongings and starts for Paris, hoping to make her way there as an English governess; hoping also, possibly, that the yearning of her passionate nature for something more than friendship may at last be appeased. This venture reminds one of a picture which appeared in *Punch* some years ago, of a housemaid who appeared before her mistress one morning and told her she was sorry that she had to leave, but that she was going to get married. "Law! Jane," said her mistress, "I didn't know you had a beau." "No, ma'am," replied the girl, "but I'm in that 'appy frame of mind that I am ready to accept the first suitable one that hoffers." Possibly it was a similar condition of mental exhilaration that induced Dorothy to give up her school, and start off on her quixotic expedition to Paris.

The rest of the story, constituting about five-sixths of the whole, passes mostly in Paris, and we have a strikingly realistic description of sundry phases of life in that many-hued metropolis, including glimpses of *la vie Bohême* in the Quartier Latin, and a vivid account of the trials of a young and beautiful English-speaking girl, and of her struggles to make headway against adverse circumstances, and to avoid the many snares and pitfalls laid for her unwary feet, in that gay but proverbially wicked city.

Here Dorothy speedily meets the other hero, Count Gaston de Gallerand, a young painter, with genius but without money, who picks her up on the street and straightway proceeds to make love to her in pretty much the same style that he would to a *cocotte* or a *nymphe du pave.* She scarcely seems to feel that this sort of thing is an insult, and by their third or fourth accidental meeting the count is consequently so far emboldened as to ask her to become his mistress. Then she gets real mad, though her wrath is by no means so terrible as to deter him from continuing to pursue her at every opportunity which offers itself or which he can make. The man, though by birth and in manner a gentleman, is by nature a cad, a fact to which Dorothy is of course blind, for, as Thackeray has told us, women have a constitutional incapacity for perceiving the innate difference between a cad and a gentleman.

After long and fruitless efforts to obtain a position, and when on the verge of despair, Dorothy at last finds a home with the Princess Nesvitsky, as teacher to her youthful son. The princess, a Frenchwoman who in her younger days had been a great opera singer, proves a true friend, and treats Dorothy almost as if she were her own daughter. The count happens to be a friend of the princess, and takes full advantage of the opportunity to further his designs against Dorothy. It is not precisely a case of "the villain still pursued her," but it makes a close approach to that well-known situation.

After a year of easy work and plenty of rest and amusement, however, circumstances which it would be unfair to the reader to disclose compel Dorothy to leave her pleasant home and to face once more the pitiless world of Paris in order to gain a livelihood. Pending the getting of a position she takes up her abode in an "English Home," of which and of its inmates there is a very clever and caustic description. The mode in which it is run, and the mock charity of the amateur philanthropists and self-righteous pious folk who run it, and who preach to the inmates as though poverty were a crime, have their counterparts in institutions nearer home—for instance, if all is true that is alleged, the Margaret Louise Home in New York.

The count continues his attentions to or persecution of Dorothy, and that susceptible young woman gets into a state of bewilderment as to whether, in case he should actually offer marriage, she shall accept or not. It is a case of "she will and she won't." Whether he does eventually offer marriage, what the outcome of the affair between them is, and what is the nature of the sensational and exciting dénouement, which approaches within measurable distance of murder, the reader must be left to ascertain for himself by a perusal of this extremely entertaining story. Suffice it to promise that he will find it a very agreeable task. He must also be left to discover the purpose of the story, a mere hint being dropped that he will find it similar to that of Tolstoï's "Kreutzer Sonata."

The strongest points of the book are the character-drawing, which, except in one instance, is remarkably strong and lifelike, and the conversations, which are exceedingly natural and brilliant, though the authoress, we regret to see, has followed the bad example set by Mr. Du Maurier in "Trilby," and reported them largely in the French language. If this evil fashion is copied and improved upon, the time may come when we shall have polyglot novels written in English, French, Italian, Spanish, and German in varying proportions, with scraps of Latin and Greek thrown in, and the unfortunate reader, when deciphering them, will be obliged to have half-a-dozen lexicons at his elbow. Dialect, especially negro dialect, is a weariness to the flesh, heaven knows! but the copious injection of a foreign language into a novel which purports to be and ought to be written in English, is an even worse infliction.

The heroine, Dorothy, is a charming girl, a flesh-and-blood reality, none the less so because she does become slightly demoralized in the intoxicating air of Paris. She has a pretty wit, too, as well as a pretty face, and occasionally gets off a striking epigram, such as this: "The dominant idea of to-day seems to be neither to realize the ideal nor to idealize the real, but to materialize everything." It is somewhat surprising, though, that a young woman who allows herself so much latitude in her own conduct, should manifest so much horror at the nude in art. Perhaps it is a case of compounding for the sins she is inclined to. Or possibly the author is simply using her creation as a mouthpiece for her own ideas, because had Dorothy herself been really so straightlaced, she would naturally have refrained from the indelicacy of discussing such a subject with a decidedly fast young man—a Frenchman at that—and an absolutely hopeless case so far as conversion to her views was concerned, so that the discussion was perfectly gratuitous on her part.

Novelists who inveigh against the nude in painting and sculpture frequently lapse into a curious inconsistency. They forget that there is a nudity of the soul as well as a nudity of the body, and that if the latter be indecent, the former must be as much more so as the soul is more sacred than the body. For, after all, indecency exists not in the body, but in the mind, otherwise the Creator Himself would be open to the reproach for sending us into the world without any clothes on. Now, the author of the present work "lays bare" the inmost soul of one of her characters—Alice Jeffreys—in such ruthless fashion that not a rag is left to cover its nakedness. If this is a permissible thing for the literary artist, the corresponding procedure is equally permissible for the painter. Moreover, the painter obtains his model's permission beforehand, and pays her for the privilege of painting her; whereas the literary artist will make "a study from the nude" from her "model" without so much as a "by your leave," and with not the remotest idea of compensation. One would like to get the opinion on this subject of the young woman who, without her knowledge, has been used as a model "for the altogether," for presentment in stark, staring nudity of soul, in the case of Alice Jeffreys.

Alice is a clever, sharp-tongued, and quick-tempered, but warm-hearted young English or Irish governess, with whom Dorothy becomes acquainted in the English Home in Paris. The girl has become soured by the hardships of life, and she delivers her opinions on people and things in a very outspoken fashion, and in extremely plain and unvarnished language; and she also in the frankest manner unburdens herself of her own feelings and desires. She is an apt illustration of the almost inevitable coarsening and vulgarization which even an educated young woman undergoes through knocking round the world alone in search of the nimble and evasive dollar. "I am governessing," she says, "though I do not disdain turning my hand to whatever turns up." "The *mont-de-piété* is the best friend I have in the world, and at times I have been so low that I have had nothing to take there; all the books and clothes I had, except those on my back, were in pawn." In the maelstrom of Paris she of course comes to grief, but her story is a pathetic one.

The Count de Gallerand, the real hero of the book, is as strongly drawn—apparently from life—as Dorothy herself. Another admirably drawn character is Miss Sally Brown, a youthful and red-haired member of the shoddy plutocracy of Chicago whom Dorothy meets on board the steamer on her way to Europe, and whom she frequently comes in contact with in Paris. Though fast and vulgar, Sally is decidedly amusing and "up-to-date" in her smart Western fashion. There are a number of minor characters, all of whom are happily sketched and individualized.

The one failure in character-drawing is Harry Alexander. He is a specimen of that impossible creature, a woman's man. He is a poor stick, a thing of wood. Like Banquo's ghost his blood is cold, his eyes are without speculation, and his bones are marrowless—especially his backbone. It is quite in accordance with the fitness of things that so prosaic a creature should discuss a stanza of Byron's poetry as though he were dealing with a scientific treatise on sociology.

A first novel could hardly be expected to be free from blemishes, and Miss Fytche has not been able to avoid a few. One or two have already been noted, and a final specimen may be here given. To novelists in general legal matters are commonly a stumbling-block, and this author is no exception to the rule. She is in error in assuming that a marriage between a Frenchman and a foreigner, solemnized in a foreign country, is necessarily illegal in France; and she is also wrong in supposing that a Frenchman over thirty cannot legally marry without the consent of his parents or surviving parent.

The author unconsciously manifests that partiality for old-world titles which seems to be so common a weakness among presumably democratic American young women. Dorothy, the comparatively humble Canadian governess, is provided with a noble aunt in England in the person of Lady Vincent; she has a princess for a patroness in Paris; one of her lovers is a count, of the old *noblesse;* and the other becomes, through his elder brother obligingly getting killed by being thrown from his horse in the hunting field, Sir Harry Alexander, baronet, and also an M. P., no doubt as a reward for his immaculate virtue. If, therefore, being surrounded by people of quality is a help to a person to get "in the swim," a young woman of Dorothy's personal graces and gifts should have been able to paddle thereinto with the ease of the proverbial duck. It is to be feared that she did not take proper advantage of her opportunities.

Be this as it may, however, her creator may be heartily congratulated on having produced an exceptionally brilliant novel, such as will make every one of her readers wish to hear from her again. The title is both striking and appropriate, as a glance at Ezekiel xiii: 18–21, will show.

FREDERICK T. JONES.

Will Allen Dromgoole

THE ARENA.

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CHESTER-ON-THE-DEE.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

Chester is unique among English cities. Much of its architecture reminds one of continental Europe, contrasting in a most striking manner with the prosaic modern buildings, while the picturesque ruins of once massive Norman edifices attract the eye and cause the mind to revert to that sturdy though savage people who played so important a part in laying the foundation for modern England's glory and supremacy. It is, moreover, the only city in Great Britain where the traveller finds preserved without a break or gap the ancient walls which characterize the strongholds of mediæval civilization.

Perhaps nothing will arrest the attention of the stranger at first sight so much as the striking contrasts which meet his view on every hand. Here the new jostles against the old. One sees grim poverty, grime, and squalor, which is the shame of modern civilization, almost under the shadow of that concentrated wealth which is the pride and boast of shallow conventionalism; here tram-cars covered and bedecked with monstrous and unsightly advertising boards, which would amaze if they did not chagrin the thrifty Yankee pill-maker and soap-manufacturer, run close beside ancient buildings of curious architecture and rich in historic interest; and here also one steps from the modern steam launches which ply the River Dee, and in half a minute's walk finds himself under the ivy-tapestried walls of the venerable ruins of the Church of St. John the Baptist, or beside the solid masonry of the ancient city walls.

But perhaps no one finds so much genuine interest in this quaint old town as the student of history, for the story of Chester stretches back until it is lost in the mists of tradition, and it has been the theatre of so many memorable struggles in the history of England, that turn where you will, you see ob-

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jects which call up the rude freedom of the ancient Britons, the refined luxury of the long vanished civilization of the Roman era, or the tempestuous struggles of the Middle Ages.

BISHOP LLOYD'S HOUSE. SEE PAGE 189.

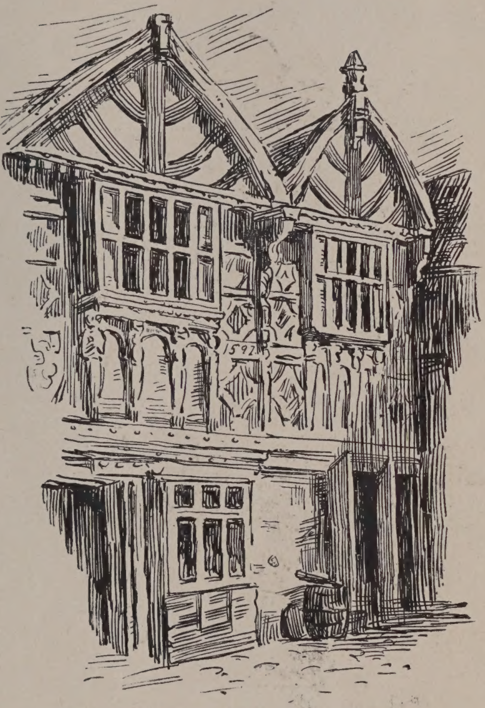
According to tradition this city was a place of importance long before the Romans made it one of the strongest posts in ancient Albion. In the curious chronicles of the monk Ranulph Higden, published in 1495, we find the following allusion to Chester in quaint old English phraseology:

"The cyte of Legyons, that is Chestre, in the marches of Englonde, towards Wales, betwegne two arms of the see, that bee named *Dee and Mersee.* Thys cyte in tyme of Britons, was hede and chyefe cyte of all Venedocia, that is, North Wales. Thys cyte in Brytyshe spech bete Carthleon, Chestre in Englyshe, and Cyte of Legyons also. For there laye a wynter the legyons that Julius Cezar sent for to wyne Irlonde. And after, Claudius Cezar sent legyons out of the cyte for to wynn the Islands that be called Orcades. Thys cyte hath plente of lyve land, of corn,

A ROMAN ALTAR FOUND IN EXCAVATION IN CHESTER DURING PRESENT CENTURY.

of flesh, and specyally of samon. Thys cyte receyveth grate marchandyse, and sendeth out also. Northumbres destroyed this cyte sometyme, but Elfleda, Lady of Mercia, bylded it again, and made it mouch more.

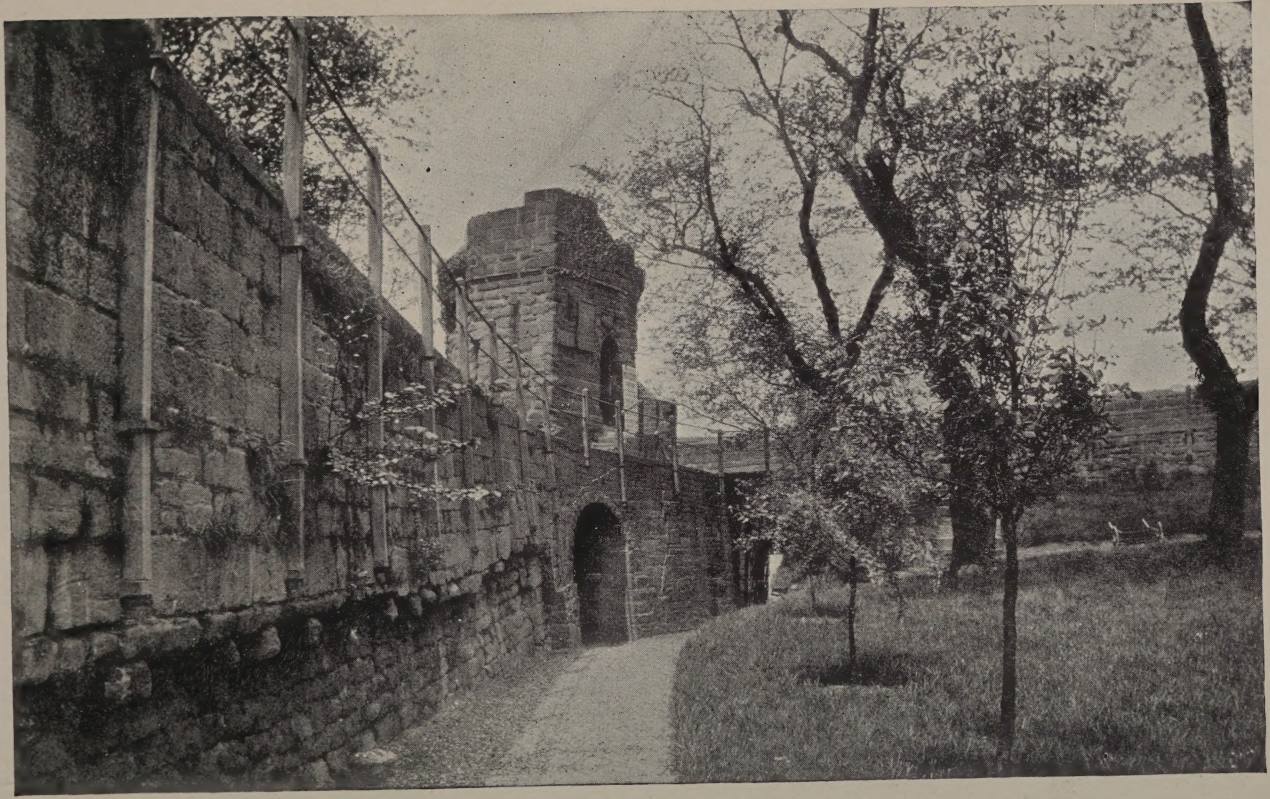
"In thys cyte ben ways under erth, with vowtes and stone werke, wonderfully wrought, three chambered workes, grete stones ingrave with old mannes names therein. Thys is that cyte that Ethelfrede, Kyng of Northumberlonde, destroyed, and sloughe there fast by nygh two thousand monks of the mynster of Banger. Thys is the cyte that Kyng Edgar came to, some tyme, with seven Kyngs that were subject to hym."



THE OLD STANLEY PALACE. SEE PAGE 189.

The tradition of this worthy monk, however, lacks historical confirmation, and it is not until the Roman conquest that we have authentic data regarding Chester. Some conception of the size and importance of this place after the famous Twentieth Legion had become well established on the Dee, may be gained from the Roman ruins which excavations of the present century have brought to light; among these are the ruins of a Roman bath and forum and numerous excellently engraved altars, together with fragments of architecture which speak of wealth, refinement, and culture, surprising to contemplate when we remember how remote was the wonderful little city from the great pulsating heart of Rome.

History indicates that the dazzling spectacle of the southern conquerors, their superior civilization and far-reaching knowledge, no less than the consideration accorded those of their

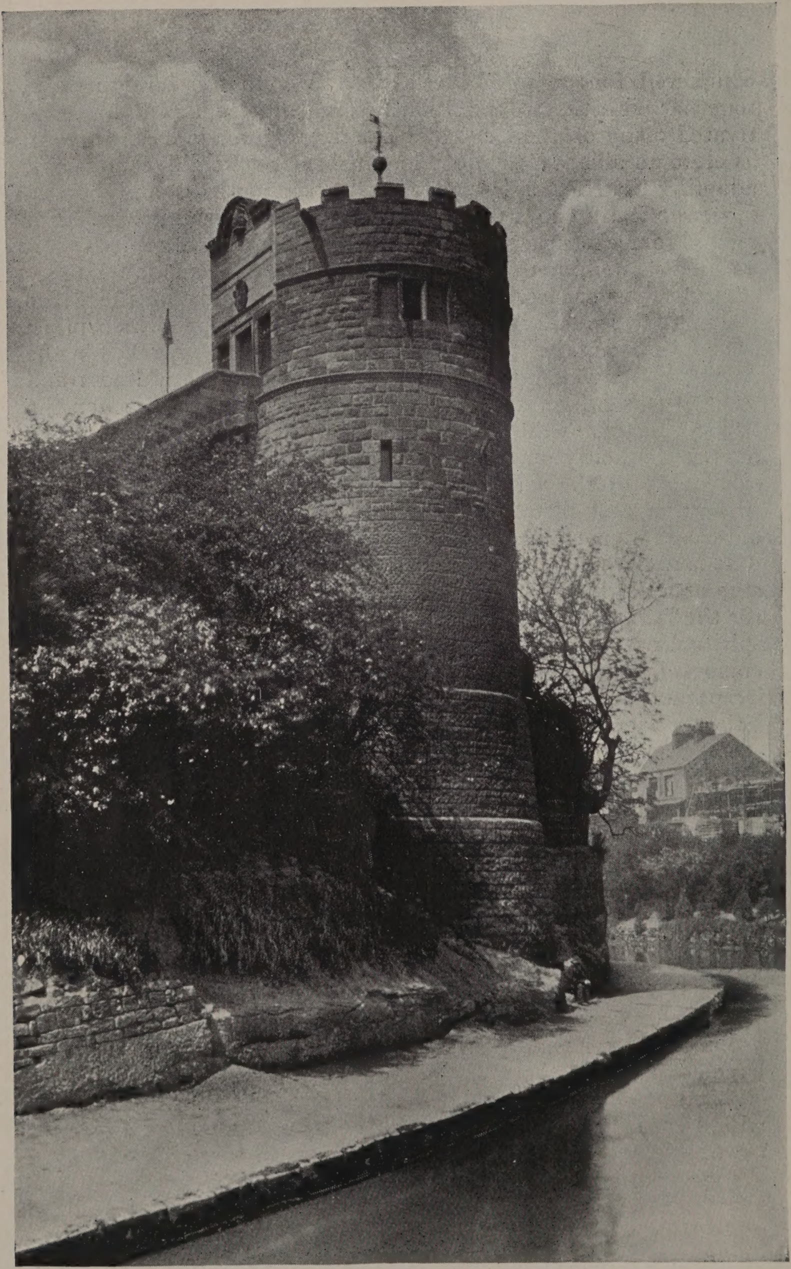


A VIEW OF WATERGATE TOWER AND THE CITY WALLS.

conquered foes who cheerfully yielded to the foreign yoke, together with the order established and justice meted out, captivated many of the British chieftains, who made haste to form as close an alliance as possible with their splendid conquerors, adopting the Roman language, customs, and dress, and becoming practically the willing vassals of Roman authority. For almost four centuries the eagles of the Empire were raised aloft on British soil, and during this period the Romans on numerous occasions successfully repulsed the invasions of the fierce northern tribes and in various ways protected the British, much to their ultimate injury, as succeeding events proved, for the British lost that magnificent independence, that sturdiness and self-reliance, which had previously made it difficult for even the trained legions of the Cæsars to overcome them. They came to lean as implicitly on the strong arm of their conquerors as our slaves before the war were wont to look to their masters for protection and direction. In a word, they exchanged their old-time independent spirit for that of the child or the slave.

It is always perilous for an individual, a nation, or a race to step at a single bound from a savage to a civilized condition; for the law of life is the law of growth, and until the ethical or spiritual nature has been in a degree matured, those things which come as fruits of evolutionary development are liable to prove of irreparable injury; and this sudden transition on the part of the Britons, lacking the element of gradual growth which gives strength and permanency, offers a melancholy illustration of this fact. They became enervated and grew to be servile imitators of their masters, and after the Romans left Britain history indicates that Romano-Britons rapidly relapsed into semi-barbarism without regaining their old-time daring or the power of initiative and leadership. But we have been anticipating events.

Returning to Chester we find that for more than three centuries following the arrival of the Twentieth Legion the city grew in size and importance, and had Rome remained healthy or even continued to possess to a fair degree the vigor of early days, the probabilities are that in time the whole of Great Britain would have come under the rule of the amalgamated races and the civilization of Albion would have suffered no eclipse. But fate willed it otherwise, and at length the hour came when the cancer of corruption which had long been eating into the vitals of the mistress of the world wrought the ruin which generations before had been foreseen and predicted by the noblest Roman philosophers. In a fatal hour the mask of Mars and the mantle of Jupiter fell, and lo! instead of invincible power and incarnate majesty, nothing remained but a decrepit, disease-eaten



PHŒNIX TOWER FROM THE CANAL. IT WAS FROM THIS TOWER THAT KING CHARLES WITNESSED THE DEFEAT OF HIS FORCES AT ROWTON MOOR.

form, incapable of self-government because wanting in moral worth, courage, and self-reliance, and necessitating the summoning of the Roman legions from remote quarters to Italian soil.

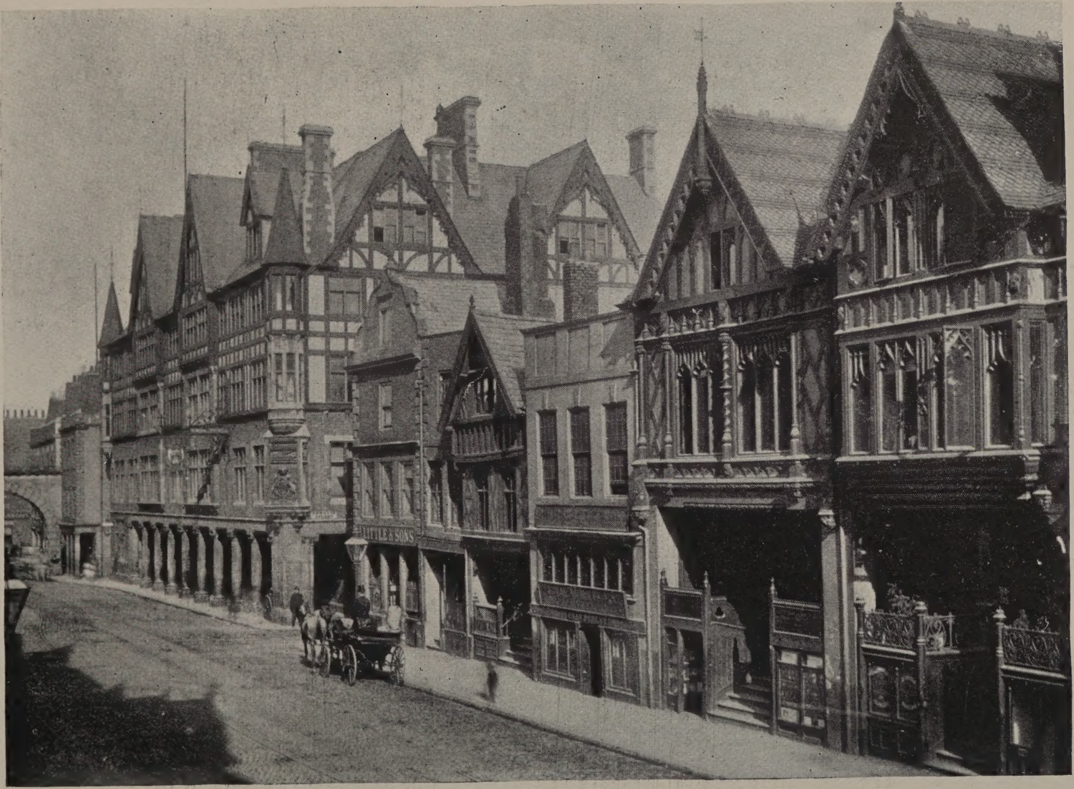
It was a sad day for Britain when the last of the Romans quitted her shores, for with the departure of the soldiers, the flower of the young Romano-Britons also embarked in quest of fame, glory, and gold; while the Picts and Scots immediately began their incursions from the North. Very pitiful were the petitions of the Britons for succor, but Rome was unable to longer aid them, and the memorable plea entitled "The Groans of the Britons" failed to bring any material aid from their old-time conquerors. In their extremity the terrified and enervated sons of Albion turned to the sturdy Jutes for help. The succor was readily extended, the invaders were driven back, but the allies were as much impressed with the rich heritage of Roman civilization as they were struck with the effeminacy of the Britons; they determined to become possessors of so goodly a land, and brutal conflicts ensued which ended in Anglo-Saxon supremacy.

Chester was one of the spots most coveted by the Teutonic conquerors, but the Britons defended it with far more spirit than was their wont. It was therefore the theatre for many bloody conflicts, and in 607, when Æthelfrith marched upon Chester, the Britons were defeated in one of the most desperate engagements of this bloody period. The battle was fought a short distance from the city and is memorable for the slaughter of twelve hundred unarmed monks. The story of this massacre is thus graphically described by the historian Green:

"Hard by the city two thousand monks were gathered in one of those vast religious settlements which were characteristic of Celtic Christianity, and after a three days' fast a crowd of these ascetics followed the British army to the field. Æthelfrith watched the wild gestures of the monks as they stood apart from the host with arms stretched in prayer, and bade his men slay them in the coming fight. 'Bear they arms or no,' said the king, 'they war against us when they cry against us to their God'; and in the surprise and rout which followed the monks were the first to fall."

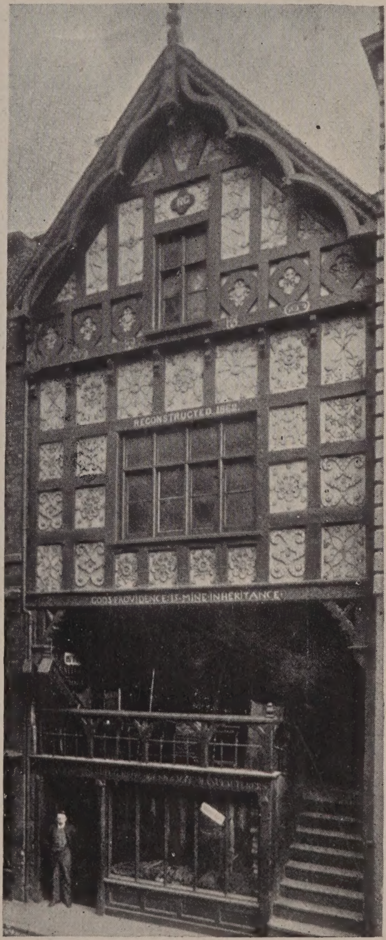
Chester was one of the last strongholds of strategic and commercial importance to fall before the Saxon power, as at a later day it was the last English city of consequence to bow to the Norman conqueror.

The Saxons were not long permitted to enjoy in peace the land that they had thus ruthlessly seized. The dauntless, strong-limbed, red-haired Danes lighted upon England and swept the



A STREET IN CHESTER SHOWING THE FAMOUS ROWS.

coast upon all sides. These children of Mars and Neptune, who were characterized by their ferocity and fearlessness, took possession of Chester in the year 894. They, however, only held it for a short time. In 907 Ethelred, Earl of Mercia, aided by his illustrious wife Ethelfleda, the daughter of Alfred the Great, restored and so enlarged the walls of Chester that they embraced the castle which had hitherto stood without the city. This indicates that the castle was a fortress of importance long before the days of Earl Hugh Lupus, who repaired and added to it instead of building it as some writers have assumed. Ethelfleda was a woman of great strength of mind and executive ability, and from the fragmentary testimony of the ancient chroniclers, who were ever loath to exaggerate the abilities of women, we are led to believe that she inherited many of the noble qualities of her illustrious father. It appears that, largely from her influence, the city regained some of its old prestige, and it was not until some time after her death that it ceased for a time to be a Saxon stronghold.



GOD'S PROVIDENCE HOUSE. SEE PAGE 189.

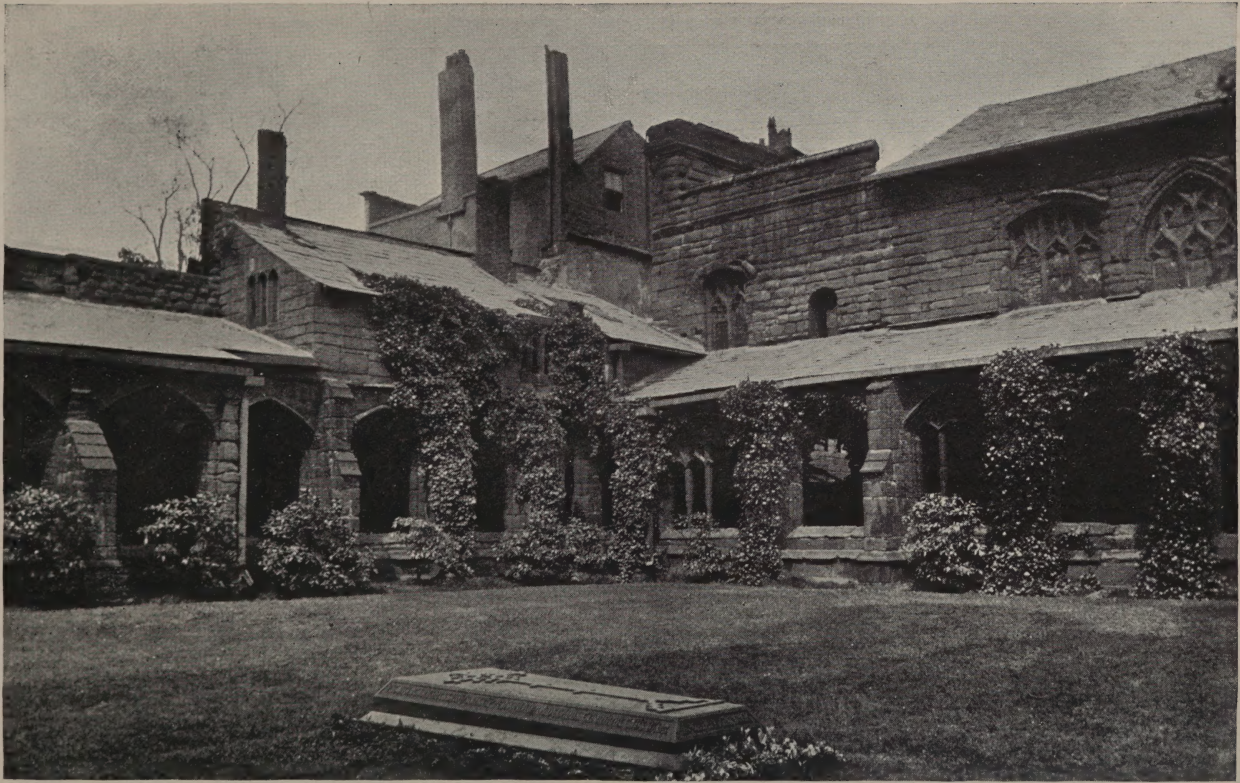
In the early seventies of the tenth century King Edgar occupied the city of Chester, and his fleet is said to have filled the River Dee. Edgar, it will be remembered, was one of the most powerful of the Saxon kings, even winning the title of "King of English and all of the nations round about." According to a generally accepted tradition eight British kings or chieftains came to

Chester to do him homage. During their stay they rowed him on the River Dee. Edgar was small of stature, and one night after this episode, and while the chieftains were still at Edgar's court, one of their numbers, a Scotch king named Kenneth, who had drunk somewhat deeply, exclaimed, "How is it that all of us, so many kings as we are, should serve a king who is smaller than any of us?" This gossip was promptly carried to Edgar, who heard it in silence, but soon afterwards requested Kenneth to accompany him to a forest near at hand. Arriving, the king produced two swords, and handing them to the Scottish chieftain said, "Choose whichever weapon you desire to use, and let us see which is the better man." Kenneth, however, refused to fight, protesting that he spake only in jest and because he was under the influence of wine.

A PART OF THE RUINS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN.

After the Saxons were overpowered by the Normans, the Conqueror created the earldom of Chester and gave it to his

REAR VIEW OF THE CATHEDRAL OF CHESTER FROM THE ANCIENT CITY WALL.



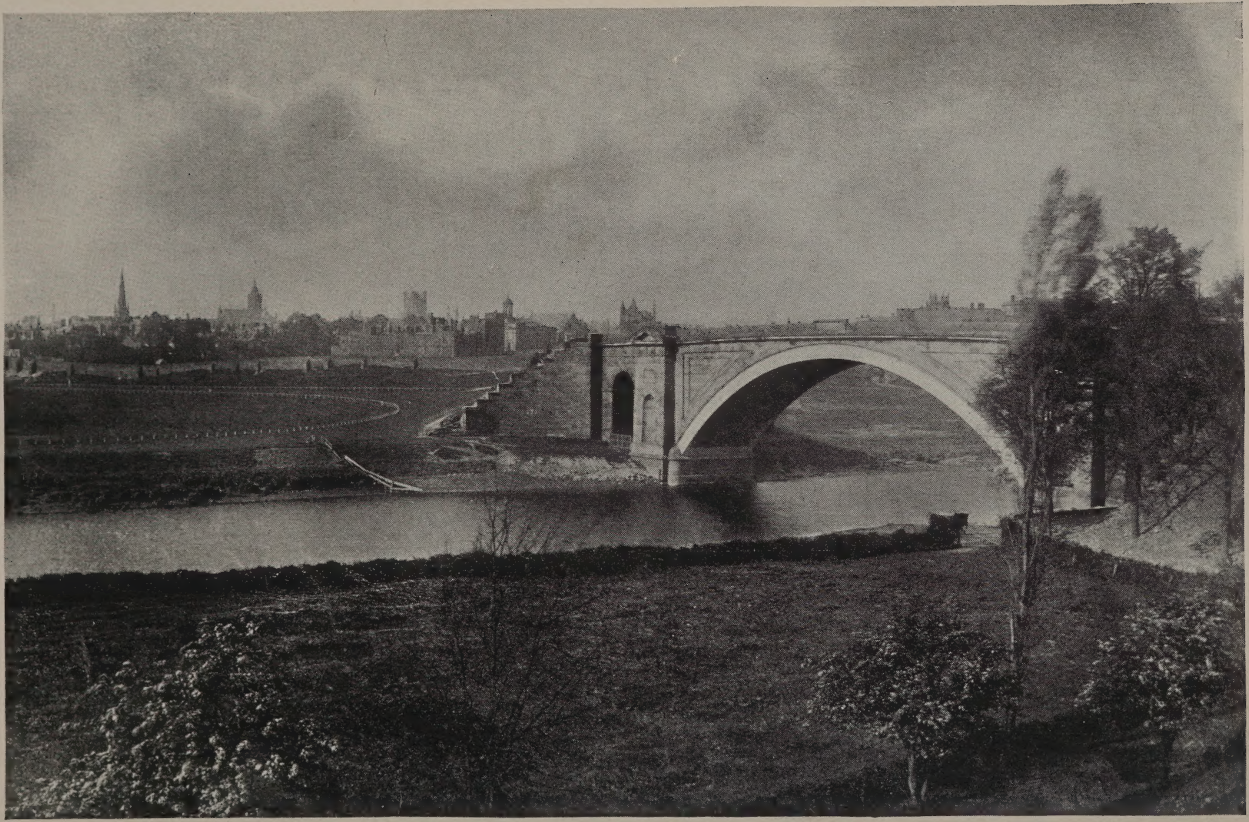
OLD CLOISTER BELONGING TO THE CATHEDRAL.

nephew Hugh Lupus, who repaired the castle and established a court much after the manner of the petty kings of that period.

Many indeed are the interesting happenings connected with this quaint old place since the days when William the Conqueror triumphantly entered her walls after his terrible march. But the most memorable historic event connected with Chester did not take place until long after the Normans and Saxons had amalgamated and the modern English nation rose as the legitimate result of this union.

When Charles the First and the English Parliament came to a direct issue Chester ardently espoused the cause of the king, and in the autumn of 1642 Charles was warmly welcomed within the city walls. After his departure vigorous work was at once inaugurated for offensive and defensive warfare. The royal troops under the command of Sir Nicholas Byron were loyally supported by the citizens. The walls were strengthened and active preparations were begun, looking toward a possible siege. In 1643 the city was fiercely assaulted by the Parliamentary army, but the result proved far more disastrous to the besiegers than the besieged, and from this time until 1645 many futile attempts were made to take the city by storm. On the twenty-seventh of September King Charles, accompanied by his guards, effected an entrance into Chester, where he was enthusiastically received; but on that same fateful day the king, accompanied by the mayor and other notables, ascended the stairs to the summit of what is now called Phœnix Tower, where they witnessed the disastrous defeat of the royal forces under Sir Marmaduke Langdale at Rowton Heath or Moor. The day following this bitter disappointment the king succeeded in escaping from the city. "If you do not receive relief within eight days surrender the garrison," said the king to his faithful officer on departing. Yet it was not until starvation drove the soldiers and citizens to eat cats, dogs, and horses that they entertained the idea of submitting; not until all hope of succor had vanished — not until they had received the tenth summons to surrender, did the city yield. On the third of February, 1646, Chester fell into the hands of the Parliamentary party.

The terrible sweating sickness on several occasions visited this place, proving exceptionally fatal; and during the years extending from 1602 to 1605 the plague also devastated the city and region round about in a most appalling manner. So great were the ravages that the fairs were suspended and the courts were removed to other places. In those days the visitations were thought to be punishments sent by God for the wickedness of the city, but we of the present time would explain the cause



THE GROSVENOR BRIDGE OVER THE DEE, WITH CHESTER IN THE DISTANCE.

somewhat differently. The ravages of the plague were evidently largely the result of the short-sightedness, the ignorance, and lack of cleanliness on the part of the citizens. Knowledge and recognition of the laws of health and sanitation would have greatly reduced its fatality. But man is slow to learn, and it is only in the school of bitter experience that the most important lessons are inculcated. So long as he insists on sitting in darkness, spurning reason, and revering superstition, he must necessarily suffer the consequences of his ignorance.

In the years 1647 and 1648 the plague visited Chester for the last time, but during this period a fearful mortality marked its presence. More than two thousand died between June and April. In this connection I must refer to a quaint building which is sure to be pointed out to the visitor. It was first built in 1652, and has since been restored so as to exactly represent the original building in all respects. It is called "God's Providence House," and bears the inscription in bold letters across the main beam, "God's providence is mine inheritance." The natural supposition which first occurs to the visitor is that this ostentatious inscription was an outcropping of the canting pharisaism which swept over England after the downfall of Charles I; but any intimation of this nature is promptly repudiated by the natives of Chester, who insist that this house was the only residence on Watergate Street which escaped the ravages of the plague during the years 1647 and 1648, and in gratitude for the deliverance the owner placed the pious inscription across the front of his home.

Speaking of this unique house reminds me of two other buildings of a *quasi* public character which are of interest to visitors. One is the old Stanley Mansion erected in 1591, which is the best and oldest specimen of ancient timber houses in Chester. A melancholy interest attaches to the history of this building, for it was from it that the ill-starred Earl of Derby was led to his execution at Bolton. The other house I have in mind is known as the Bishop Lloyd Palace, which bears the date of 1615, and is adorned with curious carvings representing a number of subjects which are supposed to be more or less pious, among which may be mentioned Adam and Eve in "sinless nudity," Cain killing Abel, Abraham offering up Isaac, some New Testament conceptions, together with the coat of arms of King James II and that of the worthy bishop.

These places, however, though curious and worthy of attention, are far less interesting than many of the more famous attractions of Chester, among which are the celebrated "Rows" which are unique among shops, and about the origin of which there has been no end of controversy. These Rows consist of covered galleries fronting shops, and extending from square to square, often in tiers one above another. Many antiquarians insist that they are a vestige of Roman civilization, and, as one well known authority observes: "There are many circumstances which seem to justify this view of the case, particularly that of their resemblance to the porticos or vestibula spoken of by Plautus and other Latin authors; and a further point is advanced as tending to confirm this opinion — that there is, or was, a street in old Rome which bore a close resemblance to the Rows of Chester. Taking into account these points, together with the fact that the remains of a Roman bath and lavatory exist to the present under one of the Rows, the argument in favor of Roman origin is certainly entitled to consideration."

But the Rows are merely one of many striking peculiarities which engage the attention of visitors, and from this interesting feature we turn to the ruins of the church of St. John the Baptist, once a cathedral and to-day a marvel of beauty in its mantle of ivy, despite the unsightly modern tower which offends the eye and affects one with much the same feeling of vexation as is awakened by the sight of some wanton vandalism in a noble or sacred spot. These ruins recall the massive masonry characteristic of many of the more pretentious buildings of olden times. They are exceedingly picturesque, and as a fine specimen of the ruins of edifices which were the glory of a former social order are extremely interesting.

The cathedral of Chester, however, is by far the most impressive religious structure in the city. According to tradition it stands on the site of a Druidical temple which gave place to a building dedicated to Apollo. Later we are told that the British Christians erected on this spot a house of worship to the honor of the Nazarene. After the Saxons came into power we are told that King Wulpherus of Mercia, in the latter half of the seventh century, erected on the site of the present cathedral, a religious house for his daughter and other young women who desired to take the veil. As tradition enters the web and woof of much of the early history relating to this spot, and as the Saxon chronicles are often vague and inaccurate, I do not feel that we are on the firm ground of history in regard to the cathedral until we reach the advent of the Normans; from this time we have data which can be regarded as fairly authoritative. Under the rule of the early earls of Chester, the nunnery gave place to a monastery for the Benedictine order. Later was erected the cathedral which has since been the pride of the city, and whose walls might unfold a story more thrilling than the imagination of a novelist would dare to picture. Even to-day this noble structure bears the sad marks of the broken vows of the Parliamentary forces, who pledged themselves to see that the religious houses of Chester were not molested provided the city surrendered, but who, after making this solemn obligation, permitted the interior of the cathedral to be shamefully defaced and the great organ to be broken.

The cloister of this building is very ancient in appearance, and carries the mind back to a period so rude and unlike our age that it is difficult for us to gain any adequate conception of the life lived before the dawn of modern times, with the march of civilization unfolding new worlds at each step, and the progress of invention and science which has so completely transformed life, and even to a great degree our ideals and conceptions relating to the origin, nature, and destiny of man.

Curiously enough the rear view of the cathedral, which is best obtained by ascending the walls of the city, is by far the most imposing. Indeed from these ancient walls one may see so much of special interest that I will ask the reader to accompany us on a stroll along this much travelled pathway, so rich in interest to thoughtful minds.

After ascending the wall near Eastgate Street and leaving the cathedral to our left, we soon find ourselves in front of Phœnix Tower, of which I have before spoken. A tablet attached to this tower conveys the inaccurate information that "King Charles stood upon this tower September *24*, 1645, and saw his army defeated at Rowton Moor," while of course all historians know that it was not until the 27th of September that the defeat was witnessed. How the engraver came to make such a blunder is even less surprising than that the citizens of Chester have permitted the inaccurate tablet to remain; perhaps the reverence for the *written word* is such that the sanctity of engraved error is greater to them than the claims of truth.

I shall never forget the tragic air of the old gentleman who had charge of the little museum in the tower; after striving to excite my enthusiasm over Charles, he seized my arm and in the voice of a heavy tragedian in a sensational play said, "*Stand here*"; then, after pointing through a little window toward Rowton Heath, he fastened his eyes upon me with an unpleasant intensity, while in a voice which suggested the ghost of Hamlet's father he said in measured tones, "*You are now standing on the* VERY SPOT *where on the 27th of September, 1645, his Majesty, the great and good King Charles the First, witnessed the defeat of his forces at Rowton Moor.*" His voice was rather tremulous as he finished his last words, and I am sure that my failure to evince the sympathy expected was a greater source of vexation to the old man than the payment of an excess of the customary fee afforded him pleasure. This old gentleman looked like one accustomed to play the part of a heavy tragedian in a melodrama. He had apparently become so thoroughly *en rapport* with the cause of the ill-starred king that no saint could have awakened in his mind profounder feelings of love and reverence than the English ruler whose life in prosperity was as disappointing, to say the least, as his demeanor in adversity was calculated to soften the criticism which his prosperous years would seem to merit.

Leaving the tower and continuing our walk, we soon reach a picturesque spot of special interest a little beyond the beaten path which would be taken by those only interested in "doing" the city in the shortest possible time. I refer to the ancient water-tower, erected when the tidal waters of the Dee flowed up to the city walls. Here in olden times ships were made secure to great rings and bolts fastened in the massive walls of this tower. Pausing here for a moment to note the silver and green of the river basin and the lowlands once covered with water, one is reminded that for centuries in the long vanished past Chester was the principal commercial seaport of North England.* And as a well known author has recently pointed out, that which destroyed Chester's commercial supremacy made Liverpool, for it was not until the upheaving of the estuary of the Dee, accompanied by the submergence of the forest of Leasow and the hollowing out of the great Mersey harbor, that Chester became practically an inland town and the commercial star of Liverpool rose.

Leaving the old water-tower we soon find ourselves walking along that part of the wall which affords an excellent view of that wonderful piece of masonry known as the Grosvenor's Bridge, consisting of a single arch two hundred feet in length and forty feet high. This is said to be the longest single stone arch in Europe with the exception of a bridge on the Danube; it is certainly a marvel of beauty and skill, and the view from this point of the wall is surpassingly beautiful.

Continuing our walk we soon reach the famous castle of Chester just within the city walls. This building is very noticeable owing to the style of architecture suggesting ancient Greece and Rome; it contrasts boldly with the imposing Norman ruins, the unique architecture of the shopping district, and the hopelessly prosaic modern buildings which one finds on every hand. Probably the most interesting feature connected with the castle is the old tower. Here, the inhabitants of Chester never fail to tell you, King James the Second received the sacrament during his stay in the city. But its walls have witnessed things which most of our readers would regard as of vastly more importance than this fact, which I mention simply to illustrate how firmly the

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* See Encyclopædia Britannica, ninth edition.

"divine-right" idea seems to hold a place in the mind of the average Englishman.

Turning from the castle and continuing our walk along the walls, we soon find ourselves opposite the rapids or falls of the little river, which for centuries have turned the wheels for the celebrated mills of the Dee. The mills are to-day, however, rather unsightly buildings, with their numerous broken window-panes and general air of dilapidation.

I shall never forget the emotion I experienced on one evening in August, 1894, when standing on this old wall overlooking the Dee. The sun was sinking behind the hills, giving a peculiar though transient brilliancy to the marvellously beautiful landscape, and lighting up with unusual splendor the few fugitive clouds which floated in the sky. A shower had passed about two hours before, leaving the air fresh and redolent with the odors of trees and flowers. In the distance were the hills of Wales; from below came the rushing sound of the rapids of the Dee, while behind rose the din of the city, now dying away as night stole softly on. The scene was one never to be forgotten, and as I stood upon the solid walls viewing the ancient thoroughfare which had been hewn out of solid rock by the Roman soldiers at a time when Christianity was still young, my mind reverted to the past and I thought of the march of time and the strange vicissitudes of life, and a panorama of events passed before me which I shall never forget.

Upon the banks of this wonderfully beautiful river and probably on the very site of Chester the ancient Britons lived their rude and careless life. Here the Roman eagles were planted and a military camp was established which grew into a city, while the soldiers of the Empire made this spot their home and wedded British maidens. Here were built a forum, a public bath, and doubtless temples to the deities of the Tiber; in short, the glory of Roman civilization was reproduced in miniature.

Then the scene changed, and I beheld the flower of Chester's manhood departing for imperilled Rome. The bitterness of that parting was a precursor of a nighttime for women, maidens, and children. I saw the star of Briton sink and the supremacy of the Saxons established even in Chester. Then came the savage Danes, those sons of war and water, who seized the city but were shortly after driven from her walls. I saw the noble daughter of Alfred the Great holding her court in the castle, flushed with love and victory, and listening with swelling breast to the rude songs of valiant deeds.

The scene again shifted, and now it was the Saxon sun which was setting, and I noted the widowed queen of Harold seeking a refuge in this town, which proved to be the last Saxon city to yield to the Conqueror. I saw the Normans come and a new civilization rise on the ruins of British, Roman, and Saxon dominion. I recalled the fact that at the court of the earls of Chester life was lived in much the same careless way that characterizes the very rich of our time, although there was less of artificiality on the one hand, while on the other ignorance and serfdom enveloped the masses.

I remembered that it was here in 1399 that Richard II. was brought captive on his fatal journey to the tower of London, and here also Charles the First had witnessed the defeat of his forces less than four years before his execution. I saw the misery of the people during the years of the sweating sickness, which, however, paled into insignificance before the plague which visited Chester at later periods. I marked the march of humanity with the onward current of the years, the fitful rise of races, and their fatal falls through failure to grasp and assimilate the supreme lesson of lessons, which alone holds the secret of enduring civilization, and which is summed up in that magic trinity, Freedom, Fraternity, and Justice; and I thought how slow of heart is man to learn the august truth noted above and which is epitomized in the golden rule. Yet this is the lesson which this city no less than all history teaches. All civilization will decay and fall until man comes to himself sufficiently to appreciate the fact that any foundation save that of spiritual supremacy will sooner or later prove shifting sands; all enduring progress must be grounded on high ethical truths. Never before had this thought come home to me with such compelling force as at this solemn moment. I saw more clearly than ever before that any nation or civilization which yields to selfism and permits the lower to gain supremacy over the higher, which turns a deaf ear to the demands of fundamental justice, which ignores the spirit of human brotherhood, and allows the canker of egoism to corrupt laws and public opinion, will sooner or later go out in darkness. This is the story which is told by the decay of Roman civilization; indeed, it is the capital lesson of all history no less than it is the cardinal truth inculcated by true religion and philosophy. Might may conquer for a day. Money may pollute and corrupt and thereby turn aside justice for a time, but right alone possesses the element of persistency, and never until man recognizes justice and altruism as the foundation upon which civilization must be built, will progress be permanent or happiness become a heritage of humanity.

These thoughts reminded me of the sadder and more tragic side of life in Chester, for this city is no exception in this respect to other similarly populous centres of life in Europe and America. In fact it seemed to me that there was here an unusually large percentage of persons who were eager to obtain the *privilege of earning a few pennies.* Here as elsewhere, without doubt, poverty is greatly aggravated by the liquor traffic. I have seldom seen a city where there seemed so many "inns," "cellars," and "vaults," names designating places where liquor may be bought, as here; and some of these designating titles were peculiarly suggestive; as for example, I noticed on one occasion in bold letters the "Raven Vaults" as a title for what we would term in this country a saloon. The sight of that name instantly arrested my attention as it seemed so appropriate; I remembered the raven was popularly considered the "bird of ill omen." It is associated with the idea of misfortune, of misery, and of darkness; as the word "vaults" is strikingly suggestive of the final resting-place of the dead. Ill-fortune, misery, and death — such were symbolized by the name of this saloon; and I thought how appropriate would be such a designation for all places where man is debased and debauched by strong drink. In justice to Chester, however, I would say that during my stay of over two weeks I saw comparatively little drunkenness in spite of the great number of saloons. The reason, I think, is to be found in the fact that malted drinks rather than stronger liquors are chiefly consumed. The long rows of homes of the poor, filling many streets, are characterized as a rule by stone floors which are usually kept scrupulously clean. Another thing I noticed which impressed me with mingled pleasure and pain was the number of flowers seen on all sides. People who had no ground in which to plant their seeds, had their windows filled with common flowers, showing the presence of the innate love of the beautiful. It made me heartsick to think that the divine impulse, that interior love of the artistic, should have so little to feed upon in the narrow confines of wretched streets.

I believe, however, that a better day is at hand for humanity. There may be hours of darkness before us, but surely we are in the midst of a transition period, and to-day carries greater possibilities for mankind than any previous birth-era, for we are on a higher rung of the spiral ladder, and education is more diffused. Hence I do not despair. I see the horrid inequality and injustice; I feel the wrong endured by the people; but I know that the forces of light are working with us, and if we do our duty the day will soon dawn, not for Chester or England alone, but for the world. "I have faith in freedom and good," wrote John Bright during the darkest hours of our Civil War, and so I feel to-day. The future is with us, and I believe that before a generation has passed the greatest emancipation proclamation will be issued which man has yet dreamed of. It is to this end that all men and women of the new time must consecrate their highest and noblest endeavors.

THE ERA OF FRAUD AND EMBEZZLEMENT: ITS CAUSES AND REMEDIES.

BY AN EX-GOVERNMENT EXAMINER OF FAILED BANKS.

Statistics show that during the past ten years bank-wreckers, embezzlers, and defaulters have robbed the people of this country of over one hundred million dollars, an average of over ten millions of dollars per annum; and this state of things has been growing worse the past two years, for the year 1892 shows robberies by the above-mentioned methods of about $9,000,000, while 1893 shows about $19,000,000, 1894 about $25,000,000, and 1895 shows over $4,000,000 to July 1.

These sums probably do not represent what was actually taken during those years, but simply the amount of the robberies discovered; the money having been taken during a period of possibly many years, and the fraudulent acts covered for the time being by falsifications and false reports. The depressed condition of business latterly prevailing, and the consequent inability of those who were using the funds entrusted to their care for illegal purposes to realize on their schemes, has forced their institutions to the wall, and investigation has developed the true condition and discovered the robberies. I speak of these acts as "robberies," for I believe in calling them by their true name. Whatever may be the social position of a man, when he makes illegal use of the funds of a public office or of a financial institution entrusted to his care, or connives with others in so doing, he becomes a thief, just as much so as the man who at night blows open the safe and takes what he can find.

Any state of affairs which will allow the robbery of over one hundred millions of dollars in ten years is certainly appalling, and calls for active measures, first to ascertain the cause, and next to provide the prevention. The cause may be attributed to that desire, which seems to pervade all classes, to "get rich quickly" and to live extravagantly. The means by which the riches are obtained are too little considered. It is unfortunate that political and social power are too often measured by riches, and the temptation to attain such power is greater than many men can withstand.

Banks are public institutions, institutions of trust, and the public have the right to feel that their interests are fully protected there. But at present there seems to be more danger from the trusted officer and the employee than from the burglar. Formerly the greatest danger was to be apprehended from the skilled burglar, who could blow open the vault doors, "crack" the safe, and make off with the money; but now it is the skilled financier or bank clerk who coolly and quietly abstracts or misapplies the funds, falsifies the accounts, and makes away with millions where the burglar got thousands. The burglar, a rough character, brought up to a life of crime, makes no pretence of anything else; the other, reared with all the advantages which education, refinement, and moral surroundings can give, poses as an honorable gentleman; often is at the head of Christian and charitable organizations; stands as a leading pillar in the church; wins the confidence of those around him, and then deliberately robs them, by using illegally in private speculation the money entrusted to his care, seeming to forget that it is not his own, but is only held in trust.

As a general rule these robberies by fiduciaries are not committed in one stroke. Once in a while an officer or employee deliberately helps himself to all the money in sight and leaves for foreign parts, but much more often the money is drawn out by degrees as needed for the schemes at hand, and taken in such a way as to disarm suspicion. The delinquents almost always begin in a comparatively small way, *of course* intending to return the money abstracted as soon as the profits from the scheme into which they have embarked are received; and *of course* every such scheme is a "*sure thing.*" Once in, the demands for more money to carry on the undertaking increase, the profits do not materialize, the first wrong step has been taken, and there is no such thing as stopping. Years may elapse; the load gradually becomes greater and greater. Falsifications have to be made and false reports sworn to, till finally a financial crisis takes place, all business is depressed, the wrongdoer cannot realize on his speculations, his institution totters and finally falls. Then an investigation takes place, his criminal acts are discovered, and the prison doors close upon the last scene, or he becomes a fugitive from justice.

In the case of the employee, he generally begins by keeping bad company and needs money to continue his dissipation; or he is induced by a "friend" (?) to "take a flyer" in stocks or wheat or cotton, so he makes a "temporary loan," or aids his "friend" outside to do so by falsifying the accounts, and so takes his first false step. It is then only a question of time when the end will come. Many cases of robberies by employees never reach the public, friends settling the loss, and the employee being allowed to resign quietly.

Besides this *ignis fatuus* of speculation, by which many a good man has been ruined, there are the many gambling houses, especially in our cities, where unfortunately too often both the trusted official and employee are patrons. No man who gambles in *any way*, or patronizes the horse-races or pool-rooms, should be allowed to fill any position in a financial institution. No one can object to a man investing his own money in legitimate enterprise of any kind, but the public have a right to know whose money is being invested by one filling an office of public trust or in a bank.

Too often a banker enters the political field. He aspires to be a political leader, to go to congress, or perhaps to be governor; to do this requires money, plenty of it, and the spending of it freely. He must be "hail fellow" with the "boys," and must contribute liberally to the campaign fund; he checks heavily on the bank, overdrawing his account, thus misapplying the bank's funds; the institution is wrecked and with it his reputation.

With banks the heaviest robberies are generally committed by means of discounts and overdrafts. Some may claim that the term "robberies" should not be used in reference to acts of that nature; that money obtained from the bank by an officer by means of notes discounted unsecured, or checks paid with no money to his credit, is not a robbery. I contend that an officer of a bank naturally stands in a different relation to the bank than does a depositor; that he is in duty bound to protect the interests of the bank; that if he overdraws his account in that bank he misapplies the funds of the bank; that if he obtains money from the bank by means of *unsecured* loans, for the purpose of using it in speculative schemes, he misapplies the funds of the bank. Many banks have been wrecked by the misapplication of funds, and the depositors and stockholders robbed. And this is a crime, as stated in Section 5209 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

Many banks have been started in fraud, the "capital stock" being paid for by the individual notes of the stockholders, these notes never being paid, but renewed when the bank examiner is expected. Yet it is reported as "capital stock paid in," the whole scheme being to start a bank for the purpose of obtaining deposits and thereby getting funds with which to speculate. Companies have been organized by the officers of banks, with a few outside "in the ring," for the express purpose of having other names by which loans could be obtained from the bank, not daring to use their own names further. The names of fictitious persons or companies or mere "straw men" have been used upon paper, the main object being to obtain the money from the bank in an apparently legitimate manner, to allay suspicion so far as possible.

Loans have been obtained from other banks by the officers upon purely "accommodation paper" of outside parties, the beneficiary not endorsing the paper, the money being drawn by the officer, or credited to his account, by means of a credit slip signed by the officer, no record appearing, however, as to the beneficiary. Loans have been obtained by officers upon good and well secured paper, which has been afterwards removed from the bank and worthless paper substituted. I have seen unsecured overdrafts by officers and their friends up into the hundreds of thousands of dollars, the ledger pages torn out upon the advent of the bank examiner, and the books falsified; and these proceedings have been carried on for years, until failure came, and the careful investigation that followed disclosed the facts. I have known banks to have their individual ledgers made without any numbering to the pages, for the express purpose of enabling them to remove leaves without exciting suspicion, whenever necessary to conceal some heavy overdraft or fraudulent transactions. Double sets of ledgers have been kept by an officer of a bank when drawing funds from the bank illegally, one ledger representing the true condition, the other falsified so as to cover the frauds; the bank examiner seeing only the falsified set. Failure of the bank and investigation discovered the real state of affairs. Officers of banks while acting as tellers have abstracted the money, charged it to "notes discounted," and upon the advent of the bank examiner have substituted fraudulent paper manufactured for the purpose, with either forged or fictitious signatures, and appearing to have been entered upon the discount register.

Banks have been robbed by the fraudulent use of certificates of deposit and clearing-house due-bills; but if the records of these are properly kept it is impossible to continue this long without discovery unless there be collusion, or the officer himself keeps the records, which latter should never be allowed. In the issuing of all vouchers of this character, it is a great safeguard if they be signed by two officers, one of them keeping a separate record, thus making a check upon the clerk or officer issuing the voucher.

Clerks sometimes, through fear of being discharged if they refuse, feel obliged to make entries in the books which they know to be false and intended to cover fraudulent transactions. It would be better if the clerk would refuse to be a party to any such transaction, as otherwise he becomes an accomplice and is liable to criminal prosecution. The moment the clerk makes his first false entry in either book, statement, or report, knowing it to be false and for the purpose of deceiving, he places himself in the power of the officer who directed him to make it. He is then within the meshes of the net that will sooner or later drag them both down. Clerks who derived no benefit from the fraudulent transactions of their superiors are now serving their sentence in the penitentiary for just such acts. Whether they are convicted or not, however, their standing is affected. My advice to all such is to be firm in refusing, take a careful memorandum of the transaction and its fraudulent bearing and all facts relating to it, for evidence, and inform the comptroller of the currency at Washington, D. C., who will no doubt be glad to receive any private information to aid in the discovery of fraud, and a word to him will be sufficient to set a proper investigation on foot that may avert a failure. If every bank would have printed, in plain type, a copy of Section 5209 of the Revised Statutes, and hang it in a convenient place within the working body of the bank, it might be the means of deterring some from making the first false step, for comparatively few clerks know of this section or its provisions and penalties. Some now serving sentence would, I know, have thus been saved. I have had it from their own lips.

The innumerable methods adopted to obtain money from banks illegally, and the consequent falsifications in the attempt to deceive, or to conceal such actions, are surprising. I doubt if it would be wise to detail them furthur in an article of this kind. But it may be set down, almost as a rule, that where there has been embezzlement or misapplication of funds, falsification of the accounts or false reports, sometimes both, may also be found as a natural accompaniment.

How to prevent the peculations, embezzlement, and falsification of accounts by employees has been the subject of much thought by bank officers. Some employ the expensive method of keeping a double force of clerks, one set working at night to verify the work of those employed during the day; some shift the clerks from desk to desk at uncertain periods; some organize an examining committee among the clerks; some employ experts to make a complete audit once or twice a year; and some contract with an expert to examine and audit one department a month, no one, not even the bank officers, knowing which department will be examined next. Of the methods named I have seen the most satisfactory results obtained from that of employing experts to make an audit, either a general audit or by departments monthly. An audit made by experienced men who have no interest in shielding anyone, and who will thoroughly examine and *prove* each department, and make an honest report, is certainly one of the most satisfactory safeguards a bank can employ. How to prevent the robberies by officers of financial institutions, and public officers, is a more complex question, but a complete and impartial audit by outside and disinterested parties, at irregular periods, is likewise the best safeguard here.

Too many banks pay their employees insufficient salaries, the responsibility not being considered as it should be. This is an unwise policy. Some of the best banks not only pay their employees well, but induce them to become stockholders, thereby making them personally interested. I think this will be found by those who try it thoroughly to be the best plan.

Too little care is often evinced in the selection of officers and employees for financial institutions, the former being too often chosen on account of popularity, and the latter too much for influence. In some sections a reprehensible practice prevails in obliging employees to obtain a certain line of deposits. This should *never* be done; no employee should ever be placed in a position of obligation to a customer. Such a situation has often proved the snare by which he has been led to temptation and ruin. It is the duty of the directors and stockholders to try to influence depositors to bring their accounts to a bank, and this should never be made the duty of employees.

The habits of officers and employees should be well known and should be considered at *all* times. An officer or employee with a salary of $1,500 to $3,000, for instance, who is known to be living at the rate of $5,000 or more per annum, should be a subject of most *careful* investigation. There should be no sentiment in it, and any director or stockholder knowing the facts should take steps to see that such an investigation is made.

A very stringent law should be passed, making it a crime for any broker to either solicit, directly or indirectly, or to speculate for, any officer or employee of a financial institution. The temptation and risk are too great.

The directors are those elected by the stockholders to manage the bank or financial institution. They elect the executive officers and should be in a measure held responsible for the acts of those officers. It too often happens that the officers, with one or two directors who are in the "deals" with them, are allowed to run the institution to suit themselves, holding a meeting possibly only once a year to elect officers.

No officer or employee should be allowed to have an account with the bank with which he is connected, unless it be the only bank in the town, and then only under rigid restrictions. Severe restrictions should also be laid upon the power to obtain loans or discounts from their bank, either directly or indirectly, by officers, directors, or employees.

No officer or employee handling the money should be allowed to make the records, and all the transactions for the receiving and paying of money should if possible be recorded twice, by separate individuals, one being a check upon the other.

The discount register as it is usually kept is incomplete. It should be a complete history of each piece of paper. As usually made it stops with "when due" and "amount"; it should further state "when paid or protested" and "amount paid or protested," the paid items being entered in black ink and those protested in red ink. It will then be a comparatively simple matter for anyone—a committee of directors, bank examiner, or the discount clerk himself—to prove the notes on hand. It should also have an extra column for numbers, which should show in the case of renewals the subsequent and preceding numbers, that renewals may be easily traced. Every renewed piece of paper should retain its original number as well as its new number.

Wherever the bank is large enough to permit of the extra force, the individual ledger bookkeepers should never be permitted to balance the pass-books of customers, this being done by a clerk especially designated. In any cases where it seemed impossible to obtain the pass-book, the checks and the deposit slips should be obtained by this clerk and the account verified from these vouchers.

Looseness and carelessness in methods is often the door through which frauds enter. Many banks make a great mistake in permitting their clerks to abbreviate or make "short cuts" in writing up the records. It often enables them to leave the bank earlier in the day than otherwise, but something more than that should be considered. In no business should the records be more complete in all their detail than in a bank. "Short cuts" often open the way for irregular transactions that may be intended to cover fraud.

In so many cases it has occurred that an investigation *after* the failure of a bank has developed the fact that fraudulent acts have been committed for several years, and apparently successfully concealed from the bank examiner, that it has raised the question as to the real value of bank examinations by national bank examiners. From the nature of a bank examination as usually carried on, and the large number of banks that the examiner has charge of, it is almost impossible by such examinations to prevent frauds being committed and being concealed for a period. Instances have no doubt occurred where the bank examiner has failed to do his duty, either through negligence or by permitting himself to be influenced by friendship or otherwise. Bank examiners, I am sorry to say, are not beyond the reach of temptation. They have been known to commit peculations when examining banks, by abstracting small sums from the "reserve cash" while counting it, knowing, as they do, that this cash is kept intact in the vault, seldom being recounted except when a portion is needed for use, and the longer the time before the discovery of the shortage the less liability of being suspected. They have borrowed heavily from banks in their district, in many instances the loans never being repaid, thus putting themselves under obligation to the banks they are expected to examine impartially.

It is too often the case that bank examinations are made hurriedly, and consequently important detail is naturally ooverlooked. I have seen examinations made of the teller's cash where if the examiner had taken the trouble to look at the previous day's settlement he would have seen a list of "carry items" represented by checks and tickets running into the many thousands of dollars which did not appear in his examination; and he would further have found, had he taken the pains, that these "carry items" were checks of an officer of the bank, and that they had appeared daily for many months, and had been added to the "legal tenders" and reported as part of the "reserve" in the "reports of condition" to the comptroller of the currency, and had suddenly disappeared on his advent. Had this clue been found and followed, a systematic robbery could have been prevented.

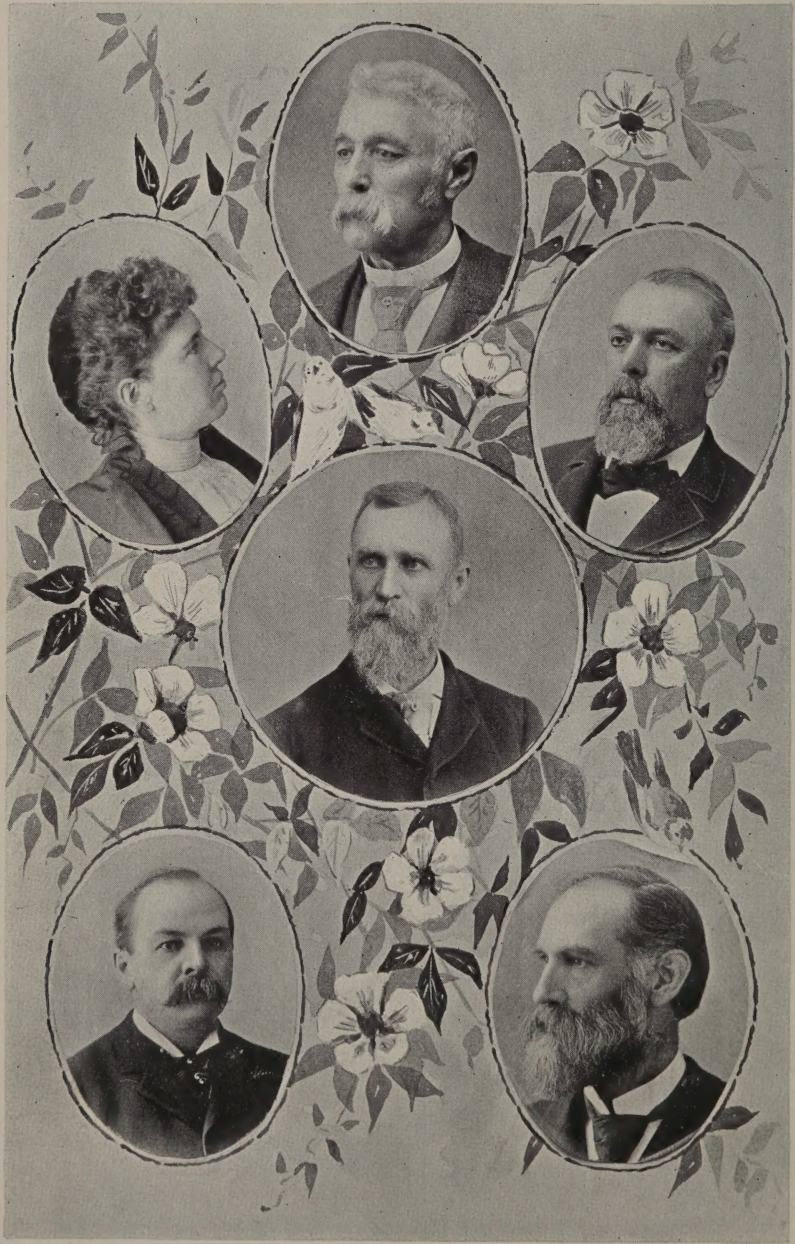
The fee system in the payment of bank examiners is no doubt responsible for much of the hurried and superficial examinations, as it is to the interest of very examiner to have as many banks under his charge as possible, some men taking more than they can possibly do justice to. If bank examiners were paid a stipulated salary instead of fees, were obliged to give a bond for the faithful performance of duty, and were selected more for their knowledge and experience, as judged by an examination, it would be a great benefit to banking and the community at large.

A small corps of competent men as special examiners would I think prove a useful addition to the force. Such men could be sent to banks reported weak or irregular in their methods by the bank examiner, and make such investigation as seemed necessary to discover the real cause of the weakness or irregularity. Such an examination might prevent more serious trouble, and loss to the depositors. The failures of financial institutions shake the confidence of the people, and everything should be done to ward off such a calamity. These men would also be useful in examining failed banks wherever criminal action is suspected.

Men cannot be made honest by legislation; but such restrictions can be placed upon their actions, and they can be put under such supervision while acting in a fiduciary capacity, as to make it difficult for them to do much injury before discovery. This is as much as we can hope to do under present conditions. Many of the laws governing the acts of financial agents are loosely drawn. Even Section 5209 of the Revised Statutes is so drawn that shrewd and unprincipled men have taken advantage of it and escaped punishment. Several attempts have been made to have this section amended, but without success. The rules and regulations governing the actions of both officers and employees of financial institutions should be very plain and positive, and should be enforced with military exactness. There should be no division of responsibility, and each man should be held to a strict accountability.

Beyond all these rules and safeguards must be a higher idea, the idea that high character should stand first; that any wealth obtained through other than *strictly* honorable means is nothing less than robbery and is a disgrace. Inculcate these ideas in the minds of the young and growing generation, and our "era of fraud and embezzlement" will pass away.

A. R. Barrett.



HON. J. W. ROBINSON,
of New Hampshire.

MISS EMMA F. BATES,
of North Dakota.

JUDGE GEO. W. COWELL,
of Connecticut.

HON. B. F. ALLEY,
of Oregon.

SENATOR MCLAUGHLIN,
of Michigan.

SENATOR HARVEY,
of Massachusetts.

A BATTLE FOR SOUND MORALITY.

PART III.

BY HELEN H. GARDENER.

Next in order come the states which made gallant fights, but failed of entire success, gaining from one to three years, but falling short of eighteen. It had been the intention of the ARENA to give all reports in full, and to include portraits of all the leaders, but to do so would fill these pages. In several of the states where only small gains were made the contests were intense, and the people were aroused as upon no other measure. This was notably true in Michigan, Minnesota, Texas, Indiana, Connecticut, California, and Arkansas. It has been decided, therefore, to give only brief accounts of these battles, and to wait until these states shall have placed themselves upon the full honor roll before giving the entire history of the work and the portraits of those who have done such valiant service, even while losing, in part, the battle. Their services are no less appreciated, no less useful to their states, although space forbids that they be as fully recognized as were those whose efforts won complete victory. We shall hold all material to be compiled when victory shall be theirs, and when their states can be taken wholly from the Black List, which with the tremendous impetus now gained all over the country can be done at the next session if the workers remain alert and act with wisdom and moderation.

Of the fifteen states now claiming to have placed the age of protection at sixteen years, four make a gain of two years at the past session, thus taking themselves out of the fourteen-year class. Six of the other eleven made a fight for eighteen and failed. In most of the others there was no session this year.

California presented the bill asking for eighteen, and succeeded in passing it for sixteen, but Governor Budd vetoed the measure, leaving California in the Black List at fourteen. The governor, whose portrait we publish this month, was asked to give his reasons for the veto, but made no reply, which leaves the inference that he approves of fourteen as the age at which girl children should cease to be protected by the laws of California. It remains to be seen what the voters of California and her mothers will have to say upon this question.

One other state met the same defeat at the hands of its executive, who also overruled his legislature. Governor Busiel of New Hampshire refused to sign the bill changing the age of protection from thirteen to sixteen in his state, which leaves New Hampshire the lowest eastern state, unless we except Delaware, which claims to have gone up to fifteen, but about which, owing to the wording of her laws, there seems to be still a difference of opinion, which will be stated in due time. Governor Busiel gave us as his reason for refusing to sign the bill as passed by the New Hampshire legislature that it was passed in such an awkwardly worded form that it could not fail to interfere with certain other laws of the state; and it is true that as drawn, amended, and passed it was a very defective bill. It remains, therefore, for the next legislature of New Hampshire to determine whether or not its present governor did the state a service by leaving the age so conspicuously low that state pride, if no loftier agency, will urge her to remain no longer at the foot of the eastern Black List, at an age, indeed, where her only companions are Utah and Iowa, neither of which had legislative sessions this year, although Iowa has already begun an active fight to get herself out of the position of holding her girl children at the age of thirteen to be of "mature and disposing minds" upon one and only one important matter.

New Jersey and Pennsylvania also introduced bills to make the age eighteen, but both failed, and both now remain — so they claim — at sixteen; but the fact is that as their laws stand and are worded, neither New Jersey nor Pennsylvania belongs in the sixteen-year list. In both states it is merely a finable offence, which renders the whole law valueless *as an age-of-consent law.* In New Jersey, the fine "shall not exceed one thousand dollars," and may be one dollar, and there is no age at all stated in the law as sent to this office at which a child may not consent, and at which therefore the crime is rape, and *not* to be atoned for by a mere fine. It has been said, whether justly or not I do not know, that New Jersey has more crimes of that nature committed within her borders than has any other state. Perhaps this law may partly account for that fact, if it is a fact. At any rate, her citizens, it is to be hoped, will not longer permit her to remain in the upper list in name only and not at all in fact, as at present. In Pennsylvania, Senator Flinn, of Allegheny, introduced a bill making the age eighteen, but it was reported adversely and killed by the judiciary committee. No serious fight was made. Pennsylvania also claims to be in the sixteen-year list, but she is not justly there. After the age of ten years, the girl must prove previous good character, which begs the basic question, and leaves Pennsylvania really in the ten-year list in so far as the principle is concerned.

Florida, also, has claimed to be, and was formerly placed by us, as seventeen. But after securing the full text of her law we find that it expressly states that the age is sixteen; but here again is that vicious proviso (after the age of ten) which permits a fine "not *exceeding* five hundred dollars," which in reality places the original offence and crime upon those only who lead astray infants of ten. Florida, therefore, in the legitimate sense, belongs with North and South Carolina at the foot of the list.

This brings us to the states where real and efficient work was done, and solid results secured, even though they were not the full measure asked.

MONTANA.

A very brief report comes from Montana. The Montana bill was a good one, clearly worded and free from evasions. It asked that the age be placed at eighteen. It was a house bill, and entrusted to Representative Knippenburg, who afterward resigned his seat, and the bill was handled by Hon. W. A. Hedges. Petitions had been widely circulated throughout the state by Mrs. Delia A. Kellogg, state superintendent of the W. C. T. U., and hundreds of signatures sent to the legislature, demanding that the bill pass making the age eighteen; but since a new code was this year adopted in Montana, and since the code had placed the age at sixteen (it had formerly been fifteen years), the age was changed in the bill also and made to read sixteen. How and why and when this was done, at whose motion, whether debate was had and defence made, does not appear in the report sent. The passage of the bill seems wholly superfluous after the adoption of the code, since the two are identical after the age in the bill is reduced from eighteen to sixteen. It amounted simply to a ratification of this feature of the code. The report went out through the press and was sent to us that the bill at eighteen had passed, but such is not the case, and Montana has yet two years to gain for her daughters' protection before she can stand on a level with several of her next-door neighbors. The following is the brief report from Montana:

REPORT.

This is the law as worded in the new codes:

Sec. 450 of the Penal Code.

Rape is an act of sexual intercourse accomplished with a female not the wife of the perpetrator under either of the following circumstances: 1. When the female is under the age of sixteen years. 2. When she is incapable, through lunacy or any other unsoundness of mind, whether temporary or permanent, of giving legal consent. 3. When she resists, but her resistance is overcome by violence or force. 4. When she is prevented from resisting by threats of immediate and great bodily harm, accompanied by apparent power of execution, or by any intoxicating narcotic, or other anæsthetic substance administered by or with the privity of the accused. 5. Where she is at the time unconscious of the nature of the act and this is known to the accused. 6. Where she submits under a belief that the person committing the act is her husband and the belief is induced by any artifice, pretence, or concealment practised by the accused with intent to induce such belief.

(A clause protecting boys under sixteen follows.)

Sec. 453. Rape is punishable by imprisonment in the state prison not less than five years.

Mr. W. A. Hedges of Yale, Fergus County, put in the bill, based upon the petition calling for eighteen years, which had been intrusted to Hon. Henry Knippenburg, Glendale, Beaverhead County. On the outside of filed bill examined by me, it says "Passed with age raised from fifteen to sixteen years." In the journal of proceedings I found yeas in the senate, all except seven absentees. Yeas in the house, all but two, George W. Oker and Joseph Marshall, both Populists, who voted "No"; but the report does not state whether they stood for eighteen or opposed making the age over fifteen. In the house five absentees are reported. DELIA A. KELLOGG.

Aside from the fact that the original bill in Montana did not protect boys under the age of eighteen from the full penalty in case both are children and in case violence is not used, it was one of the best bills yet offered. I regret that all do not protect the boys, but it may be that in Montana as in New York boys under eighteen are, under another law, sent to reform school instead of to the penitentiary when found guilty of crime, in which case also the judge would have discretionary power. When I urged that boys under eighteen be shielded from the full penalty in cases of "consent" I have been met in New York and other states with the above information, and the legislators claimed that boys were thus fully protected. But, be this as it may, to my own mind if the age-of-protection bills themselves shielded youth rather than sex they would be more satisfactory.

NORTH DAKOTA.

REPORT.

About two years ago a committee was appointed to compile the laws of North Dakota, and revise the code. They have been at work ever since. In February last, Dr. Cora Smith Eaton and Miss Emma F. Bates of Bismarck prepared a bill, asking that the age of consent be made eighteen. The latter went to the clerk of the committee, and asked him for information in the matter. He informed her that the revision committee had already fixed in the code the age of consent at sixteen years; that this precluded any legislation on the matter. She insisted that it should be raised to eighteen. He declared that it could not be done. She asked to appear before the committee to present the matter, but was informed that it was past all change or possibility of change, and the matter rested there. No legislation was possible upon the matter, she was told, as whatever is fixed in the code is unalterable.

Later, when she learned concerning the efforts that had been made and the arguments used in other states, she proceeded to correspond and have personal conferences with various men who vôted in the compilation and revision committee. She learned that only three men in the committee and the clerk of the committee had had anything to do with this age-of-consent matter. Those three men, Judge Newton, of Bismarck, Major Edwards, of Fargo, and Senator Rourke, of Lisbon, had unanimously agreed to raise the age of consent to sixteen and had it placed in the code. No arguments, so far as could be learned, were used either for or against in the matter. No discussion was had. Major A. W. Edwards, Fargo, N. D., is editor of the Fargo *Forum*, and was a member of the house in the last legislature. Senator Patrick Rourke, of Lisbon, N. D., is a lawyer, and was a member of the senate in the last legislature.

Dr. Eaton is intensely interested in the question of suffrage for women, and was also very much interested in this matter of the age of consent. She is president of the Grand Forks Suffrage Association, virtually the leader of that force in the state. Miss Emma F. Bates is superintendent of the W. C. T. U. for North Dakota.

OREGON.

The report indicates why the age of the girl was reduced to sixteen instead of passing at eighteen, which was the original text of the bill. Mr. Alley agreed to this change also, when he placed the protection of boys at sixteen. This leaves Oregon two rungs more to climb before she will stand beside her sister state on the east, Idaho.

REPORT.

Hon. B. F. Alley was elected to the State Senate in 1893 for four years, from Lane County, Oregon. During that session, he introduced Senate Bill 178 to raise the age of consent from fourteen years to eighteen, and the enclosed copy will furnish you its history, except that the chairman of the committee on education referred it back with the recommendation that "it do not pass," and it was indefinitely postponed by the senate. The chairman of the committee on education was Hon. C. B. Crosno, of Benton County. This abrupt proceeding gave no opportunity to be heard on the merits of the bill. Being a newspaper editor and publisher gave Mr. Alley advantages through a large list of exchanges in his state to accumulate facts, and an editorial in his paper stated his intention to reintroduce the "consent" bill during the eighteenth session of the Oregon legislature. This he did, and it was in 1895 Senate Bill No. 13. It was referred to the committee on education, Hon. J. H. McClung, chairman, and by him referred back with the recommendation that "it do pass."

When the bill came up for final passage, Mr. Alley found a pronounced opponent in Sen. S. B. Huston, of Washington County, upon the following grounds: That the age named in the bill was too high; that it did not protect boys, and unprincipled women would take advantage of the law and compel boys that were innocent to marry them or go to prison. Fearing the bill might be defeated entirely, the first line was changed so as to protect boys under sixteen. This amendment was made and agreed to at Mr. Alley's own motion. He made the only speech in favor of the bill, and about the middle of his argument he recited the first two paragraphs of Helen Gardener's article in the January number of the ARENA, giving her credit. He did it earnestly and well, and was roundly applauded at its close. In closing his address, many citations were made of cases in Oregon where little girls just over fourteen years old had been ruined and enticed to lead a life of shame in brothels, and his strongest and most earnest appeals were made for the protection of the little girls in his state; but he stated to the writer, "I truly believe the large majority in the senate voting for my bill is attributable to the forcible, vigorous, and indisputable sentences coming from Helen Gardener's brain which I quoted in the Oregon senate."

I regret that I cannot give you the vote of either house on the bill, as the journals are not yet printed. The state president of the W. C. T. U. and also Mrs. Bailey, the wife of Prof. Mark Bailey, of the State University, wrote to Mr. Alley and did all in their power to aid in the passage of the bill. In the house, the bill was placed in the hands of Representative Henry L. Barkley, of Marion County. His championship was ably supported by Representative C. H. Baker, of Lane County, but the bill received little opposition in the house even in votes.

The history of the work in the Oregon legislature to raise the age of consent is as follows: The first effort in this direction was that of Hon. Seymour W. Condon, who introduced a like bill in the house in 1889, but it failed to pass. Mr. Alley's bill came next in 1893, then again in 1895, and passed, raising the age to sixteen. No other efforts have ever been made in this humanity movement since the law first passed for fourteen years old, in Oct. 19, 1864. The age of majority, or legal age, is eighteen. It would be impossible to portray the interest taken in this matter when it is picked up out of the ditch of opposition and passed in both branches of the legislature of this state. But Mr. Alley knows no such word as fail in the bright lexicon of his energy when in battle for any cause that will elevate society or protect the innocence of childhood. Curious, too, he has no daughters — only a boy to call his own. But sometimes, perhaps, higher motives are not born with selfishness.

CONNECTICUT.

REPORT.

The senate* of the state of Connecticut was the stumbling-block in the way of raising the age of consent from fourteen to eighteen years — the barrier which stood obstinately opposed to granting the daughters of Connecticut the protection to their honor which the state has too long denied them. As it is the age of consent was raised from fourteen to sixteen years. What those two years of protection may mean in the future to the girls of Connecticut can never be accurately estimated, and those persons who worked so assiduously for the proper protection of young women are thankful for the half loaf received; yet all had hoped for a full loaf — the raising of the age of consent to eighteen years.

It was a bitter fight to secure those two years of protection for Connecticut's young women, and when one calmly reflects why there was so great opposition to raising the age from fourteen to eighteen years, but one answer, horrible though it be, takes form, and that is "masculine lust." That is the actual reason why the girls of Connecticut were denied the protection to their honor up to the age of eighteen years. But the men who opposed this protection veiled the actual reason so adroitly with subtle argument of possible blackmail that there are indeed too many who believe them and are unable to penetrate the veil of subterfuges and see the naked truth.

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* It appears to have been the senate in almost all of the states which opposed this legislation, and also the older men. In most cases the younger men favored it.
H. H. G.

The age-of-consent bill was introduced in the Connecticut legislature by Judge George H. Cowell, representative from Waterbury, at the request of the W. C. T. U. and the ARENA. Very shortly after Richard Howell, then managing editor of the Bridgeport and Waterbury *Sunday Herald*, requested Warren L. Hall, the junior representative from Waterbury to the house, to introduce a somewhat similar bill relating to abduction. Attorney J. B. Klein, the law partner of ex-congressman Deforest, of Bridgeport, gave valuable assistance in framing this bill. The age-of-consent bill and the abduction bill were so closely related in their object that the *Sunday Herald* championed both and fought for their passage with an enthusiasm and fearlessness which won for it the encomiums of all persons who have a thought or a care for the protection of womanhood. And in the entire state of Connecticut the *Sunday Herald* was the only journal that gave assistance to the ARENA magazine and the noble women of the W. C. T. U. who were laboring to protect the younger members of their sex from the lust of the opposite sex.

Thomas F. McCan, legislative correspondent of the *Sunday Herald*, was constantly on the ground at the capitol watching every move for and against the age-of-consent and the abduction bills. Before the judiciary committee, when these bills were given hearings, Mr. McCan and Mr. Howell appeared and made able arguments in their favor. Extracts from the ARENA, showing the necessity of both bills becoming laws, were read by both gentlemen, and those extracts, coupled with the observations which had been afforded Mr. McCan and Mr. Howell as newspaper men, did much toward influencing the legislators. Another great factor in accomplishing what good did result was the remarks of Mrs. Cornelia B. Forbes, president of the W. C. T. U. of Connecticut, Mrs. Josephine Bissell, and Chaplain Joseph Iorns, of the House.

The abduction bill passed the house after eloquent speeches in its behalf by Gardiner Greene, Jr., of Norwich, and Warren L. Hall, of Waterbury, without a dissenting voice. In the senate the bill remained some weeks, but it was finally passed and signed by the governor. This abduction bill is considered one of the most stringent in existence, no state having one like it. It was the the outgrowth of a letter from a New Haven working girl to Mr. Howell, of the *Sunday Herald*, appealing to the paper to do something for the girls who toil in the factories to protect them from men who are in authority and who insult them by improper advances and mercenary offers until one wonders that virtue among factory girls is a possibility. When the Methodist conference was in session at Stamford, Conn., a resolution was passed commending the house for its action in passing the abduction bill.

But it was the age-of-consent bill that brought on the bitter fight. After the hearing before the judiciary committee Messrs. Judson, Gunn, Greene, Williams, Goodrich, and Warner made a report against raising the age of consent to eighteen years. But there were two members of the committee, Judge George H. Cowell and Ratcliffe Hicks, who were firm in their stand to give the girls of Connecticut the protection they deserved. These two gentlemen made a minority report. Mr. Hicks spoke in part as follows:

"*Mr. Speaker:* I hesitate to say anything in this matter. This is a question that a woman like Mrs. Isabella Hooker, daughter of a New

England clergyman of world-wide fame, and sister of one of America's most illustrious sons, and wife of one of Hartford's first citizens, can talk to you about better than any member of this general assembly. But she is not here, and no woman is here to voice the sentiments of her sex. So I will briefly explain why I am in favor of raising the age of consent to eighteen years. If you will take the pains to ask any clergyman, Protestant or Catholic, or any physician, these men who go down where sorrow and sadness and sickness dwell, and ask their opinion, they will tell you that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, where the first wrong has been committed, the woman is the innocent party. I know of no sight more sad, no fate more heartrending, than to see a young man or a young woman who has sacrificed and thrown away all prospects of an honorable future life. As a prominent clergyman of this city remarked to me only a day or so ago, he hardly ever knew an instance where the persons were of nearly equal age but that the man was willing to redress the wrong by marrying the woman, and thereby saving her honor and self-respect.

"I was talking only a day or so ago with the editor of the Hartford *Times*, who has crowned eighty years of a useful and honorable life largely devoted to the discussion of matters of public interest, and he remarked that a woman of fourteen hardly knew her own mind; that eighteen was better, and that it ought in his opinion to be twenty-one years. It is pretty safe in Connecticut, be you Republican or Democrat, to listen to the advice on matters relating to the improvement and elevation of society to that noble citizen and good man, Hon. Alfred E. Burr. Since making our report, the legislature of Massachusetts * has passed a bill making the age eighteen years, and that now is the prevailing age in most of the progressive and enlightened states of the union, and I hope Connecticut will not be behind her sister states. We have been here four long months, passing laws for the benefit of the men of Connecticut, and not one act have we passed for the benefit of the women of this state. And I beg of you to pass this bill in the interests of innocent womanhood, and I promise you you shall never regret your action."

When the bill came to the house for passage the time had arrived when the members had an opportunity of showing how highly they valued womanly virtue, and among those who eloquently urged the passage of the bill, and who are honorably recorded in this great moral fight, are Mr. Newton, of New Haven; Mr. Warner, of Putnam; Mr. Bowen, of Windham; "Honest" John Middletoon, of Enfield, and Chaplain Iorns. The bill was passed after being amended to the effect that the trial judge should have some discretion in a case where the girl of sixteen should be proved to have been of unchaste character.

The report of the hearing before the judiciary committee was fully published in the *Sunday Herald*, and in order to place that material where it would do the most good, Mr. Howell had sent to the homes of the legislators over three hundred marked copies, that the wives and daughters of the members of the legislature could read and use their influence in obtaining the protection which the young women deserved.

Gardiner Greene, Jr., of Norwich, and Stiles Judson, Jr., of Stratford, were most rigidly opposed to raising the age of consent to eighteen years. Their arguments were the usual subterfuges used of the

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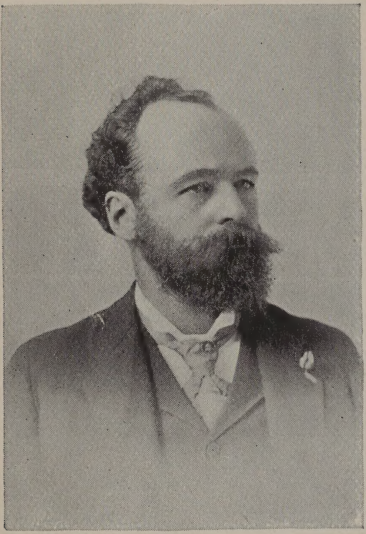
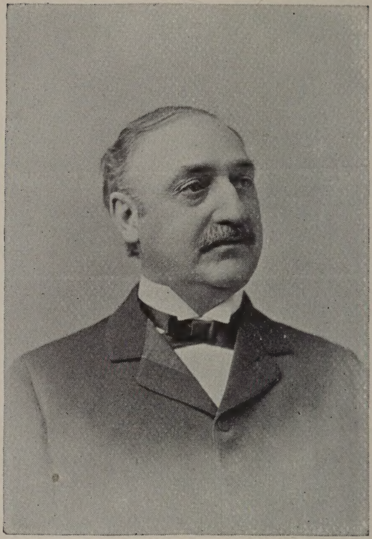
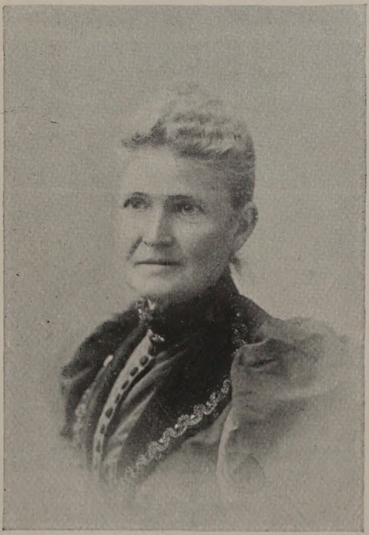
* Unfortunately Massachusetts failed to take the advance step which would place her abreast of the most enlightened states. It was probably New York to which Mr. Hicks intended to refer, or else he was misinformed by premature reports.
H. H. G.



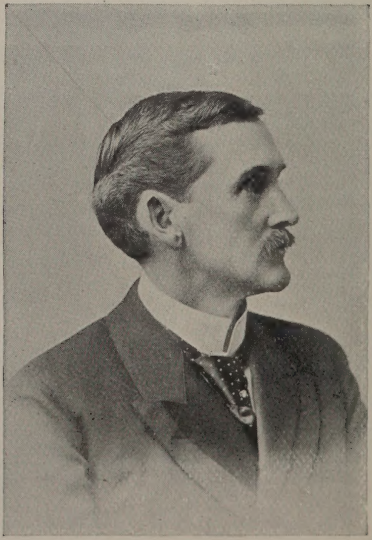
GOV. BUDD, OF CALIFORNIA,
Who vetoed the bill making the age of protection 16 as passed by his Legislature, leaving the age 14.



GOV. BUSIEL, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
Who refused to sign the bill as passed by his Legislature, raising the age of protection to 16 from 13.



MRS. MARY E. TEATS, CALIFORNIA.



HON. D. C. REMICH, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

possibility of young men being blackmailed and their lives ruined by designing and bad women. It is a fact worth noting, too, that the state's attorneys requested that the age of consent be not raised to eighteen years.

In the senate the action of the house in accepting the minority report was not concurred in, the senate refusing to raise the age of consent above sixteen years. The house refused to change its former action, and a committee of conference from the house was appointed to confer with the senate and bring about concurrent action with the house. The effort was futile. The vote in the senate placed Senators Coffee, Dayton, Johnson, Lee, Palmer, Ferris, Bernd, Chandler, Smith, Warner, Averill, Chapman, and Douglass on record as opposing the bill as passed by the house. Five senators — Marigold, Birge, Gates, Little, and Fuller — favored the passage of the bill, and Senator Marigold made one of the most eloquent speeches of the session in its behalf. Senators Hall, Crosby, Webster, Lounsbury, and Hunt were absent from their seats when the bill came up.

Thus the bill on which the protection of the honor of Connecticut's girls hung was stranded between the house and the senate, the latter body favoring sixteen years and the former eighteen years. Neither body seemed inclined to concede a point, and unless one did no action could be taken and the age of consent would remain at fourteen years. Finally Dr. Whiton, representative from Manchester, addressed the house on the subject. He urged that while the friends of the bill were in hopes of having the age raised to eighteen years, he saw no possibility of it this term, and it would be far better to accept the senate's action and raise the age two years than it would be to remain obdurate and for two years more permit the daughters of the state to be ruined at fourteen years. The fairness of this argument was seen and the house concurred with the senate and passed the bill, making the age of consent sixteen years.

The rape statute of Connecticut reads:

"Every person who shall commit the crime of rape upon any female of the age of fourteen years or more, or who shall carnally know and abuse any female under the age of fourteen years, shall be imprisoned in the state prison not less than three years."

This law leaves a very wide discretion with the judge. The action of the present legislature, by raising the age of consent to sixteen years, practically amends the above statute, and if any person carnally knows any female under sixteen years it is rape.

RICHARD HOWELL.

A fine report and much supplementary information was received also from that earnest and capable worker, Mrs. Ella B. Kendrick, but it was too late for use here and it is impossible to take further space for Connecticut. We had hoped to give the portraits of those mentioned above and others, but space and results forbid.

MICHIGAN.

Michigan had a tremendous contest. Senator McLaughlin, the champion of the bill, was challenged to fight by an irate member by the name of Clapp, who was opposed to the passage of the bill. Many of the leading people of the state took a hand in the contest, and monster petitions with over 20,000 names were sent up demanding that the bill pass. The leading newspapers of the state took sides, and it is asserted that no legislation ever attempted in Michigan created so much interest or was so generally discussed. On the trains, people went through the cars, asking travellers to vote on the subject. Women's clubs and men's clubs discussed the matter. But in spite of all, Michigan still remains two years behind her most progressive sisters in the West and the Empire State of New York. It is confidently believed that she will range herself with the best at the next session of her legislature.

REPORT.

Michigan has been made to feel during the past winter the advance and pressure of moral and protective legislation on behalf of youth. While succeeding only in raising the age of consent to sixteen years, the attention of the people has been called to a great many other statutes relative to the protection of our girls and women that are so weak and defective as to be a shame to our state. At a regular meeting of the Detroit Woman's Club in the month of February, Mrs. James W. Hine reviewed "the age-of-consent symposium" given in the January ARENA, and it awakened such an interest in the subject that a bill was drawn for the club by Judge Andrew Howell, whose "Annotated Statutes" are authority in our courts throughout the state. His extended experience on the bench and practical knowledge of the laws, and his counsel, ever ready, were invaluable to the friends of the measure. Through the earnest effort of Mrs. A. A. Boutelle, who wielded her pen so ably through press and in correspondence, the bill was brought before the public. It was found we had two laws on this subject, one providing punishment for rape, and another for protection to chaste girls. The first named is Sec. 9094 of Howell's Statutes, which reads: "If any person shall ravish and carnally know any female of the age of fourteen years, or more, by force and against her will, or shall unlawfully and carnally know and abuse any female under the age of fourteen years, he shall be punished by imprisonment in the state prison for life or for any term of years." The bill introduced in the legislature amended this section by substituting *eighteen* for *fourteen* years. The other law spoken of was entitled "An act to protect the chastity of girls between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years and to punish the violation thereof" (Sec. 9314 (a) of Howell's Annotated Statutes), the punishment provided being imprisonment in the state prison or reformatory for *five years* or in a county jail for one year, or by fine of not more than a thousand dollars.

On inquiry concerning the practical working of these laws it was found that the crime of rape was the one most in need of correction. In fact the law protecting chaste girls is good for very little as it is framed, one lawyer of prominence and large practice stating that in all his practice he knew of only three cases tried under it. Still there have been many cases known that were never tried under that or any other law.

The legal age for marriage in this state is sixteen years for girls and eighteen years for boys. Our physicians have joined us in an effort to change this law, making it eighteen years for both parties unless with the consent of parent or guardian.

The age of majority for property rights in Michigan is twenty-one. Think of it! The girl's pocket-book protected absolutely until she is twenty-one, and only a possible fine of $1,000 or one year in jail for robbing a fair young girl of her God-given mark and bloom of purity, either by protestations of love or promise of marriage or gift of a trifling value.

Another statute of shameful inefficiency is found in Sec. 9314 g. h. It reads: " Taking a girl not over *seventeen* years old to a house of prostitution or assignation and detaining her there for any purpose whatever is a *crime*, punished by a fine of not more than $100 or *ninety days* in jail." Look at that! A *crime* punished by a fine of $100 or 90 days in jail. The writ of habeas corpus required here to secure possession of the girl must be obtained from the slow-moving court, and your daughter, held there only by lock and key, is ruined ere you can reach her. Will not the fathers of our pure and innocent girls rise at the plea in behalf of their own daughters' peril and those who are ignorant and fatherless? This age should be raised to twenty-one and the punishment made life imprisonment. Under this law there is a regular system of procurers working throughout our state for houses of prostitution. They may be found on trains, at depots, and on our very streets.

These and a great many other laws demand revision, and a company of earnest workers, including lawyers, physicians, and women, are preparing bills of great importance for the next legislature to consider. As the people of our beautiful state value the home, and personal purity in both sexes, and a reverence for womanhood, let them see to it that the men of their choice to fill our legislative halls two years hence shall be men of good morals and upright characters.

All parts of the state have been awakened to a lively interest in the age-of-consent legislation, and petitions were sent to the legislature containing over twenty thousand names. We wish to acknowledge the hearty support given to the bill by the noble women of our state, by several circuit judges, prosecuting attorneys, lawyers, police captains, physicians, ministers, and business men by the hundreds, who petitioned for raising the age to eighteen years and who we trust will not relax their interest till that end is secured. I am sure they would not, could they have heard the desperate arguments put forth by our legislators in behalf of making it only sixteen years or less. At the hearing before the senate judiciary committee, comprising Senators Clapp, Janes, Jamison, Kilpatrick, and Barnum, there were present several prominent ladies and gentlemen from different parts of the state, among whom was Mrs. J. R. McLaughlin, whose earnest and untiring labors in the cause not only with members of the legislature but in enlisting the coöperation of the people throughout the state, have been most efficient in securing whatever of good has been accomplished. Mrs. Judge Howell gave before the legislature a strong and well-prepared argument in favor of eighteen years, which it is greatly to be regretted cannot here find space.

An able presentation of the need of better protection to our working girls and orphans was made by Miss Clara Avery, president of the State Federation of Woman's Clubs, whose life of wide experience and observation in this and foreign lands afforded much valuable information. These arguments held the close attention of the judiciary committee for an entire evening. Dr. E. L. Shurly spoke from his field of knowledge in his profession and in behalf of his wife's earnest desire to aid the measure. Mrs. Shurly has given twenty years of her life to reform and philanthropic work in the city of Detroit. Mrs. Lucinda H. Stone, a remarkable woman of eighty years, was also present, not intending to speak, but was drawn to her feet to utter a few earnest words. Mr. and Mrs. Melvin A. Root, of Bay City, who sent one of the largest petitions, bearing over eight hundred names, gave strong arguments in favor of the bill, showing distinctions in our laws where they so often discriminate in favor of man and against woman.

An effort to go into executive session, made by Senators Barnard and Johnson, was intended to exclude those most earnestly interested in the passage of the bill and to afford a convenient opportunity to give it a death-blow in the dark. The strong and forcible stand taken for open doors by Senator McLaughlin's appeal to the manhood of the senate was all that saved the bill at that time. Undignified and ungentlemanly remarks, which stirred the ire of more than one within the hearing of their voices, were made by those endeavoring to close the doors. The friends of the measure stood nobly for its passage at seventeen* years, as reported by a majority of the judiciary committee. Senator Jamison spoke in behalf of the majority report, which included himself and Senators Kilpatrick and Barnum. Senators Clapp and Janes were the minority, and both spoke vigorously against the age being seventeen. The writer regrets that the argument of Senator Clapp is not at hand.

It was urged that to place the age of consent above sixteen years was too high, as there are so many bad girls at that age to tempt the men and boys. Others said that public sentiment was not educated up to placing the age above sixteen years; another said that the law of nature comes before the law of man or God in these things. Senator Thompson, who from the first declared he was there to defeat that bill if no other, did not speak in public, but by his influence, exerted in a manner known to himself and those allied with him, did not once relax his efforts to defeat it.

In discussion of the bill Senator Bialy spoke strong and stirring words in its behalf, while Senator McLaughlin spoke several times and treated the matter from the legal and social standpoints. Senator McLaughlin's brief, which I am able to give, simply indicates his line of argument, which was wholly scientific and unemotional. He said in part: "This is a profound subject. It affects nothing less than the morals of the state — the very foundation of civilization. I am prepared to urge its passage upon three principal grounds: first, that of adequate protection to innocent girls — children; second, that of purity in young manhood; third, that of the public morals and the benefit of society.

"It will be necessary before proceeding further with this discussion to determine our exact status in this matter; just what is meant by the expression, 'the age of consent,' and what are the holdings of the court in regard to it.

"The age of consent is the time fixed by the law when a girl may agree or consent to carnal relations with a man. It is based upon the idea of the old English law that the blame of a 'mutual fault' shall not rest upon one of the offenders only. It implies that equality of conditions of mind and body that is essential to an agreement; as otherwise it would not be a mutual fault. Ordinarily, the law does not permit contracts to be made between parties of conspicuously unequal capacities. For instance: an idiot cannot contract; a child may not enter into a contract with a man for the disposal of property. The state prevents a minor from disposing of his or her property on the ground of the immaturity of the child. And yet a little girl — a child — may legally give her consent to a matter as compared with which the loss of property is nothing."

He then elaborated his argument upon the following lines: The burden of proof is upon the woman.—Defile the source of a stream, and its whole waters become filthy.—Fatherless girls.—Purity in homes, boys and girls.—Factory girls.—Country girls.—Habeas corpus necessary to obtain possession of an abducted girl.—Number of procuresses.

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* It was originally drawn to read eighteen.

The vote on the amendment making the age sixteen years was lost by a vote of twelve to fourteen.*

The question now presented was the passage of the bill making it seventeen years. Vote taken. Yeas: Barnum, Bialy, Briggs, Chittenden, Eaton, French, Gaige, Jamison, Jewell, Kilpatrick, Martin, Nason, McLaughlin, Prescott, Smalley, Wheeler, Preston—17. Nays: Clapp, Janes, Johnson, Keeler, Merriman, Pascoe, Shaw, Sheldon, Thompson, Townsend—10.

This was a great gain. The age of consent was now raised from fourteen to seventeen years. The vote was a strong and hearty one given by these men after weeks of thought and arguments *pro* and *con*. It is well to look carefully at these names now, as we see them standing for the protection of the girl of seventeen years. These men stand as the fathers and brothers of those around whom we would place the arm of the law. Look at them! We shall see them again. The men voting in opposition here were doing so in spite of their constituents. They had received many petitions and personal letters asking them to vote for the age of consent at eighteen. Their excuses were pitiful to listen to. A senator said that girls could take care of themselves if they wanted to. He would prefer his daughter should marry at sixteen, whether he gave his consent or not, than remain single till she was twenty-one. Another senator scornfully remarked, "He would be ashamed to have his vote influenced by any woman on earth."

A bold editorial appeared in the Detroit *Tribune* censuring the senate for its action. It was read from the floor of the senate by Mr. Johnson, who seemed terrified at what they had done. A rumor became prevalent through the boasting of Senator Thompson that the Liquor Association would see to it that the bill would not stand at that age, but it was not ascertained just what important part that body took in its defeat. Senator Thompson seemed surprised at the strength the bill had gathered, and set about to undo the work done. Accordingly on the next day a motion to reconsider the vote by which the senate had passed the age-of-consent law, was made by Senator Janes. It was carried by a vote of sixteen yeas and twelve nays. Senator Barnard was present at this time. Senators Briggs, French, Eaton, and Smalley voted in the affirmative, while they had voted for the seventeen years the day before. Senator Brundage was present on that day only of the whole week's session. Senator Janes moved to lay the bill on the table, which was defeated; and not succeeding in killing it outright in that move, now made the motion to reconsider the vote of the day previous on the amendment of Mr. Clapp.

Of course the opposition had now "fixed" enough votes to carry all motions, except to kill it outright. Men who had promised their wives that they would support this bill, as the only one which they had ever asked them to support, were false to their word and yielded to the influence of Senator Thompson and his cohorts. One senator who had voted for seventeen years the day previous, without courage to go again on record, actually hid himself in a dark corner. Thus we are brought to scan these names once more.

The motion now before the senate was that of Mr. Janes' amendment of the words "the full age of sixteen" in lieu of the words "age of seventeen." Senator McLaughlin, who always demanded the yeas and nays, did so now, and the vote was as follows: Yeas: Barnard, Briggs, Brundage, Earle, Eaton, French, Janes, Johnson, Keeler, Merriman, Pascoe, Shaw, Sheldon, Smalley, Thompson, Townsend — 16. Nays: Barnum, Bialy, Chittenden, Jamison, Jewell, Kilpatrick, Martin, Mason, McLaughlin, Prescott, Preston, Wheeler — 12.

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*Yeas; Briggs, Clapp, Eaton, Janes, Johnson, Keeler, Merriman, Pascoe, Shaw, Sheldon, Thompson, Townsend—12. Nays: Barnum, Bialy, Chittenden, Gaige, Jamison, Kilpatrick, Martin, Nason, McLaughlin, Prescott, Smalley, Wheeler, Preston—13.

It fills one with chagrin and consternation that our legislators should have resorted to some of the most shameful arguments and actions to thus accomplish their wishes in defeating a most worthy and essential measure for the good of society and morals everywhere.

The house of representatives were becoming interested now and manifested great alarm that they could not pass the bill above sixteen years. Some of these left their session to help the senators reconsider. The bill was not allowed to rest, but was sent immediately to the house, thus cutting off another reconsideration in the senate; and it was referred to the house judiciary committee, which comprised Representatives Covell, Matthews, Cook, Partridge, Rice, Kimmis, and Graham.

The committee's consideration of the bill was courteous, and all but two members were in favor of amending it to read eighteen years. Then, too, the house had a large number of representatives who would have been glad to support the bill on the floor and to vote for eighteen years. Among these were Hon. F. C. Chamberlain, J. T. Campbell, Donovan, of Bay, Charles Holden, R. D. Graham, and others. There were others, too, who brought forth the same old arguments of blackmail, bad girls, one-sided punishment, "and fear of public sentiment," didn't want to lose their chances of "returning to the legislature again." Several days' work was expended on meeting these arguments in a personal manner, and not until ninety of the one hundred members had been talked with did the friends of the bill call for it. Chairman Covell was very reluctant to give it out then, and did not do so for many days. During this time Representative Kempf was preparing a speech to oppose it if reported out at eighteen. Representatives Redfern, McNall, Robinson, Wagar, Allen, Foote, Edgar, Smith, Gordon, Richardson, Lindermann, Flood, Whitney, Matthews, Benoit, Moore, and Holmes are some of those who stood against raising the age to eighteen years.

The house was not given an opportunity to put itself on record for eighteen years. It was not deemed wise to bring up the fight in the senate again, and no amendment was offered to the committee on the bill at sixteen years. When the bill came before the house there was no discussion whatever, and on Representative Partridge's motion the rules were suspended, the bill was read a third time and passed by the following vote, only eighty-five members being present: Yeas, 79; nays, 6. The negative vote on sixteen years would mean fourteen, as the present law is. Nays: Representatives Allen, Benoit, Flood, Camburn, Edgar, Moore.

Never in the memory of some of the oldest employees about the capitol has a measure of this kind received such treatment in the house. It was a fine tribute, and no one knows what "might have been" had the bill been first considered here.

Early in the session the attention of Governor John T. Rich had been called to the bill, and it now being placed before him he promptly signed it and it became a law on April 29, 1895. M. T. H.

Much additional information poured in upon this office from men and women all over Michigan, but space forbids the use of more of it here.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Although the measure failed in Massachusetts, the fight is instructive, and is therefore included. Similar reports came from Alabama, Indiana, Minnesota, and other states, but it is not deemed best to include at this time more than one state which failed wholly of any action.

REPORT.

While a victory cannot be reported for the age-of-consent bill in Massachusetts this year, the educational campaign has been of value, insomuch that a vigorous campaign next year will unquestionably result in its passage. The history of the age-of-consent legislation in the Bay State has been one of slow but steady progress from a barbaric disregard of the claims of womanhood, to an increased recognition of the rights of our girls to protection. Prior to 1852, no such legislation is discoverable. In that year the age of consent was fixed at ten years, the penalty for violation of the law being life imprisonment in the state prison. In 1871, the penalty was changed to imprisonment for life or for any term of years. Not till 1886 was the age raised; in that year a law was passed fixing it at thirteen years. In 1888 the age was raised to fourteen, and in 1893 to sixteen years, the penalty in all cases remaining the same. In these various laws, rape is defined as follows: "Whosoever ravishes and carnally knows a female by force and against her will," or "Whosoever unlawfully and carnally knows and abuses a female child under the age of sixteen years." With the exception of the age designated, there is hardly a change in the wording of the law from 1852 to 1893.

The bills introduced this year aimed at furnishing more adequate protection to girlhood by fixing the age at eighteen years. In all other respects, by the laws of the state, a girl under eighteen is a minor, and entitled to protection. She cannot marry without the consent of her parents until she has reached the age of eighteen years. Even until she is twenty-one she cannot vote even for members of the school committee, nor can she devise or bequeath property. Her very earnings are not her own, but belong to her parents. In the eyes of the law she is a minor. But the state will not interfere to prevent her wrecking her life forever by the commission of an act of which her immature mind cannot foresee the consequences. The record of the past year shows a manifest attempt on the part of our legislators to defeat the bill in an underhanded way, though they are extremely unwilling to appear before the public in open opposition.

Early in the session, bills were introduced by Senator Harvey in the senate and by Mr. Young in the house. In both, the phraseology of the old law was retained, the only change made being the substitution of eighteen for sixteen years. They were at once referred to the respective committees on judiciary. As the advertisements of public hearings, whether with intention to mislead or not, simply defined the bill in each case as "an act relative to the punishment of rape," the public in general did not realize that the bills contemplated raising the age of consent, hence even those most interested failed to appear at the hearing on the house bill. Later, two hearings were given on the senate bill, of which several friends of the measure were notified in time to be present.

The house committee on judiciary, consisting of Messrs. Myers, Bailey, Wentworth, Slade, Gillingham, Lowell, Irwin, Phelps, and

Quirk, seized on the lack of attendance at the committee hearing as a good excuse to report against the bill, as a measure for which there was no demand. Their report was at first accepted, but later reconsidered by a vote of 103 to 95, and the bill was later passed to a second reading. At that point it was amended to read as follows: "Whoever unlawfully and carnally knows and abuses a female person under the age of sixteen years, or a female person of chaste life and conversation not less than sixteen nor more than eighteen years of age, shall be punished," etc. In this form, it passed the second and third readings, and was sent to the senate, where it was referred to the judiciary committee to await action on the senate bill.

Meanwhile the senate bill had also been altered, and came before the senate in the following form: "Whoever unlawfully and carnally knows and abuses a female person under the age of sixteen years, or whoever being eighteen years of age or older unlawfully and carnally knows a female person under eighteen years of age," etc. On the third reading, the following addition was made: "provided, however, that when such female person was at the time of such offence over sixteen years of age and of unchaste life and conversation, the court may in its discretion, instead of such punishment by imprisonment, impose a fine not exceeding twenty dollars." The bill, thus amended beyond all recognition, was passed on to the house, where even the friends of the original measure refused to support it, and it was rejected. The senate then took up the house bill, and referred it to the next general court.

The measure in its unperverted form was ably championed in the house by Messrs. Young, of Springfield, Krebs, of Boston, Hathaway, of Westfield, Roe, of Worcester, and others. Its leading opponents were Messrs. Myers, of Cambridge, and Lowell, of Boston. In the senate, Senators Harvey and Miller were its most conspicuous advocates, while Senators Atwood and Bradford fought most strenuously against it. The history of the contest shows that the measure was defeated by treacherous and hostile amendments. In an open field, the Massachusetts legislature will not again dare to rank itself on the side of libertinism by refusing to protect the maidenhood of the old Bay State.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

SHOULD THE SUPREME COURT BE REORGANIZED?

AND PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION BE DEMANDED FOR THE ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS?

BY JAMES M. ASHLEY.

In 1869 I proposed the following amendment to the national Constitution:

Strike out Section One of Article Three, and insert the following:

ARTICLE III.

"The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges both of the Supreme and District Courts shall hold their offices for twenty years: *Provided*, that no judge shall act as a member of the Supreme Court, nor of any District Court of the United States, after he shall have reached the age of seventy years. After their appointment and qualification, they shall be ineligible to any office under the national government except promotion in the judicial department. They shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. After the expiration of the term of service of each judge of the Supreme or of any District Court of the United States, the Congress shall, by law, provide such annual compensation as they may deem proper for each of said retiring judges during life, which compensation shall not be diminished.

"The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

When this amendment was proposed in Congress, I held, as I now hold, that the power conceded by law and custom to the Supreme Court of declaring an act of Congress unconstitutional by the vote of a majority of a quorum, was a menace to democratic government. I held then, and hold now, that no law of Congress should thus be vetoed by a mere majority of this court. The extent to which I would be willing to go, when reorganizing this court, and defining its power and duty, would be to authorize it, when a full bench was present, to suspend by a two-thirds vote an act of Congress (because of its alleged unconstitutionality) until it could be considered by Congress with the opinion of the court before them. If after reconsideration, the Congress again passed the act, it should remain a law, the opinion of two-thirds of the court to the contrary notwithstanding. If constitutional questions which are passed upon by a two-thirds vote of the Supreme Court are not to be submitted for reconsideration and final determination by the Congress, as above proposed, then the rule should be made imperative requiring a unanimous vote of the court and the personal presence of a full bench as a condition to declaring a law of Congress unconstitutional. Anything short of this is a mockery, and a surrender of the nation's sovereignty to a majority of the Supreme Court.

I have never been a believer in the infallibility of this "*august tribunal.*" I do not forget that this court affirmed constitutionality of the famous alien and sedition law, and attempted to make it as sacred as the Constitution itself. But for the prompt and vigorous protest of the people, that law, had it been retained on the statute books and enforced, would have destroyed everywhere within our national jurisdiction, the liberty of the press and the freedom of speech. I do not forget that this court, with but two dissenting votes, promulgated the infamous "Dred-Scott" decision, affirming an historic falsehood by declaring that the Constitution recognized and legalized property in men.

Jefferson held that "*the federal judiciary were an irresponsible body of crafty sappers and miners, who slyly and without causing alarm, were laying the foundation for the destruction of the Constitution, in a way open force would not dare to attempt.*"

I hold the memory of Chief Justice Marshall in higher esteem than that of any man who has occupied a place on the bench of the Supreme Court, and yet I would not be willing to make two-thirds of any body of nine men who were his legal and intellectual equals, the final arbiters on questions of constitutional interpretation, and thus clothe six men with an absolute veto on the acts of Congress.

In all cases we must reserve the right to appeal from this court to the people.

If this court is to have an absolute veto upon the acts of Congress by declaring them null and void at pleasure, and the people recognize such power as legally lodged in these judges without the right of appeal, the court becomes in fact the supreme sovereign power of the nation.

It is declared in the Constitution that the power of this court is judicial, and unquestionably it was intended to be limited to "cases in law and equity." On political subjects it speaks without right or authority. It can issue no injunctions to Congress or to the people, nor punish them for refusing to obey such injunctions if issued. On the contrary, Congress may by express authority of the Constitution impeach the judges of the Supreme Court for malfeasance or corruption in office, and put them on trial before the Senate, as has been done and may again be done.

I held when the "Dred-Scott" decision was rendered, that the members of the court who voted for that decision ought to have been impeached. If our Supreme Court judges could have been removed as the English judges can be removed, by petition to the crown, I would have introduced a resolution petitioning the executive for the removal of every "Dred-Scott" judge, immediately on the meeting of the first Congress after Mr. Lincoln became President. Fortunate was it for the nation that they were so soon thereafter removed by Providence.

The chief courts of England have extraordinary powers, but notwithstanding they are under a monarchy, the supreme power which corrects and controls them is very properly lodged in Parliament, which is elected by the people, and which by petition to the crown may practically demand the removal of any judge; and such a request the crown has never refused. On each occasion when Parliament formulated such a demand, I believe the judges resigned in order to escape impeachment. The supreme power in this country ought to be lodged in the American Congress. The people may always elect to that body abler lawyers and better representative men than have uniformly been on the supreme bench, if they but resolve to do so.

I would have voted for the removal of the "Dred-Scott" judges because as a court they usurped power by travelling out of the record for the express purpose of making a political decision. After dismissing the "Dred-Scott" case as they did for want of jurisdiction, they proceeded with amazing assurance to deliver a decision on the merits of a case which they had officially determined they could not try, for want of a right to try it. But they were equal to the task. They worked like "crafty sappers and miners," in building a long and shaky judicial superstructure, upon which all the judges passed over but two. When the court thus travelled out of the record and assumed to pass upon the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories, they were guilty of deliberate usurpation, in that they made a political decision on a question not before them.

Mr. Justice Wayne, of Georgia, in constructing one of the long spans of this rickety "Dred-Scott" bridge, on which all the judges crossed except Judges Curtis and McLean (in order to reach the ebony image of slavery, before which they bowed), assigned as a reason for travelling out of the record and passing upon the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise, "its necessity," in order to give "peace and harmony" to the country. I quote him verbatim. He said: "*The case involves private rights of great value, and constitutional principles of the highest importance, about which there had become such a difference of opinion that the peace and harmony of the country required the settlement of them by judicial decision.*" In this short sentence, one of the "crafty sappers and miners" unintentionally showed his hand. Mr. Justice Wayne did not inform the public from whence the Supreme Court derived its authority to settle political questions for the people, to the end, as he declared, "that peace and harmony" might be secured between contending political parties.

If the Superme Court may by interpretation change the Constitution, as it has done more than once, and a bare majority can veto any law of Congress, then indeed is the sovereignty of the nation vested in the Supreme Court. Congress may pass such laws as the people demand, but the Supreme Court can declare them null and void; and if there is to be no appeal from this tribunal *to Congress and the people*, then the judges of this Court become our masters and the government ceases to be a democratic republic. If the judges of this Court, by quietly "sapping and mining," can thus become independent of the power that created them, they will by their own acts have raised themselves above all law and above the Constitution.

It is a fallacy to assume that the members of this Court are purer or better or wiser than other men. I have known gentlemen who professed to believe that even a partisan, after his appointment to the Supreme bench, was transformed when he put on the judicial robes, and became by some supernatural influence a mild-mannered, unambitious man, who would do no wrong and could make but few, if any, mistakes, and that it would be quite safe to intrust him with the interpretation of all law and the Constitution. I have a proper respect for the ability and purity of our highest court, but it is a respect born of a knowledge which observation and experience have given me. In my opinion the human nature of no member of our Supreme Court was ever materially changed by an appointment to that position. If he had been a partisan before his appointment, he remained a party man on the bench. If he were a presidential aspirant, he continued his plotting as before his appointment, as many of his judicial utterances would often disclose, despite all effort on his part to conceal his purpose. Let the reader recall the votes of the Supreme Court judges during the Hayes and Tilden contest before the electoral commission, and he will recognize the truth of what I write. In this case, although clothed with the ermine, they were still men of like passions and partisan bias with ourselves.

The power of four or five men to veto the concurrent judgment of the entire nation, as deliberately expressed by the national Congress, is an autocratic and dangerous power, and assails the fundamental principles of our Constitution, which recognizes that the people are the source of all power; and from their decisions there should be no appeal, except back to themselves, *for a sober second thought.*

For two hundred years or more the leading statesmen of the British Parliament have been recognized as abler men and greater lawyers than any of the judges of the highest courts of England. In my time the American House of Representatives has more than once contained abler men and better lawyers than any who in that time were on the bench of the Supreme Court. I do not say this to disparage our bench or the British bench. I simply state a fact. If it is safest and best for the people of England to intrust constitutional questions to their representatives in Parliament, why would it not be safest and best for us to intrust all such questions for final determination to the American Congress rather than to a majority of the Supreme Court?

In the light of our experience with the Supreme Court, we shall be better prepared when we come to reorganize it, to prescribe its powers and duty and the limit of its jurisdiction, as also that of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States. Whatever grants of power may be conferred on the Supreme and Circuit and District Courts of the United States when they are reorganized, I hope that the people without regard to party will insist upon substantially the following proposition, which was the concluding paragraph in one section of a constitutional amendment prepared by me during my first term in Congress, for the reorganization of this court: "*But no Justice of the*

Supreme Court of the United States, nor Judge of any Circuit or District Court of the United States, shall be eligible to be elected President of the United States."

It will be observed that in my proposed amendment to the Constitution I retire the judges at seventy and make them ineligible to be elected President, to the end that the members of the court may be made free from political ambition, and that during their term of office their intellects may not be biased by party interests or by party temptations. Personal observation caused me to prescribe this limitation and prohibition. I had repeatedly witnessed the sad sight of one-third of the members of the Supreme Court sleeping upon the bench and dying with age, and one-third or more who were crazed with the glitter of the Presidency, so that a majority were utterly unfitted for the proper discharge of the duty imposed by law on such a tribunal. If there is in this country one body of men more than another who ought to have clear and strong intellects and be free from all political ambition and financially removed from temptation, it is the Supreme Court. Certainly it will be conceded by all that a man who is plotting and scheming for the Presidency is out of place in a high judicial office.

To the end that the number of able representative men may be increased in the House of Representatives, I favor the plan of proportional representation. The adoption of a constitutional amendment such as I proposed in Congress in 1869, would beyond question secure the services of the ablest men in the states entitled to two or more representatives in Congress. This is the article as then proposed:

"*In the election of Representatives to the Congress of the United States, where more than one member is to be selected from any state, Congress shall prescribe the manner in which the additional members shall be chosen, and shall provide for securing to the qualified voters of such states, proportional representation as near as may be.*"

I hold that Congress may now provide by law for securing to the voters of the several states having more than one member, proportional representation without such an amendment; but with such an amendment duly adopted, Congress would be required to enact a law to conform to such a constitutional provision. Proportional representation can be approximately secured for all states entitled to two or more representatives in Congress, and the result may be obtained with substantial accuracy. Proportional representation is a fundamental question, and is more important to the electors of the United States than the temporary adjustment of tariff duties, or the free coinage of silver, or any other commercial or business question, which a majority in Congress may from time to time consider and adjust at pleasure. It ought to be made the paramount question, until each voter in the United States has secured to him *an equality of political power and a direct ballot* when nominating and electing a President and selecting representatives in Congress and members of State legislatures.

Secure proportional representation to the voters at the nomination and election of representatives in Congress, and noisy cranks and chick-a-de-dee statesmen will be relegated to the rear, where they properly belong, and from which they would seldom have emerged but for the corruption inseparable from the caucus and convention system—a system which enables the trickster and briber to force himself upon his party, and then compels each voter to support him, or bolt the nominee of his party. When the right of an elector to cumulate his vote is secured, the days of political charlatans will be numbered, and in their stead able and honorable men will be selected. If one-tenth of the brain force and one-tenth of the time and money that in the past quarter of a century have been expended by active and earnest men in their efforts to organize and give success to new political parties, had been put forth to secure proportional representation to all groups of voters numerous enough to make a ratio in each state for one representative in Congress, or in state legislatures, there is no question that a large number of able men would have been chosen, *and not at all improbable* that such minority groups would often have been numerous enough to hold the balance of power in many state legislatures and in Congress as well.

A Congress so chosen would represent all groups of voters, and reflect the general judgment of the whole people. The popular branch of Congress under this plan would become preëminent, and always contain abler men than the American Senate, as the British House of Commons always contains abler men than the House of Lords. To a House of Representatives thus elected, I would prefer to entrust all questions of constitutional interpretation, *rather than to two-thirds of the nine men now on the Supreme bench,* or to *two-thirds* of any number of men who may hereafter be appointed in their places when the court is reorganized.

PREACHER AND PLUTOCRAT: OR THE CORRUPTION OF THE CHURCH THROUGH WEALTH.

BY REV. WALTER ALLEN EVANS.

> There never was an age since time began which needed so much to be frightened out of its false security and shaken from its covenants with Death, as this Laodicean, facing-both-ways, neither-one-thing-nor-the-other age of ours. It is an age which really fears man and only pretends to fear God.— *Canon Farrar.*

Evangelical Christianity, born anew in the German Reformation, baptized under the hands of the Puritans and the Wesleys, has already so far apostatized that another reformation is needed to fit the church for the work of the greater century soon to dawn. The cold formalism of a utilitarian religiousness, ornate with pomp and ceremony, makes of the church of the present day, to a very large degree, a valley of dry bones greater than that which Ezekiel saw, and as sorely in need of a divine afflatus to give it life. Social discontent, born of pinching poverty on the one hand and riotous riches on the other, gambling, intemperance, commercial dishonor, political corruption, and the whole pestiferous brood of evils which prey upon the nation and threaten its peace if not its perpetuity as a free republic—they *all* find their coveted opportunity, when they do not find their abetment, in the worldly ideals, the grasping covetousness, the denominational pride, the sectarian selfishness, the moral cowardice, and the spiritual apathy of the church.

Much is made, upon occasion, by those who would condone or gloss over the sins of the church, of the great increase in the number of communicants in the churches during the present century—greater relatively than the increase in population. But here nothing is more misleading than numbers. "The kingdom of heaven cometh not with observation," and heaven help the church when she rates her conquests by count of heads! "When I am *weak, then* am I strong," was the profound remark of the great apostle concerning himself. So is it with the church. The only power in the church that is worthy the name is spiritual power—the power that comes of *being* right and *doing* right.

The church of the apostles and martyrs, few in numbers, unorganized, poor, despised, and persecuted, *because it was pure* was invincible. But the church of victorious Constantine, the church of royal patronage, intoxicated with worldly success, lulled in the lap of luxury, first slept in security, and then (all but) died in iniquity. So is it ever! Shall history repeat itself? We hope not, we pray not. But no careful observer of men and events as reflected in the secular and religious press can fail to see that the relative power of the church over the masses for public and personal righteousness in this nation has most signally and sadly failed to keep pace with the increase in the number of communicants in the churches. While this much-quoted increase of communicants has been going on, crime has also gone on increasing faster than the increase of population. During this time also that question of interminable discussion before ministerial bodies, "The Church and the Masses," has come painfully and persistently into view. Besides, what does it signify that Sabbath desecration—no sign more symptomatic—has been going from bad to worse, as witnessed, among many other signs, by the organization throughout the country of Sabbath Leagues, for the preservation of what remains of that rich heritage from the Pilgrim fathers, the Christian Sabbath? What means this dying out of hundreds of country churches on the one hand, so that many districts once the radiating centres of Christianizing influences have become fields for missionary operations; and, on the other, the notorious corruption of our American cities and their equally notorious paucity of church-goers,—the cities whither the country people have gone? What means this "secularization of life" against which the religious press so vehemently inveighs—a thing apparent everywhere? Why is it that there are so many lodges to every church, and that so large a part of the humanitarian and reformatory forces that make for human weal in the present life, are centring outside the church? Why is it that, as every minister of the gospel knows is the case, so large and increasing a body of noble, honorable, and high-minded men of every community, men who fear God and revere Jesus Christ, are standing studiously aloof from the church?

There has indeed been an increase of numbers in the church, but relatively a decline in moral influence and spiritual power. The *church* has waxed, *religion* has waned; "Christians" have multiplied, but the significance of the term has become indefinitely vague; quantity has been attained, but quality lost. The result is, as it always *must* be, quantity too is now in danger of being lost. Where is the gain in an increased body of church members, if by "church member" nothing in particular is meant as to fervent piety and unmarketable righteousness? If membership in the church stood for one half what in churchly circles it is assumed to stand for, the fourteen million members, more or less, of the evangelical churches would revolutionize society and write the first chapter of a national millennium before the curtain should ring down on the nineteenth century. It would seem as though the church had better take these signs of the times and others similar seriously to heart, betake herself to fasting and prayer, boast less of numbers, and attend to the work of reformation. For to the thoughtful observer, gifted with a fair modicum of moral discernment, it is evident that "There is something rotten in the state of Denmark."

But some one will exclaim: "Our organizations! Look at our new organizations, millions strong!" To which one might fittingly reply in the words of that very wise and spiritual seer, B. Fay Mills, "They are very deceiving."* Or one might, by way of amplification, say that multiplication of organizations within the church, wisely constructed to fit the social instincts of youthful human nature, colossal conventions worked up systematically after the most approved methods of a political canvass for twelve months previous—they may cause a great buzzing of wheels and rattle of machinery that looks very like spiritual vigor. But all this machinery, while it can *use* power, cannot generate it. It can neither repair a defective boiler nor replenish a furnace the real trouble with which is that *the fire is going out.* The adding of another wheel to the machinery does not increase the power. Nay, is not this unprecedented multiplication of organizations itself a striking sign of weakness and spiritual degeneration? May it not be, after all, an attempt to brace a man on his feet by artificial means, when the fact is he is suffering from heart-failure? What is the matter with the old bottle that *it* won't hold wine? The church of the apostles, the Puritans, and the early Methodists turned the world upside down—*not* by organization, for they had practically none; but by the irresistible power of deep moral conviction, unquestioning faith, and a spiritual unction that was the outcropping of a new and Divine Life. But to-day, instead of one chasing a thousand and two putting ten thousand to flight, it takes a thousand church members to chase one evil, and then they don't catch it—unless "there

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***Heard by the writer in the Third Presbyterian Church, Chicago.**

is something in it." What, then, is the matter? Whittier, an optimist, who always wrote with his face to the sunlight, hinted at the fundamental trouble with the church of the present day when he wrote these words (italics ours):

> But the living faith of the settlers old
> A dead profession the children hold.
> *To the lust of office, the greed of trade,*
> *A stepping stone is the altar made.*
> *The church, to place and power the door,*
> *Rebukes the sin of the world no more,*
> Nor sees her Lord in the homeless poor.

The trouble is, a "profession of religion," in too many instances, *is* a *profession*, and made to be a very lucrative one! The church, having become numerous and eminently respectable through the self-denying lives of the humbly and truly pious, the name "Christian" has become a mighty one to conjure with! Religious professions have therefore become a commodity of trade. Membership in the church is used as floating capital and available assets. The church is made the decoy of the hunters of fortunes; it is utilized as a screen of scoundrels, and, like charity, is made to "cover a multitude of sins"; yea, it has become a great tree, and respectable sinners—respectability is a *sine qua non*—legal robbers, and pious frauds lodge under the shadow of it! It would be no exaggeration to say that though the great mass of people who compose the evangelical church are sincere in their purpose to lead a Christian life, as they understand it, many of the most cunning knaves, the sleekest rascals, the most adept practitioners of "man's inhumanity to man," also belong to it, help to officer it, and use it as a cloak for their crooked ways. Such are they who bull or bear the market on boards of trade six days in the week and then go to church and look pious (or try to) on the seventh; who in order to get superfluous wealth corner the necessities of life by which millions are filched—legally of course—from God's nobility, the common people; who wreck railway systems for private greed or personal spite; who crush thousands to financial death beneath the wheels of monster monopolies, or who use the same unprincipled methods on a smaller scale—but as large a scale as they can handle; who by evasion and bribery dodge the tax-gatherer that the poor man out of his penury may support the government under the protection of which they live to get and to grab,—and then, to hoodwink the people, throw a soothing sop to a guilty conscience, and keep up a respectable exterior, as well as to "stand in" with the church and clergy (a paying investment), they father some church enterprise, endow a college, "rent the best pews," or become "liberal givers" to the church. What words so fitting as the words of Jesus Himself, first used to describe the Pharisees of His own day, who also were eminently respectable and religious without being righteous? "They bind upon men burdens grievous to be borne, but they themselves will not touch one of them with one of their fingers; which devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers."

God forbid that for one moment one should fail to discriminate between such a race of Barabbas, and those noble souls, who in a life of commercial honor, characterized by justice first and liberality afterward, honor the Christian profession, and bless their fellow-men. There are many such. They are the Atlases upon whose faithful shoulders rest the precious interests of the Christian world. But these others are the dead weights on the church to-day. From them as from a slimy cesspool, right at the altars of the church, rises a deadly miasma that is poisoning the faith of the masses in God and right and their fellow-men.

And what is the church doing to rid herself of those weights and to cleanse that cesspool? Little or nothing! On the contrary, the church puts the stamp of her tacit approval on such religious acrobatics and calls it Christianity. She too often shares in the profits of the sinner and then demands that the pulpit keep mum about the sin. To build an extravagant "house of worship" and raise its debt, she mortgages if she does not muzzle the pulpit, by putting herself in bondage to ungodly men of wealth; and then she prays for the descent of the Holy Spirit—*and prays in vain!* She frequently, if not usually, takes these very men, whose piety is respected among those to whom they are not known, and by coddling and wheedling them and putting them in office, plays into their hands the tremendous power of her ecclesiastical machinery, so as to install them as general managers and dictators, where without let or hindrance they can "lord it over God's heritage,"—*all because they have money,* few, if any, embarrassing questions being asked as to how or where they got it. Thus the very ecclesiastical functionaries that were created to conserve the *purity* of the church are turned over to those who use them with exactly the opposite effect,—it may chance to be a Council, a Conference, a Presbytery, or something else. Does anyone ask how they do this? By using the church to further their own personal interests, financial, political, or other; by dictating to the local church a miserable worldly policy which, while it may cause it to flourish for awhile, socially and financially, really signs its spiritual death-warrant; and further (not the least evil either) by so rewarding their faithful henchmen in the pulpit with financial remuneration and ecclesiastical honor, as well as discriminating *against* such as will *not* pander to their unchristian schemes, as to put a large premium in the ministry upon the trimmer and time-server, who, putting policy above principle, may always be found intent above all things upon finding the spot of greatest personal prudence between tweedledum and tweedledee. One cannot single out any one denomination as being especially guilty of exalting pelf above piety. The same conditions widely prevail, and one is probably as bad as another—if not worse!

So the same power, money power, that within a generation has changed the financial features of the nation, wiping out the small manufacturer and trader, making the masses more and more the helots of the classes, and creating a second feudal system worse than the first—this force has its hands also on the evangelical church, and seems determined to make the one institution which for nearly four hundred years has, as a rule, stood for justice and righteousness among men, and so as the break-water of our civilization, the protecting shield for its crimes, if not an attaché of its operations. Shall it succeed? We hope not; but Jesus said, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of heaven!" and the church is saying, by actions which speak louder than words, "How easily shall they that have riches enter into and rule the church"; by which we are bound to conclude that the fittest for membership in the church are the least fit for the kingdom of heaven.

Thus the church, in her dominating element and general trend, instead of utilizing her enormous power to rear a mighty bulwark *against* this devilish greed for money which is foreordaining millions to "damnation" by force of industrial circumstances, is powerfully assisting to make that vicious public sentiment in regard to the relative value of righteousness and riches which seems hurrying the nation toward a civic Niagara.

How long will the people's faith in the church and what it should stand for endure the strain? How long will the accrued merit of generations of evangelical piety endure this prostitution of things spiritual to the ends of denominational glory, sectarian ambition, personal aggrandizement, and the greed of gain? Society is held together at present by the constraining force of virtues which former generations practised; but the rich patrimony of Puritan ancestry cannot last forever. When the religion of a people is corrupted the stream of their civilization is poisoned at its fountain-head; and the result of turning the ruling power of the church over to those whose recognized fitness to exercise it is in proportion to their riches, not their righteousness, is necessarily moth and mildew to all that is vital to the church as a saving institution among men.

The clergy, selfishly ambitious members of whom are mainly to blame for this state of things, are the first to feel its cruel oppression and its withering blight. So far has degeneration gone that the young minister, with however lofty and Christlike ideals he has set out, soon learns that the favoring nod of the plutocrat is the "open sesame" to "good standing" and promotion in the church; and that the shrug of the shoulders of the aforesaid plutocrat, his very praise (whispered in secure secresy), judiciously faint, will apply to him, through the denominational machinery, the ecclesiastical gag and boycott by which, in the smooth usage of the modern inquisitor, God's prophets of righteousness are reduced to silence, or put where their voices will not be heard rebuking sin in high places. Ministers of aggressive zeal and evangelical fervor, who fear God and hate wrong, are thus finding in that very ecclesiastical power that was created to *protect* them in doing their Master's work, a drawn sword to cut them down. Thus is the church as a worldly institution arrayed in deadly strife against the church as a saving force! Of course where, as is sometimes the case, wealth and piety go together, the result is most excellent. But the plutocracy of the local church may, and it frequently does, represent the very worst element in it, as judged by every high moral and spiritual standard; it may be well known to "the world's people" as abominably corrupt. In count of heads it may number but one or two in a hundred. No matter! The minister of the gospel who values supremely the approval of God, and honestly preaches in fact what the church stands for in theory—justice, mercy, and truth; however much his ministry may have been honored of God in the building up of the church; though *the people*, in the church and out of it, may love him and approve of his work, —that man is marked for ecclesiastical slaughter. The plutocrat in power, whose sins are sure to be rebuked where the gospel is preached in its fulness, will, by the most diabolical machinations (directed in secret if that will succeed, openly if it will not) proceed to make that minister's life a literal foretaste of that place to which ministers of the gospel are not supposed to go. Before long, therefore, he will resign "on account of his wife's health" or some other reason equally convenient; and when he has gone (crucified by Pharisees as his Master was) one will be gotten to take his place, with whom a winked-at understanding is had from the beginning, that he will sing softly to the plutocratic conscience, while a church that is dying to all that a Christian church should stand for, accommodatingly rocks the cradle and joins in the chorus,—"Hush my dear, lie still and slumber!" There are many exceptions, to be sure, especially in the villages and rural districts. But this is the rule. To relate in detail all the facts illustrative of it that have come to the writer's personal knowledge would require a volume.

Now ministers are but human. They too have stomachs and backs! Put them where they must choose between slow martyrdom and ministerial mugwumpery and what will result? Martyrs there will be, martyrs there are, who with both eyes open walk into the fire for the sake of being true. They suffer shameful abuse (of course secretly administered), gaunt poverty, sometimes cruel and slanderous misrepresentation by those whose sin they have rebuked, heartbreaking ingratitude, and a persecution that is worse than scourge or pillory. This they do for Christ's sake, to keep a clear conscience and to preserve their self-respect. The blood of these martyrs is still the seed of the church. But unless church history is a record of lies, and human nature has become something else, the majority will not be *martyrs*. No man naturally likes to be voted a failure. Therefore make "success" in the ministry synonymous with gathering "a wealthy and fashionable congregation" instead of a congregation of *Christians*, and need we be surprised if the preaching consults the convenience of the plutocrat rather than the needs of the parish? Need sensible people be disappointed, under these circumstances, if they hear sermons which aim at nobody and nothing—and hit their mark? Is it any wonder if the preacher "gives it" to the Pharisees who crucified Christ, and then, two thousand years ago, died (their one meritorious act), and, somehow, fails to note the Pharisees of the present day (who by many are still believed to have a weakness for "the uppermost seats in the synagogue") who are doing virtually the same thing? When the minister, even the minister of the gospel, *knows* that if he ignores the unchristian distinctions of caste and class, honestly tries to "reach the masses," puts moral cleanliness and spiritual power above all personal and worldly considerations in the church (as Christ would do) he is more than likely to pay for the privilege with his ecclesiastical head, at the beck of a plutocracy whose piety would not sell in any market for fifty cents on the dollar; when he knows that his ministerial brethren—some of them —will be among the first to cry, "Crucify him! Crucify him!" that any appeal to the very denominational machinery that was made for *saving* the church from evil domination in just such emergencies will result only in more certainly enshrining wealthy worldliness in the church, and increasing his own personal sufferings,—then is it a cause for open-eyed wonder if the minister falters in the face of such issues, tones down his zeal, loses the martyr spirit, and joins the ranks of the "wise" and "conservative"? Thus are the reins laid on the neck of the down-hill steed in the evangelical church, that is galloping faster and faster along the road of looseness in doctrine and worldliness of life!

And what effect has all this on the church itself? *The evangelical church is nothing if it is not spirituality.* Spirituality is the essence of altruism, the soul of philanthropy, the nourishing nerve of all missionary zeal. It is the source of all that noble endeavor and heroic achievement which has given the masses any confidence in the church. Without spiritual power, whatever her numbers and organization, the church is but "a painted ship upon a painted ocean," freighted with no cargo, bound for no port. But spiritual power is an impossibility in the church that has set its heart of hearts, not upon God, but upon that worldly equipage and favor which, in order to obtain, it must grovel before wrong clad in rich livery, and kiss the feet of the golden calf. The evil of which we, with much sadness and great reluctance, write, so far as it goes, *unchurches* the church! It makes money and what money will buy of worldly pomp and furbishings for gratifying the tastes of the devotees of fashion and the worshippers of mammon, her *raison d'etre*, instead of the temporal and eternal good of man. It betrays Christ for thirty pieces of silver, and sacrifices the dearest interests of humanity to the Moloch of ecclesiastical pride. It makes church services a soulless performance, and the church itself an institution which, under the sacred name of religion, both gratifies and promotes that carnal pride and cruel selfishness which form the chief cause of the world's misery and woe. This sacrifice of the spiritual to the material begets in the church a miserable hybrid type of religion, properly called Churcholatry, which is neither respected by the world nor feared by the Devil, and which is powerless to make the world better. The pulpit under such influences degenerates into a kind of lecture bureau and the house of God into a Sunday Social Club. Form is substituted for substance and motion for life. In short, *Churchianity* is exalted at the expense of *Christianity!* Such a policy (for it is merely a matter of policy) may produce "grand churches" (piles of brick and stone), but it never did and never will produce grand men! The church had far better go back to the primitive simplicity of the early Methodists and Quakers in dress, equipage, and church architecture, than to submit to such bondage to filthy lucre. She had better lose half her members by a restoration of Puritan standards and by working a reformation that will make church-membership stand for a vital piety that honest men can respect than to thus sell out godliness to the highest bidder; and unless she recognizes these things and sets about the work of reform in good earnest, "Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin" is written on her walls.

Finally, what is the effect of all this upon *the people*—the masses? Read the answer in the empty pews of the average church; in the meagre spiritual returns for the enormous outlay of money and effort; in the widespread scepticism that prevails, especially among men; in the phenomenal success of the Salvation Army, which studiously avoids every semblance to a church; in the hiss that greets the mention of *church* in representative gatherings of laboring men; in the symptomatic remark of one laboring man to another as they saw crowds pouring into a Christian Endeavor gathering at Boston the other day, "You and I care very little about the church, but we care a good deal about Jesus Christ"; yea, read it in the blazing light of incendiary fires and the rattle of musketry that accompanies those frequent uprisings of man against money which in our country continually approach nearer and nearer to revolution! The people are not fools! They are not to be caught with chaff! They know the difference between hollow shams and Christian sincerity. If they see the church, in her representative capacity, her ruling element, bowing complacently to "successful" rascality and giving a look of reluctant recognition to honest poverty; if they see as "pillars of the church" men whom they abhor for their selfishness, slipperiness, and extortion; if they see, even in the church, a long pocketbook counting for more than a good character,—need we wonder if the average man infers that he will suffer no inconsolable loss if he lives and dies outside the church? The people are sadly losing faith in the purity, sincerity, and disinterestedness of motive of the church; and here, in the domination of the dollar, is the fundamental reason why. From loss of faith in the church, it is but a step with most men, to loss of faith in God, in moral government in the world, and then on to all looseness and license. So they go, the great mass of "common people" such as heard Christ gladly, in numbers increasingly large, past the doors of the church to park and pleasure ground, or else stay at home and read the Sunday newspaper. Of course it is very illogical and all wrong; but it is exceedingly human and exactly according to what facts and the trend of events would lead one to expect.

The writer does not wish to be misunderstood. He is neither a sceptic nor a cynic. He is an orthodox clergyman who loves the church, and writes from a heart which is sad at a contemplation of these things. He bemoans the evils herein set forth; he longs to see the church awake to her danger, and behold in the coming social battle of the Titans, the greatness of her opportunity. He prays that she may rise and shake off the grave-clothes of mammonism, come into harmony with the Christianity of Christ, bring forth fruit meet for repentance, *and be rejuvenated by the cleansing fires of a new Pentecost!*[*]

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[*] The writer invites correspondence from clergymen of all denominations who have practical knowledge of the evils herein spoken of. He promises to treat all communications as confidential, and his aim is to do only good.
Malden, Mass., Aug. 7, 1895.

OCCULT MANIFESTATIONS.

BY WILLIAM C. COOPER, M. D.

THE ignorant have always believed in occult phenomena. Is it a fact that their intuitions have proved superior to the logic of philosophers? Anyhow, many thinkers and scholars now acknowledge the existence of mysterious manifestations which cannot be explained under the teachings of current philosophy. In the September number of THE ARENA, a brilliant and vervy contributor said: "I do not hesitate to state that only the ignorant, the egotist or the fool, to-day disputes the fact that spiritualism is founded on a great truth." It would be only another of history's fine revenges if the essence of that statement should crystallize into demonstrable truth. The fact is that spiritualism, hypnotism, etc., *are* founded on a great basic truth; one which is without the domain of accepted philosophy, the sphere of superstitious folly and the realm of "wisdom religion," but within the limits of common sense and *true* philosophy.

To the writer, it is something amazing that the evident final fact underlying so-called supernatural phenomena, has not called out *real* expositive dissertations from our thought leaders. Have they held off because this higher philosophy has about it a suspicion (only a suspicion) of pantheism? Something like this must be the explanation, for it is almost impossible that the writer is singular in the entertainment of a theory which is bound to solidify into the higher philosophy of the future.

This theory consists in an extension and refinement of Dr. Hall's substantial philosophy. Its divarication from Hall's doctrine depends upon a recognition of the ponderability of all substance, and upon a sublimation of his essential theory. To the writer, therefore, his phrase "immaterial substance" becomes useless. The phrase seems to be a subterfuge, derived from a seeming necessity growing out of the peculiarities of certain qualities of force. Because the placing of a dense substance between a magnet and iron filings does not affect the magnet's attractive power, it was concluded that force is at once substantial and immaterial — that it is imponderable matter. An important objection to this theory is that dissociation of matter and ponderability is mentally impossible, which puts it without the range of intelligent discussion. Practically, that which is without the sphere of thought does not exist, and therefore cannot come within our mental purview. It would seem that an exigency, conjoined with a comparatively gross method of thought, was mother to the phrase. Suppose a piece of plate glass a foot thick were placed under a lens with a magnifying power of *only* a billion diameters, wouldn't this glass be seen to be as permeable as a brush heap? Wasn't it Newton who, after an exhaustive study into the ultimate constitution of matter, said that the entire earth could (theoretically) be compressed into the compass of a cubic inch?

All forms of force are substantial manifestations.* The fact that they are not recognizable except by their effects, is not even the shadow of an argument against their materiality. Even so gross a thing as air is just as invisible as thought, but who doubts its tangibility? Does not this single fact contain an unmistakable hint as to the direction in which we should cast our search lights? Nature does not stultify herself, and we shall never find a break in her chain of analogies.

Does the theory under consideration acknowledge the substantiality of all things? Yes, all excepting mere *terms*, and it is not certain that they are "abstractions" in the true sense of the word. The abstract, under final analysis, reduces to — nothing. To define "nothing" intelligibly, a new technology would have to be invented, and then the definition could be comprehended by an infinite mind alone. Its (it is not an "it") only quality (it has no quality) depends (which is impossible) upon its inconceivability. We cannot think of "nothing" because cerebration is concrete and cannot contradict itself. Notwithstanding all this, the idea underlying the term "nothing" is indispensable to all discussion. Thus it *appears* that the universe is composed of something and nothing, and that nothing is as important in the constitution of things as something. This is forcefully illustrated in that science which infolds the universe — mathematics. The symbol of nothing — the cipher — is as valuable as the nine significant digits taken together. This is seen in every department of nature. Thus, form depends upon outline, and this is made possible only by matter's relation to space, which, if there is such a thing, is no such a thing — nothing. Our perception of this nothing phase is greatly clarified by considering the limitless divisibility of matter. At last we reach a degree of infinitesimalism in which something and nothing seem to unite — a height of attenuation in which the material and immaterial seem to blend into identity. But we *know* that the divisibility of matter is infinite, which fact would seem to eliminate absolute nothingness from the universe. "Nothing," then, would seem to be a concept necessitated by the limitations of our senses and thinking capacity.

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* Any appearance of dogmatism in statement will please be ascribed to a desire to avoid verbiage and circumlocution.

Heat, light, electricity and sound are comparatively gross substances. They are answerable to the same laws as those affecting other substances. Isn't it remarkable if a "mode of motion" (nothing in the ordinary sense) is subject to the same laws as those controlling gross matter? Mode of motion! what is it? Motion consists in changing place. Do we *know* that it has variable modes? Is not the phrase a meaningless generality? Even if it could be distinctly apprehended, is it not an assumption, made to fit a preconceived theory? Is it not the subterfuge of ignorance — the hiding place of hunted down philosophers? But this aspect of the question has been ably and exhaustively treated by Dr. Hall and his coworkers.

It is the purpose of the writer briefly to examine the doctrine insisted on, in its relation to occult manifestations, attempting first to secure an interest in the theory itself. Here, if space allowed, it would be helpful to discuss minutely the nature of matter. Since it can be convincingly shown (not by experiment but by pure reasoning) that a perfect vacuum is physically impossible, space, as commonly understood, does not exist. The absence of matter is, therefore, commonplace nothing, so that the best general definition of matter must be, *something*. The universe, with all it includes, is *presence*, and this is material expression, consistent continuity of specific manifestation, which, as a single example, makes darkness another form of light, cannot, in this brief paper, be more than named.

Now to specific proofs. The reader will please not be insulted if the liberty is taken to state, as a premise, that abstraction cannot be multiplied, divided, increased or diminished. He *knows* this, of course, but a statement of the fact is controversially necessary. He will remember, too, that there is but one abstraction in the universe, i.e., that abstraction is not susceptible of partibility. *Grief* is defined as "pain of mind," etc. *Pain* and *mind* are both abstraction. Therefore grief is a form of illusion and can have no *real* existence. When, therefore, a devoted mother or wife drops dead under a grief shock, she does no such thing, for abstraction can't act or be acted upon — she dies of *illusion*. But this *illusion* itself is an abstraction, and since abstraction cannot act, she does not die of illusion; she just dies anyhow! But as she could *not* die without a cause, and the only possible cause is *not* a cause, the conclusion is inevitable that although she is undeniably dead, she positively did not die! Dear reader, that is standard philosophy, *mode of motion* philosophy — the philosophy of Tyndall, Huxley, Helmholtz, *et al.*

As abstraction cannot be separated into particular abstractions or nothings, and as nothing cannot be multiplied, a thousand deaths can cause no more grief than results from one death. This is true even if it be admitted that grief is at once real and an illusion: it is true because *more* and *less* do not pertain to abstraction. More accepted philosophy, dear reader!

If current philosophy be true, then you cannot love your mother a whit *more* than you love a casual acquaintance; John's will can *not* be stronger than William's; joy, pleasure, anger, misery, etc., are impossible. You do not *really* experience any sensation or emotion. *Real* vision and audition do not exist, for they depend upon abstraction. As consciousness depends for its existence upon cognizance and there is nothing to cognize, then consciousness does not exist: reader, you do not *be*! Standard philosophy — idealism outdone unto annihilation!

Thought and emotion, with all they mean, are substances. They *do* things. They act and are acted upon, and this is possible to matter alone. This theory will account for all phenomena; current philosophy accounts for but a few. True philosophy is in parallelism with our intuitions; accepted philosophy is in conflict with them. Within true philosophy the soul is indestructible, eternal; within the standard it is a temporary efflorescence. True philosophy harmonizes with our hope of immortality; the standard establishes the appalling theory of annihilation.

Occult manifestations cease to be mysterious in the light of true philosophy. The phrase "psychic telegraphy" which hitherto has been simply a convenient veil to throw between ourselves and our ignorance, becomes pregnant with the profoundest meaning, under the glowing effulgence of true philosophy. It accounts for all the phenomena of hypnotism, mesmerism, Christian science, faith cure, clairvoyance, spiritualism, etc., *naturally* and in logical line with the trend of common sense. It solves the puzzles of heredity, explains the nature of premonition and throws a flood of light upon that occasional vague, prenatal reminiscence which is the basis of theosophy.

That profound philosopher, Stinson Jarvis, who has given THE ARENA readers such an excellent series of papers, fetches up helplessly against the question, "Does the faculty travel, or is it continuously resident in the patient?" A faculty, according to current philosophy, is abstraction, and that cannot travel. All you can expect from nothing is — nothing. The *truth* is, a faculty is a substantial constituent of a substantial soul. In order to experience the consciousness of distant scenes and acts it does not have to travel for it is *literally* "in touch" with the universe. By contagion the *there* becomes also the *here*. Solemnly note, my reader, that under ultimate tracings this ubiquitous quality *necessarily* establishes the possibility of the soul's extra-corporeal existence. The possibility to identify the *here* and *there* is the *certainty* of the soul's untrammelled motion. Proper adjunctive conditions, many of which are supplied in the peculiar endowments of a psychologic actuator, are all that is required to call into evidence some of the soul's "mystic" possibilities.

Matter doubtlessly reduces to a final essence, and its multifarious expressions, including force, motion, intellection, emotion, etc., depend upon the relationships of physical ultimates. This is coarsely illustrated in the identity of charcoal and the diamond. It will require effort for the conservative reader tolerantly to follow the philosophy here pleaded for, to its fact finalities. He will hesitate to believe that even *terms* are substances; that the name "John," for instance, is a material manifestation. But if he will recollect that "*something*" means matter; that the name "John" is evanescently a part of consciousness (which is substantial), he will see the reasonableness of these completing conclusions.

Because atheistic pantheism, and that more modern form, deistic pantheism (which makes conscious immortality impossible), contradict our human nature, they have had few champions. To oppose our bottom intuitions is to oppose God, and to deny ourselves and all that is. God (you can substitute the term Unconditioned, Allness, or Nature if preferable) cannot violate Himself, and to saturate the soul of man with an answerless question would be to do this. The earlier forms of pantheism, involving self-contradiction in human nature, as they did, and carrying to the soul only the blackness of an eternal no, could be accepted only by that small class whose intuitions had been crushed into passivity by the heel of a rigorous but spurious logic.

There is a pantheistic halo about the essence of true philosophy, but it is of that gracious, acceptable form, which preserves the soul's entity and individuality after its separation from this grosser body. This form addresses itself to the common sense of all, and furnishes the inevitable answer to that ever-present question which, like the web of golden promise that it is, binds us to each other and to God.

VACCINATION AN ERROR—ITS COMPULSION A WRONG.

BY ALFRED MILNES, M. A.

At the close of the brilliant article in which Dr. Creighton, in the September, 1890, number of the ARENA, discussed the subject of vaccination from a strictly scientific point of view, he hinted that it would be for another writer to take up the investigation where he left it, and inquire how far a case had been made out for the enforcement of the alleged prophylactic by compulsion of law. On that investigation I now propose to enter. But here at the very outset I must claim indulgence for a difficulty by which I am beset. Of the details of vaccinal administration I have naturally had experience in no country save my own; and my treatment will therefore be confined principally to vaccination and vaccine law as they exist in England. Even with these limitations the subject offers no light task and no inconsiderable responsibility; for it is a question of voicing a great popular protest, and pleading the cause of one side in a great popular struggle, which has now extended over three dozen years, and may even yet take long to fight completely through.

The first of our compulsory vaccination laws was passed in 1853, and the years that have rolled away since then have been years of unceasing and ever-growing protest by large masses of our countrymen. In the ten years ending with September, 1889, our Judicial Statistics record 23,572 prosecutions under these Acts. Vast as is this total of manufactured crime, crime the direct product of coercive law, it is but a fraction of what it would have been had not all prosecutions been abandoned in most of the principal centres of revolt, such as Leicester, Keighley, Oldham, Halifax, Gloucester, the great East-end metropolitan unions, with their teeming populations, of Hackney, Shoreditch, and Bethnal Green, and numerous others wherein the coercive policy has been abandoned, and offenders have been left at peace. Yet as fast as one city or one union has been won for liberty, the opposition has sprung up in another, to go the old weary round of prosecutions at first conducted with energy and virulence against the recusants, whereby those recusants fail not to become popular in the district; then the toning down of the persecution before the rising wave of popular indignation; and at last the election of an anti-compulsion Board of Guardians, and the local collapse of the law. Thus as soon as one place is free, another can always be found in the throes of the struggle, and hence it is that the annual return of prosecutions is so far from decreasing that the year 1888 afforded a total of 2,809, the highest for any one year since the passing of the law.

So great a mass of dissatisfaction with the law of the land we live in would be a serious matter in any case. But in this case it is made doubly grave by the character of the accused. All over England, I may claim to know them as no other living man does know them; and I describe them without hesitation as the salt of their class. Come with me into the northern Midlands, where there is to be held an anti-vaccination meeting. The Midlands are keen upon the question, and the meeting is sure to be a good one. It is a "mushroom" township I shall take you to, a village called into being by the changes that have of late years taken place in the boot-making industry. But the little houses are trimly built under the eye of their present occupiers, who have bought them through building societies, and paid for them out of hard and scanty earnings by aid of a thrift and energy which have known how to wrest a victory from the grasp of circumstance against seemingly the most hopeless odds. The meeting is to be held in a hall into which the audience have a right to invite us, for they have built it themselves, and own it in one-pound shares. And when the meeting is over and the Vaccination Acts have been duly condemned in a rattling resolution carried unanimously, you shall not go without a bite of supper and a cup of excellent cocoa. Beer is scarce and whiskey scarcer, for they are nearly all temperance men.

And here be it noted that in all the years of its existence, and among the thousands of its victims, this particular criminal law has never caught a drunkard yet. Sunday-school organizers, friendly-society members, building-society purchasers, their neat, trim, tidy homes, with book-case and harmonium, bear witness to their thrift, their well-shod, well-groomed, well-taught children are living testimony to their love; their lives without are circled with respect, and within are hallowed with affection. Such a man was C. W. Nye, of Chatham, who under the law of 1867 spent nine and one-half months in Rochester gaol. A watchmaker, with hands made delicate by his trade, he was there set to wheeling stones for the prison repairs till in his own words, "The handles of every barrow that I wheeled were stained with my blood." Such another man was William Ball of Leicester, arrested by the police while his four children were kneeling round him at their evening prayers. No land, not even such a law-abiding land as ours, can afford to secure the bodies of such men for their country's gaols, and their hostility for their country's law. Under no circumstances could we afford it; least of all when, as I shall try to show is here the case, the wrong is wrought in support of the false.

This, then, is what I have to show—the truth of two perfectly independent propositions: that vaccination is an error, and that its compulsion is a wrong. Independent in this sense, that whether I succeed or fail in convincing my readers of the truth of the first, I have still an equal and unimpaired right to be heard upon the second. Of many things held excellent in themselves civilization has abandoned the legal compulsion; and the burden of proof lies ever on those who deny that the respect which all profess to pay to the theological conscience should be shown also to the scientific conscience. For this is just the main *motif* of our indictment of the vaccination law—that we refuse to bow before the spirit of persecution when no better reason is vouchsafed us than that that spirit, changing its language but not its speech, has found new names for its ministers, who now threaten liberty with pestilence in the identical tones wherein freedom was once menaced with perdition.

I submit, then, that vaccination is an error, and in support of that thesis I now endeavor to show that the claims put forward on its behalf are false. To consider them all is impossible; a year's entire issue of the ARENA would ill suffice for such a task. But some few of them I will take as examples of all, and will state them and meet them in such broad outline as the available space will permit.

Claim I: Protection.—If you are vaccinated, you will not take smallpox at all. This was the original claim. Listen to the words of Edward Jenner himself, as written on page 7 of his original "Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variolæ Vaccinæ":

> What renders the cowpox virus so extremely singular is, that the person who has been thus affected is *for ever after* secure from the infection of the smallpox; neither the exposure to the variolous effluvia, nor the insertion of the matter into the skin, producing this distemper.

Nor was this the mere dream of an over-sanguine and enthusiastic inventor. In 1857 Mr., now Sir John, Simon, for so long the high priest of the vaccine cult in England, wrote, on page 14 of his "Papers relating to the History and Practice of Vaccination," and in 1871 repeated in the appendix to the Report of the Select Committee on Vaccination, page 351, these words:

> On the conclusion of this artificial disorder, neither renewed vaccination nor inoculation with small-pox, nor the closest contact nor cohabitation with small-pox patients, will cause him to betray any remnant of susceptibility to infection.

Moreover, our vaccine teachers have cut themselves adrift from the saving grace of a judicious hedge by the declaration of the *Lancet* of Feb. 2, 1888:

> Small-pox is a disease from which anyone may be absolutely protected by vaccination and revaccination, so that to have it is almost a crime.

There can then be no doubt about the manner of plea by which our vaccination laws were passed and are maintained. "Absolutely protected." Nothing could be clearer than the statement unless, indeed, it be its refutation by the facts. For when we come to test the extent to which so uncompromising a promise has been redeemed, we are at once confronted by a long and dreary history of failure. The first law was passed in 1853. Since that date we have had three leading epidemics of smallpox in the country. The first, 1857–9, killed 14,244 of the people of England and Wales; the second, 1863–5, killed 20,059; and the third, in 1870–2, destroyed 44,840. Between the first and the second epidemic the increase of the population was seven per cent, and that of the epidemic was 40.8 per cent. From the second to the third the population increase was nine per cent, and the epidemic increase was 123 per cent. And when smallpox again broke out in London in 1881, coming upon a city 90 per cent of whose inhabitants were at the time officially claimed as vaccinated, it was confessed that of the 491 patients admitted into the Highgate Hospital, the principal of the hospitals then receiving smallpox patients, no less than 470, or 96 per cent, had been vaccinated. So that comparing the proportion of vaccinated patients to total patients inside the hospital with that of vaccinated population to total population outside the hospital, we find vaccination left six per cent to the bad.

In the *Lancet* of Aug. 27, 1881, we read of an outbreak of smallpox at Bromley, a suburb of London, where occurred 43 cases, all vaccinated, and three revaccinated, of whom two died. In the appendix to the Army Medical Report for 1885, page 442, we find the detailed report of Surgeon I. Boulger on fifty cases of smallpox among the English troops in Cairo. Revaccination is *de rigeur* in the British Army, and revaccination is expressly admitted with respect to thirty-eight of these cases, including the four fatal ones. In the *Lancet* for Feb. 23, 1884, we read of an outbreak of smallpox in Sunderland, comprising 100 cases, whereof 96 were vaccinated. And in the more recent history of Sheffield, the history from which, by some wonderful process of self-persuasion, the vaccinationists have managed to extract so much comfort, we find the broad record of vaccinal failure writ in characters no less clear.

For years and years the force of compulsory vaccination could no further go than it actually went in Sheffield. The vaccinations have been brought to within five per cent of the births accountable. Nor can the quality of vaccination in Sheffield be impugned. It must be remembered that under the Vaccination Act of 1867 government inspectors periodically overhaul the work of the public vaccinators, and if satisfied of its excellence may award an extra payment, over and above the regular fee already paid, to an amount not exceeding one shilling per case. For the last thirteen *years* Sheffield has never failed to earn a good round sum of this reward for vaccinal excellence, amounting in the aggregate to £2,603. And in thirteen *months*, ending March, 1888, she obtained as the reward of her faith, 6,088 cases of smallpox; or a case for every half-sovereign of bonus, and 882 over, as a kind of reduction on taking a quantity. In this misguided city revaccination reigned supreme all the time of her trouble. "Nearly every man you meet," wrote the *Daily News* in its article on "Stricken Sheffield," "has his arm in a sling." The *Times* wrote on Nov. 23, 1887, that revaccination had by that time become general in the city. The plague ought therefore to have been stayed. Yet the deaths, which for the months from June to November, 1877, inclusive, had been 2, 3, 11, 21, 60, 75, respectively, rose during the ensuing four months to 105, 113, 98, 101, respectively; thus affording a remarkable confirmation of the opinion expressed by that eminent vaccinist, Dr. Guy, in the *Journal of the Statistical Society* for June, 1882: "It is now admitted by all competent authorities that vaccination during epidemics of smallpox tends to diffuse rather than to arrest the disease, and that instead of being practised at such times, it should be suspended." Of course it is not my fault that this distinguished physician thus rules the whole of the medical officers of the Local Government Board out of the category of "competent authorities." That is only one more item in the unanimity of the unanimous profession. I am more concerned to compare the facts of the history of vaccination with the promises and professions of its advocates, and to watch whether the one will have any effect on the other.

What has become of the first great claim on behalf of vaccination? The facts have killed it, and when Sir John Simon came to be cross-examined before the Royal Commission then sitting on the question in London, its chief sponsor had to bury it. Confronted with the passage from the 1857 Papers which I have quoted above, and asked if he still adhered to it, Sir John was compelled to reply, "My meaning was only as to the immediate time" (Q. 175). So that an absolute protection for all time, to say nothing of eternity, is thus reduced to a convalescence-prophylaxy of five minutes or less; and Claim I confesses itself a corpse, at all events wherever the ignorance of the auditor does not tempt it to galvanize itself into a false and fraudulent assumption of its own continued existence.

Perhaps I may be reminded that it was for *re*vaccination that the passage quoted from the *Lancet* claimed absolute protection. But the subject of revaccination has been already alluded to in respect of the army, and to this it only needs to add, in more precise terms, that the ordinance for the revaccination of all recruits on joining the colors was promulgated in 1859; since which time there are acknowledged to have occurred in the British army 3,953 cases of smallpox, with 391 deaths. In the well known case of the steamship Preussen, bound for Australia at the end of 1886, on board of which smallpox broke out, there occurred, to say nothing of the emigrant passengers, fourteen cases amongst the 120 hands of the crew; and of these six had been revaccinated before going to sea, vaccinated a third time with glycerine-diluted lymph on board, and vaccinated a fourth time at Melbourne with calf-lymph there obtained. In the Report of the Medical Officer for the city and county of Hereford, England, for the year 1888, it is said of a gentleman attacked with small-pox that "he had a very sharp attack, although he had been vaccinated and revaccinated no less than four times, with any amount of marks therefrom." And Dr. Barry, when examined before the Royal Commission, admits that a revaccinated death from smallpox had already occurred in the epidemic at the time when the Town Council had issued a notice declaring that no revaccinated case had been reported as having died (Q. 2,624). During the Sheffield epidemic 48 unsuccessful and 26 successful revaccinations were followed by attacks of smallpox.

But strong as this direct evidence is, the question of revaccination is yet better approached indirectly. Its advocates propose the universal imitation of the Prussian law enforcing revaccination at the age of twelve. But in the great pandemic of 1871–2 smallpox attacked, in Berlin alone, 2,240 vaccinated children under ten years of age, and of these 736 died. How could revaccination at the age of twelve have saved them? And if primary vaccination will not protect a child of ten years, how can a second vaccination at twelve years old render an adult safe for life?

The claim of real protection is thus smashed, destroyed, and pulverized by the resistless logic of facts. But here be it noted and by all concerned never forgotten that it was *protection passed the law*. But for the reiterated plea that in vaccination was to be found real safety from a terrible disease, the present law as to vaccination would never have found its way into the statute book of England. The plea may have been, and doubtless was, urged originally in the *bona fides* of ignorance; but be that as it may, it is now known on all hands that so far the law was passed on false pretences. Hence I submit that it is a reasonable demand that the freedom which these false pretences induced us to part with should be restored to us, and that the law which was passed by error should no longer be maintained by worse. For the protection claim is now given up on all hands. To show this we have only to turn to any authoritative statement of

Claim II: Mitigation.—Such a statement we find in Dr. Husband's "Student's Handbook of Forensic Medicine," in these words: "The proper view to take of vaccination appears to be this—that it does not prevent smallpox, but modifies its virulence." Now the first and most obvious remark to make on this plea is that, if it claims to make a statement of actual fact in any actual individual case, it clearly claims to know the unknowable. For it must be clearly understood that long enough before the birth of Jenner smallpox was of every degree of severity, the most mild as well as the most terrible. In the year 1722 Dr. Wagstaffe wrote in his "Letter to Dr. Friend," on the subject of smallpox as he knew it at that early date, "So true is that common observation that there is one sort in which a nurse cannot kill, and another which even a physician can never cure." Since, then, there was plenty of mild smallpox in the days before vaccination was known, it is obviously impossible to say, of any individual case of post-vaccinal smallpox, how badly that patient had meant to have it if he had never been vaccinated.

If, therefore, this claim is to be supported at all, it must find that support in some alleged statistical basis. And that basis is alleged to be found in the comparative fatality rates of the two classes, the vaccinated and the unvaccinated. As with most other matters connected with this controversy, the medical accounts of the results of this process vary extremely, but they all point in the same direction; they all exhort us to consider the terribly high death-rate amongst the unvaccinated. For instance, Dr. Tomkins, of the Manchester Fever Hospital, gives a fatality rate of 62 per cent as his experience of unvaccinated smallpox.

But to this manner of reckoning there is fortunately a check, for there is nothing more certain than the fatality rate of smallpox during the last century, when all were unvaccinated; and that rate was a little over 18 per cent. In fact, to raise it to this point it is necessary to include much of the smallpox of severer types of the London smallpox hospital of the time, which was of course vastly inferior to the hospitals of the present day in every sanitary respect, and in which the fatality was even then exceptionally high. At all events, the evidence is overwhelming that the fatality of smallpox did not, as a rule, exceed in pre-vaccination times this 18 per cent, and frequently fell far below this figure. Tissot, the eminent advocate of inoculation, wrote in 1763, in his "Avis au Peuple sur sa Santé," these words: "Il est démontré qu'en combinant le nombre des petites véroles funestes avec celui des bénignes, ou dont on revient, cette maladie tue la septième partie de ceux qu'elle attaque." That gives 14.2 per cent as the fatality rate. And the same author writes in his "L' Inoculation Justifiée," 1773, page 9, "Par les calculs les plus exacts, faits en differens pays, en differens tems, et differentes épidémies, il est prouvé que de treize personnes qui ont cette maladie naturellement, il en meurt deux." That gives 15.3 per cent.

And again, on the other side of the inoculation question, we have A. de Haen, professor of medicine in the University of Vienna, who writes in his "Refutation de l' Inoculation" under date 1759, "Tous les ouvrages à qui le zêle de l'inoculation a donné l'être, fourmillent de témoinnages qu'on dit être les plus exacts et les plus propres à démontrer, que de cinq à six personnes, on de sept, tout au plus et par grace, qui ont la petite vérole naturelle, il en meurt une." That is, from 14.2 to 20 per cent.

And far lower percentages than these can be found recorded. Martin Lister, in his "Tractatus de Variolis," published at Geneva in 1696, says on page 15, *Et tamen vix unus e quadrigesimo aegroto apud plebem moritur.* This would make a fatality rate of only 2½ per cent. And Isaac Massey, writing in 1727 of his experience of the pupils of Christ's Hospital, perhaps better known abroad as the "Blue-coat School," declares, "Here in the natural smallpox but one in 49 died; and I can assure the reader that upon a strict review of thirty years' business and more, not one in forty of the smallpox patients of the younger life died, that is above five and under 18."

Not to unduly prolong a weary list of quotations, I will only add, from Q. 5359–60 of the evidence taken before the Royal Commission, that the list of smallpox cases collected by Jurin for the years 1724–27, with one epidemic added by Dr. Scheuchzer, totals to 18,229 cases with 3,008 deaths, or almost exactly 16.5 per cent.

Hence this 18 per cent, which eighteenth-century smallpox did not exceed as its general fatality rate, is of the utmost importance to all who would wish to really grasp one of the most striking issues of the vaccination controversy; for it enables us to meet these allegations as to the high fatality rate of the unvaccinated nowadays with a simple process compounded of a subtraction sum and a pertinent question; as thus: when a medical authority, e. g. Dr. Tomkins as quoted above, alleges 62 per cent as the unvaccinated fatality rate, we go to work like this:

Nineteenth-century unvaccinated fatality	62
Eighteenth " " "	18
Then, please, who kills the remaining	44 ?

If these figures are right, they show that nineteenth-century doctors are allowing 62 patients to die for every 18 that would have died under the care of their eighteenth-century precedessors. And as everyone, even including the nineteenth-century doctors, must see this to be impossible, it only remains to inquire whence such an error can originate. Its starting-point does not seem far to seek. It will be found in the difficulty of recognizing the marks of vaccination when the patient is covered with the eruption of the disease. A severe case is a confluent case, a confluent case hides the vaccine marks, and the record being kept according to the visible marks, the severe cases have thus a natural tendency to find themselves described as unvaccinated cases. The exact working of this principle cannot be better appreciated than from the words found on page 25 of Dr. Russell's Report for Glasgow, 1871–2: "Sometimes persons were said to be vaccinated, but no marks could be seen, very frequently because of the abundance of the eruption. In some cases of those which recovered, an inspection before dismission discovered vaccine marks, sometimes very good." Remarkable confirmation is here afforded in a Report by the Medical Officer of Congleton on a recent (1889) outbreak of smallpox there. We are there told:

> Cases of confluent smallpox likely to prove fatal, in the eruptive and especially in the suppurative stage, are so disfigured that a mother brought into a ward with several of them would be unable to pick out her own son from among them. This being so, is it not too much to ask any intelligent being to believe that reliable observations were made as to the number of such comparatively minute objects as vaccination-scars? If any medical man of position who has had experience in the treatment of smallpox cases will say that the inference I have drawn is not warranted, I shall most gladly admit myself to be in the wrong, but for the present my recent experience of cases not fatal warrants me in saying what I have done. In two severe cases I made an attempt to find vaccination-scars during the eruptive stage, but failed, and found subsequently they were well vaccinated; and in two comparatively mild cases I counted in the one, one scar, and in the other, three, but subsequently found they had respectively four and eight.

Here is the matter in a nutshell. Classed as unvaccinated for want of visible marks, if they die, they swell the fatality rate of the unvaccinated; but if they recover, they are found to be vaccinated, and the vaccination gets the credit of having saved them. So that to this alleged high fatality amongst the unvaccinated we answer only that it is not that they die because they are unvaccinated, but they are classed unvaccinated because they die. And as long as the overhead fatality is not materially reduced, as long, that is, as the patients, taken in the lump, vaccinated and unvaccinated together, fail to show a largely diminished fatality, so long the alleged virtues of vaccination stand disproved, so far as mitigation goes.

Moreover, on this question of mitigation, there remains one more thing still to be said. I would avoid entering on the discussion of those scientific aspects of vaccination which have been already so well displayed before the readers of the ARENA, but I cannot avoid remarking that this claim of mitigation is altogether out of analogy with most of the theories which profess to explain vaccination as a prophylactic. Those who attribute benefit to the vaccinated from their vaccination generally explain it as being due to the fact that the vaccinated have really had an attack of smallpox, though not the human variety of the complaint. They have, it is said, experienced the smallpox of the cow, smallpox modified by its passage through the animal economy. But to this theory, as applied to mitigation by vaccination, there are at least two objections: first, that it is not true in fact; and secondly, that though it might do for an explanation of a vaccinated immunity from attack, it is quite without precedent as an explanation of mitigation. Of no other of the acute exanthemata is it even plausiby contended that a former attack makes a second onset of the same complaint any milder. Of various diseases it does seem to be true that one attack prevents another altogether; but whenever such protection is overcome and the enemy breaks through the defences, it is apt to cast off all discipline and to sack the place. Therefore, for this claim of mitigation we have it that, as it is without justification in the facts, so it is without precedent in science. But this naturally leads us to the consideration of

Claim III: Vaccination = Previous Smallpox. This was the plea whereunto Jenner was driven as failures multiplied. In Baron's "Life of Jenner," vol. ii, p. 135, we read: "Duly and efficiently performed, vaccination will protect the constitution from subsequent attacks of smallpox as much as that disease itself will. I never expected that it would do more, and it will not, I believe, do less." We may pass by the wonderful change that had come over the spirit of Jenner's dream since he wrote those sounding words about the vaccinated being forever secure. Let us stick closely by the facts, and these facts are, as I maintain, given exactly and tersely in the formula,

Mitigation by vaccination = mitigation by previous smallpox = 0.

For we find that second cases of smallpox are as a rule very severe cases, with a high fatality rate. Thus Dr. Seaton in his "Handbook of Vaccination" says:

> Haeser states, on the authority of Regoni Stern, that at Verona, in the ten years 1829–38, 24 cases of second smallpox had been noted, 8 of which were fatal; and Heim reports, in the epidemics in Württemberg, 1831–5, 57 cases of recurrent smallpox, of which 16 died; and in subsequent epidemics, 86 cases, 12 of which were fatal.

This gives a total of 167 cases, with 36 deaths; a mortality of 21.5 per cent. The most recent evidence is to the same effect. The fatality of recurrent smallpox in the Sheffield outbreak was 25 per cent.

And even in respect of protection, the evidence is by no means clear in the case of smallpox—not by any means so clear as it is for some other diseases. For instance, if we turn again to the history of smallpox on board of the ill-fated emigrant vessel, the Preussen, already alluded to, we find that there were on board of that ship thirteen persons who had had small-pox before embarking, and that, of these, three took the disease a second time when it broke out on board, and that of the three cases one was so severe as to threaten life, though not to actually kill. So that if vaccination did for the population at large what previous smallpox did for the people of the Preussen, it would make us comfortably certain that whenever smallpox broke out, just about a quarter of us would catch it, with every kind of result, from the mild form up to that severe enough for "endangering life."

Of course I must not be understood to absolutely deny the auto-prophylactic power of smallpox. There is a considerable amount of evidence which tends to establish the existence of some such power, such, for instance, as the immunity of the hospital nurses, so far as that immunity is real. But I do certainly hold that there is considerable doubt about it; far too much doubt to enable us to accept it as a theory whereon to found the practice of compulsory legal interference.

Claim IV: Decrease of Smallpox since the Introduction of Vaccination.—Opponents of vaccine law often find themselves reproached in some such terms as the following: "The ravages of smallpox used to be much more terrible than they are now. There can be no doubt that smallpox has diminished since the introduction of vaccination, and what more do you want?" We reply that we want a great deal more. We want some little evidence of the causal connection between the two; we do not want to be involved in a mere *post ergo propter*. And it is just this causal connection which we deny, and we think that we can justify our denial. We can call to witness that very Epidemiological Society which was so largely instrumental in passing the first law for the compulsion of vaccination. In 1855 we find them memorializing the president of the board of health on the seriously large proportion of the births which still escaped vaccination, and estimating that not more than from 10 to 15 per cent of these births are being vaccinated by private practitioners in addition to the public vaccinations. Now before 1840 all vaccinations were private vaccinations; so that we have it on the authority of the Epidemiological Society themselves that up to 1840 not more than 15 per cent of the births were being vaccinated at all. Neverthless, we find from the 1853 report of the same Society that the ratio for London of smallpox deaths to every 1,000 deaths from all causes had fallen from 108 in the decade 1750–60 to 23 in the ten years ending 1840.

If all this change was effected without any compulsion, and with only 15 per cent of the births vaccinated, why is any compulsion necessary? The truth is that the decline of smallpox had set in before vaccination was heard of, and long before it had been carried out to an extent which could have had any appreciable effect on the death-rate. The late Dr. Farr observes in his article, "Vital Statistics," in McCulloch's "Statistical Account of the British Empire," "Smallpox attained its maximum after inoculation was introduced; this disease began to grow less fatal before vaccination was discovered; indicating, together with the diminution in fever, the general improvement in health then taking place." Thus smallpox, during the last few years of the last century, was trying hard to die out, and the inoculators were trying no less hard to stamp it in; and vaccination got the credit of a change with which it was indeed contemporary, though to that change it never was contributory.

But I may be exhorted to compare the behavior of other diseases, if I would see the influence of vaccination on this particular one. I am willing to do so to any extent on one condition, that the diseases to be compared may be fairly comparable. Smallpox is one of a great group of diseases, and for fair comparison we must remain within the limits of that group, and make our comparison with other zymotic fevers and exanthems. And first broadly, what of the diseases which have come and gone without any vaccinal interference? Where is the Black Death now? Where is the Plague now? The dread Typhus, which in the days of the Stuarts gave such a terrible significance to the phrase "rot in gaol," is all but gone, though innocent of vaccinal expulsion. Let well-vaccinated Sheffield declare whether plague or cholera or typhus, for which we have no vaccination, is more or less to be dreaded than that smallpox against which we are so well protected by vaccination that "to have it is almost a crime." And if it should be urged that we ought to examine this claim with more exactness than is possible to so broad an historical view as that just taken, I none the less maintain that so far from the decline of smallpox having been unique among diseases, such examination will show that it has hardly been remarkable.

In the before-quoted work, Dr. Farr long ago remarked, "Fever has progressively declined since 1771; fever has declined in nearly the same proportion as smallpox." And the figures that Dr. Farr gives are these:

	Deaths per 10,000 living.		
	1771–80.	1801–10.	1831–35.
Fever	621	264	111
Smallpox . . .	502	204	83

And the same principle may be carried on to later dates with no result save to strengthen it. Let us turn to the Fiftieth Report of the English Registrar-General, and take the evidence of Table 17, p. lvi, as to the comparison of the quinquennium 1866–70, in which compulsion was made perfect, with the last one given, viz., 1881–5. We shall obtain this result:

Average Annual Death-rate per Million living, in Two Quinquennia compared.

	1866–70.	1881–5.	Decrease %.
Smallpox	105	78	25.5
Scarlet fever	960	434	55.0
Fever — typhus, typhoid, ill-defined, and continued .	850	272	68.0
Cholera	172	16	91.0

The figures for cholera have been added on account of its peculiarly epidemic character, though for many reasons it is not strictly comparable with smallpox; but to the other diseases in the table there is no such objection. And the table sets forth smallpox as having actually the smallest diminution in its death-rate of any of the three fever-groups. Other diseases are thus shown to have been better fought without the aid of vaccination than smallpox has with it.

But the evidence does not stop here. Looking at the London returns, we find the registrar-general writing in his 1880 report on the decennium then ending:

> It will be found that the saving of life was almost entirely due to the diminished mortality from causes whose destructive activity is especially amenable to sanitary interference — namely, the so-called zymotic diseases. . . . The death-rate from fever fell nearly 50 per cent. . . . That of scarlatina and diphtheria fell 33 per cent. . . . One disease alone in this class showed exceptionally a rise, and no inconsiderable one. This was smallpox, which, owing to the two great outbreaks of 1871–2 and 1877–8, gave a death-rate nearly 50 per cent above the previous average.

So that in this great city, the only disease against which we are supposed to be guaranteed by a special prophylactic, is the only one among the zymotic group which "shows exceptionally a rise." The claims made on behalf of vaccination break down on all sides as soon as really impartial scrutiny is applied to them. On the other hand, the examples of Leicester and of Keighley, where vaccination has been all but entirely neglected, prove beyond question that a community may be thoroughly protected against the spread of smallpox by sanitary measures, even though the disease be not unfrequently introduced into its limits from the well-vaccinated districts round.

It is often urged that the opposition to vaccination is a sentimental opposition. But I submit that there is little enough of sentiment in the dry facts and drier figures wherein my argument has so far been set out. Not that I mind the taunt; I have no shame of sentiment, which after all, is but the fool's name for the pursuit of righteousness; and I am coming to the sentiment by and by. But so far from mere sentiment being the burden of my song, I claim to be the bearer in this matter of one of the sternest and the hardest of nature's many hard, stern messages. I am trying to bear witness that nature's politics know no compromise, and that in matters sanitary the wages of sin is death. The sentimentalists on the other side protest that this is too cruel a message to deliver to the poor. But I did not make the message, nor do I deliver it to the poor alone. I tell the rich: It is not safe for you to leave Lazarus crying unheeded at your gate. If you do, his sores shall plague you, his disease shall smite you, his suffering shall be your anguish, and by his death shall you die. It is no use to try to dodge fate by forcing upon Lazarus a little more domesticated dirt. It is no use to try to get to the back of the north wind with a little bit of tame filth caged in a capillary tube. You must go for better dwellings; by a policy of open spaces you must make passage for the winds that blow; you must let in the light of heaven; you must lay the water on. And then, as the sternness of the threat drives you further on the road to righteousness, you may turn with growing hope from threat to promise, and, being clean, may claim to live.

(*To be concluded.*)

WHY THE WORKERS WANT.

BY ROBERT GRIEVE.

Probably no subject in the whole range of political economy has given rise to more discussion and resulted in more confusion of thought than the problem of the source of wages, and their relation to profits, interest, and rent. Although the "new political economy" sometimes so called, of which Mr. Henry George may be regarded as a leading exponent, gives a clear and logical explanation of these relations, as yet the new light thus shed on this question has not penetrated far enough into the popular consciousness to bring about a general change in opinion. Instead, the old doctrine of a wage-fund, and the theory that wages depend on the amount of profits, or on the size and excellence of the season's crops, are still held, although in a nebulous sort of way. It is true, of course, that these are exploded theories, but still it is quite evident that they exist as a sort of residuum at the bottom of many minds, as is abundantly manifested in the strength of the belief in the fetich of "protection," in the occasional advocacy of profit-sharing, and in the general tone underlying much of the popular talk and writing of the day.

Especially noticeable are these vague beliefs, survivals of the ignorance of the recent past, as they may justly be called, when an industrial panic such as we recently experienced breaks over the community. Then we hear talk about "conforming to the exigencies of business," about the necessity of the laborers "sharing the losses" incident to the hard times, and the urgent necessity of providing further "protection" or retaining what we have in order to maintain the laborers' wages above the pauper level of the toilers of Europe.

Nothing, however, is more obvious than that the stipend of the wage-earner bears no necessary or constant relation to the profits of business. This is plainly shown by the fact that the wages in the great protected industries of textiles and iron, or in the great monopolized industries of transportation, oil, sugar, etc., are relatively low, the laborers certainly obtaining no more than the market rates, receiving no higher wages because their employers make immense profits, but rather getting less than workers rendering similar services in other occupations requiring no more skill, and which are not so thoroughly monopolized or so heavily protected. It is hardly necessary to attempt to prove these assertions. Probably some of our noted economists could prove by maps, diagrams, and heavy rules of varying lengths that the textile factory workers, the railroad, telegraph, and other employees were relatively higher paid, but the evidence of common report and the stronger evidence of the great unrest of these classes of toilers, as manifested by their numerous strikes, is amply corroborative of the position here advanced.

The stipends of the wage-earners of all classes and of every description are not in the last analysis based on the profits of business, but on what they can "force" from their employers. The measure of any wage-earner's subjection to circumstances, or his ability to control the amount of his wage, depends:

1. On the number of other laborers competing for his work;
2. On what it will cost him to live, or on what he may be obliged or is willing to live;
3. On his ability to combine with his fellows in order to maintain or secure higher wages.

In regard to the first condition, if a wage-earner is highly skilled or possesses rare ability which is in demand, he will secure high wages, but it will be in conformity with this condition nevertheless; and although he may appear to be exempt from its operation, he is not so in any measure. As to the second condition, it is quite evident that men cannot continue to work for wages that are below the level of subsistence; but it is not also so clearly realized that the wages of the skilled workmen are likewise based on the cost of living. Yet that such is the case is a conclusion that cannot be avoided when it is considered that such men have in general no means of basing their demand for wages on the profits of the business, but stand out for a figure that is relatively high compared with their less fortunate fellows.

It may be urged in opposition to these views, that men or firms carrying on small businesses are obliged to pay the market price to their workmen, and they cannot afford to do more as the exigencies of competition prevent. This is true. Yet ordinary employers are only in essence laborers themselves, and are under the pressure of exactly the same economic conditions as those who work for them.

They are competing strenuously for work and are obliged to accept it on the conditions the circumstances will permit, while they may be at the same time coerced by those they employ through their trades unions. It is the great employers, who control immense capital and are thereby enabled to take advantage of some or all of the legal monopolies now existing, that reap the immense profits which enable men to become millionaires or billionaires in a few years. These monopolies now give corporate capital such extreme advantage that the greater portion of the entire wealth is already in its possession, while it has a lien on future production that will necessarily absorb, unless its powers and privileges are abridged, all wealth that can be created.

These monopolies, in spite of a condition of such absolute abundance of all the necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter—as never existed before since the world began, are directly responsible for the fencing in of opportunities to labor and the prevention of production and distribution to such an extent that there is always a submerged tenth, and in times of depression probably a submerged fourth of the population, in want and misery, and the conditions are now little better here in America than in Europe. Chief among these monopolies that are sapping the life-blood of the nations, are:

(*a*) Private ownership of land—the greatest of the social wrongs—which lies at the base of all the misery and crime of the community.

(*b*) Private control of public service, including transportation, the telegraph, the telephone, electric and gas lighting, etc.

(*c*) Private control of the issues of money and of credit through the banking, currency, and public debts systems.

(*d*) Private control of inventions and machinery, made possible by the existence of the other monopolies.

(*e*) Private control of the home market for private profit, on the specious plea of a great public benefit, by means of the protective system.

All these constitute monopolies, because the advantages accruing from their operation can only now be secured by great combinations of capital. The single firm or the individual has no chance, and practically, therefore, a monopoly exists in each instance. These monopolies, too, are of a most dangerous and insidious kind because the beneficiaries are inextricably intermixed with the bulk of the population, and are all interested in maintaining their advantages through the natural instinct of self-interest; in most individual cases not realizing that they are aiding in maintaining social wrongs, but nevertheless, helping all the while to create and sustain a public opinion favorable to or at least tolerant of these social iniquities. Thus while it is not necessary to postulate a "landlord class" or a "money power" conspiring against the people, it is easy to apprehend how all who are reaping advantages from these monopolies will act together as a unit at the first symptom of danger to their "vested rights."

If this analysis is correct, it is not at all surprising that we have "hard times," that wages are reduced, that people starve and are in want in the midst of plenty. In fact, in face of these conditions, it would be surprising if such results did not follow.

Perhaps a few plain examples of the power of corporate capital to corral all the surplus wealth and to leave to the toilers only a bare living, if actually that, will illustrate the preceding statement.

The Providence Worsted Mills, incorporated under the laws of the state of Rhode Island in 1883, with a capital of $500,000, which was authorized increased by law in 1886 to $1,000,000, and the National Worsted Mills, incorporated in 1886 with a capital of $200,000 increased by law in 1887 to $300,000, and together operating five mills and engaged in the production of worsted yarns and suitings, "syndicated" their property in the spring of 1893.

The combined authorized capital of these two concerns has been, since 1887, $1,300,000; but these valuable plants were very largely the property of Mr. Charles Fletcher, who started business in this locality in 1875 in a leased building, and has since that period built all these mills and a number of others, besides acquiring much outside property, and by general report and belief has paid for all this property out of the profits of the worsted mills. That is, the $1,300,000 for which the two corporations were capitalized was in reality profits that had been made out of the business, and *did not* represent any original investment.

In the early part of 1893 these two concerns were consolidated under the name of the National and Providence Worsted mills and secured a charter from the Rhode Island General Assembly, authorizing them to issue $2,000,000 stock and $1,000,000 of gold mortgage-bonds. No improvements or additions had been made to the mills of any consequence, and the increased capitalization was based on the earning power of the mills; but it was claimed in the prospectus published for the purpose of selling the stock that this capitalization was also based on the actual valuation. But the valuation had wholly been made out of the profits.

According to this published prospectus the mills had earned for the five years previous to 1893 an aggregate of $2,212,857.65, making an average of $442,571.53 per annum, or at the rate of *thirty-four per cent annually* on their then capital of $1,300,000.

The new syndicate proposed to continue to earn as much in the future, and in the prospectus apportioned the earnings on the various classes of securities as follows:

$1,000,000 of bonds at 6 per cent	$ 60,000.00
$500,000 preferred stock, 8 per cent	40,000.00
$1,500,000 common stock, 10 per cent	150,000.00
To liquidate bonds	100,000.00
Surplus	92,571.53
Total	$442,571.53

The sum of $442,571.53, which it is intended to secure as a profit, is almost fifteen per cent on three million dollars.

The $1,000,000 first-mortgage gold bonds are only to run ten years, one-tenth to be paid off each year. The sale of the bonds and preferred stock netted an aggregate of $1,500,000, both interest and principal to be paid out of the profits of the business, which at the same time is expected to pay ten per cent on the common stock, while the owners of the two old corporations retained all the common stock. By this arrangement it is evident that the original owners, in addition to the profit on the business, have also realized by sale of

Bonds	$1,000,000
Preferred stock	500,000
Extra common stock	200,000
Total	$1,700,000

Or 130 per cent on the previous capitalization.

In other words, the proprietors have mortgaged and bonded their mills for $1,500,000, and they intend to make the mills earn money enough to pay this sum and a high rate of interest on it, while at the same time they will still remain in full possession of the mills, and earn ten per cent or more on $1,500,000, which is $200,000 more than the two corporations were capitalized for. Their profits have therefore been, according to their own showing, for the five years mentioned, $2,212,857.65; through sale of bonds and increase of stock in 1893, $1,700,000; total, $3,912,857.65, a sum which if divided by six makes an annual profit of a fraction over fifty per cent on the original capitalization for the six years previous to 1893; and this does not include what possible profit has been made in 1893. Although these corporations had made such immense profits, yet, at the first whisper of hard times, they proceeded to reduce wages, and as a result, their work-people went on a ten weeks' strike against a reduction of from fifteen to twenty-five per cent, and returned to work just before Christmas, 1893, on a slight modification of the reduction. The corporation did not ask their work-folk to share in their prosperity.

If the corporations had been content with ten per cent, for the five years previous to 1893, on their capital of $1,300,000, and had set aside $52,571.53 for a sinking fund and for contingencies—a total of $182,571.53—they would have had left $260,000, which could have been divided in wages. The number of operatives in the mills may be set down at 2,500, which is probably a little in excess of the actual number. This sum of money divided among these people would make an average of two dollars a week, and it would have exerted a more beneficial effect on the entire community than any other conceivable agency.

But why did not the manufacturers divide this $260,000 among their help, annually? Simply because there was no force—legal, economic, or moral—that compelled them to do so. The people, as has been pointed out in the beginning of this paper, were compelled by circumstances to work for what they could get. The monopoly of land prevented them from employing themselves, and through the high rents resulting took a large proportion of their scanty earnings; the monopoly of money decreased the purchasing power of their earnings; the monopoly of the home market increased the cost of everything they purchased, and all the monopolies acting together hemmed them in in all directions. On the one hand is a set of men with almost unlimited power (using it ignorantly, perhaps) and in command of the sources of life—land, money, transportation, inventions, and the home market; on the other hand are the wage-workers, at the mercy of the economic conditions resulting from these circumstances, and thereby deprived of all chance to employ themselves, and of all opportunities of access to the sources of wealth.

But even this statement does not show all the legal advantages these corporations had. According to the prospectus of the National and Providence Worsted Mills, issued on

May 22, 1893, for the purpose of selling the stock and bonds of the new syndicate, the actual valuation of the property was given as follows:

Buildings and machinery	$1,720,680.00
Stock, book accounts, and cash on hand	1,103,775.50
Total valuation	$2,924,455.50

In addition to this the good will of the business was estimated at $500,000.

The assessed valuation of this same property as given in the Providence tax-book for 1893 is as follows:

Real estate	$318,940.00
Personal	250,000.00
Total	$568,940.00

which is not quite twenty per cent of the valuation placed by the corporation itself on its own property by its own prospectus.

Actual tax paid by the mills was, at 1.6 per cent	$ 9,103.04
The tax the corporation should have paid on its valuation was	46,791.28

The city tax-book shows that every house in the neighborhood of the mills is taxed on at least two-thirds or three-fourths its actual and present selling value, and some of them up to their full selling value. It follows that the common people are "taxed to death" in the literal sense of these words, for the imposition of all the taxes the places they live in will bear abridges their power of sustaining life, prevents the building of more houses, thereby making it difficult for more workingmen to secure homes, and consequently decreases the amount of profitable and life-sustaining work that might be done in the community if these conditions did not exist.

It will be found in every community in the country that there are many instances of inequalities of taxation such as this—the corporations and the very rich taxed lightly, while the wage-earners, the producers, are taxed heavily.

During the strike the fact was brought out that the reduction proposed would bring wages in the Providence factories below the rates then paid in Huddersfield, England. A queer result after all these years of "protection to American labor," but quite easily understood when it is considered, as has been shown, that wages are only what the laborers can secure by a struggle with the economic circumstances, and consequently, in recent years at least, have not been any greater in America than in England.

Another example, in some respects analogous to the one just mentioned, is the case of the Nonantum Worsted Company, Newton, Mass., which was incorporated in 1880 with a capital of $500,000, and up to 1893, beside paying large annual dividends, had been able to accumulate a surplus of $516,000. The company paid little if any better wages than those prevailing in Europe, and had employed many French Canadians and Armenians for the purpose of displacing other people whose standard of living was higher and who demanded better pay. The real estate and machinery of this company cost $930,000. The capital stock was taxed in Newton on a valuation of $275,000, while the surplus of $516,000 was only taxed on a valuation of $90,000. The Massachusetts commissioner of corporations assessed the corporation at the rate of $15.30 per thousand on $225,000, the balance of its capital stock. The concern at that time was thus taxed on $590,000, out of a total valuation of $1,446,000.

This company on Nov. 28, 1893, issued from its Boston office a circular addressed to "the eight hundred operatives employed by the Nonantum Worsted Company," and headed with the words "A Solemn Warning," which practically threatened that unless the operatives used their own influence and that of their friends to prevent the enactment of the Wilson Bill, they "must prepare themselves for a material reduction of wages." This company never shared its prosperity with its employees, but always hired the cheapest help in the market; still its manager had the effrontery to demand that the work-people aid him in getting government pap, which will benefit the company perhaps, but cannot help the employees.

If the mills cannot run unless the government sustains them let us socialize them. That is the only logical or reasonable alternative for the protectionist. If not, we must abolish all the monopolies.

These examples can be duplicated in every important manufacturing centre in the country, and in every large industry. The growth of the cotton industry in Fall River affords many good illustrations. The mills there have practically been erected out of the profits of the business. The increase in the value of the land has been one of the incidents of the business, and this increase has, as a whole, gone into the possession of the corporations. Both relatively and absolutely, the wages of the operatives have been meagre in Fall River—no more than to provide a somewhat squalid living, as the appearance of the place testifies, while the great wealth created has gone to build new mills and create new profits. Some of the corporations organized immediately after the war of the rebellion, made so much money to begin with, that the money for the subscriptions to stock that had been pledged was not called for, but the stock was brought to par by profits.

In fact, throughout the length and breadth of the country, the toiler, no matter what profits are made in the industry in which he works, only gets a bare living, or the "market price of his labor." He cannot secure more as long as the monopoly of land and the various other legal incubuses hedge him in and rob him, and no "patent device," such as the protective system, will aid him in the least to get more wages under prevailing circumstances.

The concentration of capital and its control of the monopolies, unless checked, must necessarily result in socialism. The protective system is essentially socialistic, and the tendency of capital to crystallize into trusts and mammoth consolidations, is also socialistic. But this kind of socialism so far has resulted to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and that cannot and will not always be endured. If we object to the sort of socialism toward which we are evidently drifting—as many of us do, for numerous good reasons—the alternative then is, the abolition of all the monopolies. The right of all men to the use of the earth must be secured; money must be issued by the community, so that no clique can control prices; and perfect freedom in the home market must be secured by the abolition of the protective system, and the establishment of absolute free trade. In the measure that we accomplish these results will our people be rescued from the industrial and social misery from which they now suffer.

REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN ON VITAL SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

Woman's Discussion of the Labor Problem.

LAND AND MONEY.

Jack Cade, we are told, promised his followers that "the realm should be in common" and that "there should be no more money." The instinct of every class teaches it where its interest lies, and doubtless the common mind has always had an obscure perception that the land and money laws worked injustice to labor. But Jack Cade is still waiting for his justification.

In ordinary affairs if we are in doubt how to direct our course the wisest action is to go on to the point where our pathway ceases to be clear and from that "coign of vantage" take a fresh survey of our difficulty. Now in this labor problem, which is receiving such a multitude of theoretical solutions, one thing is certain: *the land is the reservoir of labor.* Trace labor up from its smallest rills through all its widening streams and we invariably come to the land at last. Also, from the first production till raw materials come into actual use, there must be land to stand upon, without which, it is evident, labor cannot be done. If, then, there be this vital union between labor and land, why not establish such a system of land-tenure as that all the land wanted can be had on the terms labor can accept, beginning with the now unemployed land in the cities and radiating back towards the wilderness? After that we might take up what is left of the problem and survey it anew. In other words, why not establish the *single tax* and see what comes of it?

But the money question is also a part of the labor problem, and it is just now claiming a foremost place. The present discussion, however, does not promise any valuable practical issue because certain self-interests which are looking out for their own immediate advantage prevent it from resting on the bedrock principle that money, as money, cannot be a commodity. After production comes exchange. Trade is the exchange of labor products with labor products. To represent these products we use money because it may be easily handled and indefinitely divided, and we give it full power to act in their place. Money in possession usually represents some product which has been given for it and some other product for which it is to be given at a convenient season.

A representative, we know, must have credentials from some power holding sovereign authority, and his or its own power is, therefore, by the nature of the case, a *legal* power. Money, which comes from a word meaning *to remind*, is such a representative. If it, as a medium of exchange, have a value of its own, it becomes one of the exchanged products and ceases for the time being to be money. It is a return to barter in another form. This is the case when gold is accepted according to its weight. Nothing can have value in itself and be money at the same instant, because in the one case the thing, to find its use, must be retained, in the other it must be parted with. It is evident that we cannot use our gold in both ways at once. The question then resolves itself into whether we shall use *money* in exchanges or some system of barter.

If we use money, pure and simple, every visible piece of it must be accompanied on its busy course by a something invisible, viz., *confidence*. A country treating with an ambassador must be *sure* that he represents his sovereign. If there be any doubt on that point his usefulness is at an end. Gold itself in current use passes on the value that confidence gives it and not on its bullion value. Shakspere says:

> 'Tween man and man they weigh not every stamp,
> Though light, take pieces for the figures' sake.

And if "between man and man" this confidence would continue to the end, paper would be a much more convenient material for all currency than metal. The present obstacle to this, however, is that it requires a more advanced state of civilization to use money that has only a *legal* value than nations have yet attained to in their dealings with one another.

But a single country like our own, where the governing and the governed are precisely the same persons, ought to be able to trust each other in both capacities. If we—the people that govern—issued a currency based upon our *natural wealth* which we promised to receive from ourselves —the people that are governed—*in payment of all public dues*, surely we—the people for whose welfare this was instituted—would never gain any advantage by repudiating it. We could make arrangements for transmitting gold, either coined or in bullion, to foreign nations when needed. Such arrangements would be easier to make then than now since we should have more gold to spare.

The difficulty about things running smoothly under our present system is the same that we should encounter in treating with an ambassador who was sometimes a representative, sometimes the sovereign himself, and always under suspicion of turning out only a private individual after all. We know which power would have the advantage under those circumstances. It would *not* be the power to which the ambassador was accredited. So with our present hybrid money. It is the dealers in it at the financial centres who regulate its volume to suit the emergencies of their own business and who know how to play fast and loose with it by taking advantage of its various forms so that by putting their own money into that form most desirable at the moment they may exploit each for their own interest; it is these controlling financial institutions that get all the benefit of this uncertainty, while the plain people on the farms and in the shops only know that there is some "mysterious evil power" which snatches away from them part of their profits just as they think them within their grasp.

Only the government has no interest apart from the people, its permanence depending upon the welfare of each citizen individually and the strength of all collectively. It cannot but be, then, that the currency should be controlled by government and not by companies whose permanence depends upon success in making their own fortunes, regardless of the interests of the people at large except as reacting upon their own.

They tell us, however, that if only paper were used money would be too abundant, and the inference is that it is a less evil to have it too scarce. Need we question why? But it should be neither the one nor the other. It should be just right like the steam pressure in an engine. Let an inducement of some kind be offered for the return of money not in use to a place of deposit, there to remain until it is again wanted. This would be an indicator of excess of volume, as a safety-valve indicates excess of pressure. Surely this is not a nut too hard for our financiers to crack.

But money itself may be lent and borrowed. In this case it represents stored-up labor, and has a right when in use to its own profit, which is *interest.* Interest represents the increase which the vital forces of nature give, if time be allowed for maturing their product, over and above the wages due to the labor employed meanwhile. Evidently it must never be greater than the value of this natural increase, else wages will be too low. The value of money to its owner as capital is exactly in proportion to the interest it bears, as the value of property as an investment is determined by the income obtainable from it. To keep the value of money uniform the rate of interest must be kept uniform. As this tells directly upon the distribution of property, government should establish for itself a rate of interest to be used in all its own business transactions, this rate to be determined upon an estimate of "the *average* power of increase which attaches to capital from its use in reproductive modes." If it were thought best to leave individuals free to make their own contracts this would nevertheless create a standard of what would be the proper return to capital in ordinary affairs.

Value is not an absolute but a relative term. If, then, we have an established *relation* between a sum of money and the income it will return to us, we have, so to speak, a fixed value for it. Now if we had a monetary system which would supply us with the necessary quantity of money and would establish for us a just and uniform rate of interest should we not have that quality of *stability* in financial matters which is now so sadly lacking?

But given a perfect circulating medium and absolutely free commerce, so long as the land is held out of use it will profit us nothing. *If production be stifled, exchange will not save us.* If equality in the ownership of the earth be unrecognized all minor expressions of human brotherhood will not count. The danger to a nation is not corruption in its officials. That is incidental to human nature and to be anticipated to a certain extent, just as it is to be expected that the great body of the people will be honest. The fatal evil is when the laws themselves are dishonest, i. e., when they enact inequality so that they may be perfectly obeyed, and yet an invisible link may so connect the prosperity of some of the citizens to the adversity of the others as that the two classes shall grow ever farther apart in material welfare. Sooner or later this will bring on a crisis, and the more intelligent the nation and the finer its tone the sooner the crisis will come. As long as we confound in treatment the ground with the treasures that industry may draw from it, and the indicator of value with the values indicated, so long will this confusion in the political mind reflect itself in confusion in the affairs of the outer world which this mind is set to regulate.

JULIA A. KELLOGG.

Note.—Miss Kellogg is a niece of Edward Kellogg, the author of a valuable book on finance first called "A New Monetary System," and later published as "Labor and Capital." Mr. Kellogg was a successful merchant in New York till bankrupted by the panic of 1837. From that time he made finance his chief study till he discovered that (in the words of Samuel Leavitt) "the whole trouble lay in the fallacy that placed money, *the life-blood of the world's industries*, under the control of the few, and made it a *monopoly.*" Miss Kellogg does not pose as a financial reformer, being especially a single-taxer, but her views are in the main harmonious with her uncle's, varying most on the subject of interest. F. E. R.

THE SOLUTION TO THE LABOR QUESTION.

The initial error in our economic system lies in the assumption that "every man has a right to the product of his own labor." A man has no "own labor." The power to labor is a human power, resultant upon the human being's place in the social organism, like the heart's power to labor, or the diaphragm's. It is not an individual possession, but one dependent absolutely on relation.

Moreover, "the product of labor" is a misnomer. Mass the product of labor and call it wealth. Consider its only purpose—that of maintaining and developing the social organism—and call it nutrition. What grass is to the cow, wealth is to humanity—it is nutrition. Now nutrition is not a product of labor, in last analysis—labor is a product of nutrition. The text hath it, "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat." Reverse that—"If a man cannot eat, neither can he work." If you wish to produce speed and strength in a horse you nourish him accordingly; his labor is a result, not a cause. The labor of human beings is their healthy functional activity, and it is to be promoted as with any other organic action, by nutrition and exercise and rest. Of two men offered a great sum for the performance of a great task, only he can do it who is *able;* the price offered does not produce the ability. To make men labor you must make them able to labor; the amount and quality of their labor is resultant upon the kind of men they are, and that depends upon how they are born and brought up, not on how much they are paid.

And if a man has not a right to the product of his own labor, what has he a right to? you may ask. He has a right to such provision from birth to death as shall ensure him the ability to labor, the opportunity to labor, and the best development in his labor. Why has he such a right? Because to ensure him these things is to ensure the health and happiness and growing riches of the world.

Society is an organism. What is an organism? It is a union of cells in a relation of coördinate activity. And what is it for? Ah! now you touch on "the labor question" and every other social question which vexes us. What is an organism for? Why, to provide nourishment and shelter and a chance to grow for all its constituent cells. Why else should those cells have combined to make that organism? In process of doing these things the organism has developed a consciousness of its own—had to, in coördinate action; and a high degree of sensibility and activity—had to, in coördinate action. So has the human organism. The *raison d'etre* of society is to provide nourishment, shelter, and a chance to grow for all its constituent parts.

Not knowing this, we who constitute society, and who don't yet feel it as an organism because we will persist in acting from our infinitesimal personal standpoint, are struggling to equitably adjust the individual claims of the various activities involved. Has the liver a right to the product of its own labor? Has the railroad company a right to the product of its own labor? Has the bricklayer a right to the product of his own labor? If so, let the liver devour its product in peace, let the railroad company ride forever in the cars, let the bricklayer lay bricks to infinity and give him the wall!

It is the product of other people's labor that we really want, and we ought to have it, all that we need. Every man has a right to what will enable him to do his best work. It is not salary, it is not wages, it is a right, like the right of the citizen to justice and defence.

And how much shall the man have—who shall decide? Who shall decide how much dinner you may have? Who decides how much blood goes to feed the heart, how much to the lungs, how much to the liver? They all help make it—every last organ and member to the eyelids and fingernails—they all help make it and they all have it to take from according to their own judgment. Does not man know as much as his own organs? All labor helps make wealth. Let it circulate, then, and let labor drink full and deep. Once fed he will never take more than he needs.

The single-taxer, wholly an individualist, believes that every man should be free to earn for himself from the raw material; and that if so free, all "labor troubles" will solve themselves. As well seek to disorganize the body and turn all its constituents loose in warm water to get their individual living therefrom.

There is no sublime law of economics which is going to equalize and justify conflicting individual right; there is no ground to rest on till the place is reached which supports us all—the knowledge that we produce together and must distribute our common product for free consumption. The land belongs to us all, and so does the labor; we are "all members of one body and members one of another."

CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON.

Note.—Mrs. Stetson has so strikingly expressed some of the foregoing ideas in verse, a quotation from her "Cart before the Horse" may well be added to her paper.

F. E. R.

You say unless a man shall work
Right earnestly, and never shirk,
  He may not eat. Now look — the change is small,
And yet the truth is plain to see —
Unless man eats, and frequently,
  He cannot work at all.

And which comes first? Why, that is plain,
The man comes first. And look again —
  A baby! with an appetite to fit!
You have to feed him years and years,
And train him up with toil and tears,
  Before he works a bit!

So let us change our old ideas
And learn with these advancing years
  To give the oats before we ask for speed;
Not set the hungry horse to run,
And tell him when the race is done
  That he shall have his feed!

C. P. S.

THE GREAT NEIGHBOR.

That aggregated coöperating men make Man—an organic, living, most real Social Man—has been the distinguishing working idea of the civilized world during the last two decades. For those whose love turns inward a perversion of the idea suggests great monopolizing syndicates and trusts. For those whose love turns outward the idea brings with itself from its divine source wonderful social visions, and the love of the individual neighbor as one's self is developed into the love of the great Social Neighbor who can be loved more than one's self.

The idea is not new. It was set down long ago in our prophetic spiritual history-book. But we are only now becoming old enough to understand and to make practical use of it. Political economy leaves off juggling with definitions, and becomes its science—the science of human coöperation, the science of Man. Now we know also that petty personal vices are not the worst of evils, and that the highest spiritual duty is not to plan to save one's own little soul alone. Already in vision we walk the golden streets of that "equal" city which is to come upon a "new earth."

But we must do more than love vaguely; we must love our Great Neighbor practically and usefully. What we can do for this Social Man in whom we look to find redemption, must be determined by his own character, for he has a character. Those parents who plan for their children without taking into account the children's individual characters, are employed in no more futile labor than we in making mechanical plans for a great social automaton.

Is our aggregate organic social life a good Social Man? Is it an evil Social Man?

Conceive for a moment of a communal life composed of regenerate men and women—in other words, of men and women who have put away the love of self and received the love of right and the love of fellow-man, and whose affectionate service to each other was rendered effective by an unclouded intelligence. Can you call such a life anything but heavenly? Can it be anything but heaven? If our lives of thought and affection do not perish when we lay aside our material bodies, is not such a glorious communal life their proper home? And if they do not desire it, if they have preferred the unnatural suicide of loving self better than the neighbor, would not the aggregation of our lives of fantasy and malice and falsehood and greed make up a communal monster, full of loathsome uncleanness?

Such are—or, if you will, would be, in event of the immortality of thought and affection—the *results* of our lives in this world; but neither result should be looked for in this world. We have here neither heaven nor hell, but we do have here the leadings to both. The men of this world are not angels; the Social Man is not an angel. The men of this world are not devils; the Social Man is not a devil. What then? We have among us men who seem to be on their way to angelhood and others who seem on their way to devilhood. So, too, in the soul of each individual man there is something angelic and something devilish. How can it be otherwise with our Social Man? There is evil in him, and there is good in him. What can we do for him?

Let us analyze the situation a little. What can we do for an individual man? We cannot by force make him a good man, and we should have no right to if we could. It is the prerogative of every man to choose between good and evil. It is precisely this right of choice that makes him a man instead of an automaton. We may prevent him from committing crime, but unless in the depths of his soul he hates the evil feeling which would impel to that crime, he is not good. But we of the community can do two things for the individual man in our midst who is swayed by both good and evil impulses—and this is the ideal of our communal duties to the individual; we can see to it that he is prevented from injuring others, and that in turn he is protected, in little things as well as great, from being injured by others. If we did this completely and ideally we should largely deprive him of the power to give expression to his evil desires, and make it to his advantage and comfort to lead a peaceable, honest, self-supporting life. On the one hand his evil passions would not be fostered, and on the other his spiritual choice between good and evil would be more interior; it would not be, for example, over the question as to whether he should or should not plunder others, but as to whether he should serve them for the returns they gave, or for the very love of the service.

So with the Social Man. You can't *make* him good, which is the aspiration of socialism. You would have no right to if you could. Like the individual man, he is in equilibrium between good and evil. He will not agree that giving should be in proportion to ability and receiving according to need. He will not accept the beatitudes for his communal laws, as Christian socialism would have him. Those are angelic principles, and he is not angelic. He is composed of distinctly good men, distinctly bad men, and probably of a vastly larger number of men of good instincts, but who do not as yet "discern between their right hand and their left hand." The well-disposed have no right to impose upon the others the laws of heaven, and they will find themselves in a minority if they try to do so. And the evil-disposed have as little right or power to impose the laws of hell. But the good and the evil and the vast average between can develop and are developing the laws of equal right and equal freedom in the world, for these are the laws of self-preservation as well as the laws of eternal justice. The far-seeing evil man advocates them, for he perceives how much greater will be his own returns under a fuller operation of these laws. (But how blind is much selfishness!) The good man advocates them for their very righteousness. The multitude advocates them for both reasons.

It is a progressive development. It leads us through centuries of struggle with our own blind greeds, for personal liberties, for self-government, and now for every man's equal right to the earth upon which he has been born. If my analysis of the Social Man be correct, that development cannot include the transformation of this earth into a heaven; but it does prophesy a "new earth," the abiding-place of a constantly renewed Social Man, in whom order and mutual service shall ever carry both the individual and the communal life to more and more interior equilibriums between good and evil.

ALICE THACHER POST.

THE ENGLAND OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

In order that we may gain a true conception of the England of Sir Thomas More, it is important that we glance at the conditions of society at the opening of the century we are considing. The Hundred Years' War with France ended in 1453, and the Wars of the Roses terminated with the overthrow of Richard III and the accession of Henry VII to the throne. During the long and bloody night which marked these thirty years of civil strife, many of the oldest, noblest, and most powerful lords of England fell on the field or perished at the hands of the executioner. The throne, which had been so uncertain a seat, at length became secure, while the great check which the feudal barons had wielded over the kingly power was practically removed.

Another influence which greatly augmented the central power was the union of the privileged classes against the landless and moneyless masses. It was to "the selfish panic of the land owners," says Green, "that England owed the Statute of Laborers, and its terrible heritage of pauperism. It was to the selfish panic of landowners and merchants that she owed the despotism of monarchy. The most fatal effect of this passion for 'order' [the outrages of capitalism are usually perpetrated in the name of order] was seen in the striving of these classes after special privileges." The rise of privilege coincident with the arrogation of despotic power by the throne, though suggestive to the student of social problems, is no novelty. It is the oft-repeated and infinitely tragic story of the triumph of the cunning few over the blind and short-sighted many. Privilege entrenched behind authority, lending its aid to the latter in return for added concessions and faithful service — such a spectacle is so familiar to the student of history that its constant recurrence at length changes amazement into a feeling of weariness and almost despair for the triumph of justice. *Until special privileges are abolished and a comparative equality of opportunity is established, the industrial millions will remain exiles from their just inheritance, doomed to a treadmill existence, and perpetually haunted with fear of eviction, starvation, and a pauper's grave.* The tyranny of privilege in the name of law and order, and the increased despotism of the throne, frequently employing the same pretext for oppression, were sad and impressive spectacles in an age wherein the most startling contrasts were everywhere present, and when life and death, progression and retrogression, despotism and new-born dreams of freedom were clashing on every side.

"The speculation of the twelfth century, the scholastic criticism of the thirteenth, the Lollardry and socialism of the fourteenth century, had at last done their work. The spell of the past, the spell of custom and tradition which had enchained the minds of men, was roughly broken. Nobles and priests were beginning to disbelieve in themselves. The new knowledge which was now dawning on the world, the new direct contact with the Greek and Roman literatures, told above all on the wealthier and more refined classes. The young scholar or noble who crossed the Alps brought from the schools of Florence the dim impression of a republican liberty or an imperial order which disenchanted him of the world in which he found himself. He looked on the feudalism about him as a brutal anarchy, he looked on the church itself as the supplanter of a nobler and more philosophic morality. In England, as elsewhere, the great ecclesiastical body still seemed imposing from the memories of the past, its immense wealth, its tradition of statesmanship, its long association with the intellectual and religious aspirations of men, its hold on social life. But its real power was small. Its moral inertness, its lack of spiritual enthusiasm, gave it less and less hold on the religious minds of the day. Its energies, indeed, seemed absorbed in a mere clinging to existence." *

It is difficult to estimate the extent of the influence exerted by Lollardry over the minds of the intellectual. At times ignored and regarded with contempt by the ecclesiastical and political powers, but more often treated with savage and pitiless persecution, it continued to spread, fed as it was by the excesses and the essential infidelity of ecclesiasticism and the injustice which masqueraded under the cloak of authority. The wholesale attack upon the clergy who were tainted with their greed for gold, their love of ease, and the laxity of their lives, possessed sufficient truth to become current to such an extent that the priesthood found itself shorn in a great measure of its influence over the ploughman and the weaver, who had for generations accepted without question that which came to them from the cloak and the cowl of the church.

Another peculiarity of this period, which it is interesting to note is usually present in times of intellectual and moral awak-

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* "History of the English People," by John Richard Green, M. A.

ening, was the widespread interest in astrology, magic, and occult phenomena. Green notes the prevalence of this "darkest superstition" with much the same spirit of commiseration as that displayed by the early theological assailant of the theory of evolution, who discussed the "degrading, absurd, and atheistic theory as something almost too puerile to be seriously considered." Without doubt phenomena which transcended the knowledge of the people were frequently magnified, and at such times ready credence was given to many absurd stories and preposterous claims, and yet that does not justify a modern scholar in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, after the demonstration of hypnotism and the well authenticated psychical phenomena which form a distinct chapter in the history of the scientific advance, to dismiss as though wholly baseless the widespread interest and belief in supernormal phenomena and occultism, which characterized this wonderful age.

The accession of Henry VII in 1485 ended the Wars of the Roses, but it also marked further progress in the despotism of the crown. This king was sordid and thrifty, cunning and cruel, and yet it was during his reign that England entered upon her career of commercial and material greatness; by a treaty with the Netherlands in 1496 free exchange between the countries was established; by a treaty with Denmark the Baltic was opened to the English. The king furthermore encouraged maritime discoveries, and it was under his patronage that the Venetian Sebastian Gabotto, better known as Cabot, discovered Newfoundland and carried the flag of Great Britain to the Atlantic coast of the North American Continent. The king, moreover, encouraged national industry, and induced many skilled Flemish workmen to settle in England.

On the other hand: "He caused places at court, and even in the church, to be purchased. He gave bishoprics only for ready money, and sold his pardons to the guilty. During his reign parliament was rarely convoked. Forced loans, disguised under the name of benevolence; arbitrary confiscations, proscriptions, barbarous and unjust measures, which the civil war alone had brought about, acquired a sort of legality by the adherence or the silence of the servile houses. Parliament recognized the Star Chamber, a new tribunal under an ancient name, whose members were entirely devoted to the king, and which became one of the most docile instruments and most redoubtable weapons of absolute power. The Star Chamber in effect multiplied the cases which were withdrawn from any connection with a jury and which put at the discretion of the agents of the king the fortunes and life of all whom the king wished to strike."*

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* Jean Victor Duruy in "History of Modern Times."

Such, in brief, are some of the general aspects of social and political conditions in England, at the time when the author of "Utopia" entered the arena of active life. The striking contrasts, the strong lights and deep shadows of the century of Sir Thomas More will, however, be more clearly revealed when we come to note more closely the multitudinous forces at work, the factors which must be considered, and the conditions of the people as revealed by a more intimate knowledge of these facts, during the life of More. Like all revolutionary or transition periods, it was a time characterized by wonderful activity, undaunted hope and far-reaching misery.

One of the brighter aspects of the age was the notable intellectual awakening. It was a period of unrest for the brain of man. Profound moral, spiritual, and intellectual agitation was everywhere visible. It was an age when daring ideas were conceived and great thoughts were born. It was this century which laid the solid foundation for the golden age of Elizabethan literature. And among the decisive and influential factors which contributed to the quickening of intellectual life among the English people, the work of William Caxton is entitled to special consideration. It was in 1476 that Caxton, who had spent more than a quarter of a century in Flanders, established a printing press in London. He was a thrifty business man, but he also possessed a passion for literature, rarely found among those who understand how to drive a shrewd bargain. No sooner had he established a business which assured him a livelihood by printing, supplying priests and preachers with sermon books and theological works, and knights and barons with "joyous and pleasant histories of chivalry," than he entered upon his labor of love by publishing the works of Chaucer and other English poets; these were followed by numerous works in prose and many important translations made by Caxton; more than four thousand pages which he published were translations which the aged printer had made. The works issued from the Caxton press "nourished the imagination of England and supplied poet after poet with fine subjects for work or fine frames for their subjects." *

It is impossible to measure the influence of this tireless worker, whose great service to English literature has never received the appreciation it merits, and it is also difficult for us to appreciate the magnitude of the difficulties under which the scholar-printer labored. The English language at this time was undergoing a rapid transition, and the dialect spoken in the various counties or shires varied in so marked a degree as to render the speech of one section of the island unintelligible to

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* Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, M. A.

the common people in a county some miles distant. Even among the more scholarly there were two rival schools, one representing the "French affectation," the other "English pedantry." In noticing this important and critical moment in the history of English literature, Mr. Green observes:

"It was a moment when the character of our literary tongue was being settled, and it is curious to see in his own words the struggle over it which was going on in Caxton's time. 'Some honest and great clerks have been with me and desired me to write the most curious terms that I could find'; on the other hand, 'some gentlemen of late blamed me, saying that in my translations I had over many curious terms which could not be understood of common people, and desired me to use old and homely terms in my translations. Fain would I please every man,' comments the good-humored printer, but his sturdy sense saved him alike from the temptations of the court and the schools. His own taste pointed to English, but 'to the common terms that he daily used' rather than to the English of his antiquarian advisers. 'I took an old book and read therein, and certainly the English was so rude and broad I could not well understand it,' while the Old-English charters which the Abbot of Westminster lent as models from the archives of his house seemed 'more like to Dutch than to English.' To adopt current phraseology, however, was by no means easy at a time when even the speech of common talk was in a state of *rapid flux*. '*Our language now used varieth far from that which was used and spoken when I was born.*'"

The influence of the new learning upon many master brains among English thinkers of this period constituted another major factor in the intellectual awakening of this century. Grocyn, Linacre, Sir Thomas More, Colet, William Lilly, and Erasmus, who though a foreigner, spent much time in England and contributed very materially to the intellectual and religious awakening of this era, Archbishop Warham, and other chosen spirits, who were endowed with vigorous intellects swayed by strong moral impulses and imbued with the strange spell of this wonderful age, became moulders of thought, and in a very real way contributed toward forming the opinions of the English-speaking world.

King Henry VIII during the early years of his reign also greatly aided the intellectual movement by his liberal patronage of art and letters; and it should always be remembered to the credit of this king, whose reputation is so darkly stained, that his encouragement of literature arose from a sincere love of learning rather than a shallow desire to outshine his brother monarchs in his patronage of art and letters. On this point one of the most careful English scholars of our time observes:

"Much of the progress of prose was due to the patronage of the young king. It was the king who asked Lord Berners to translate 'Froissart,' a book which in 1523 made a landmark in our tongue. It was the king who supported Sir Thomas Elyot in his effort to improve education, and encouraged him to write books (1531–46) in the vulgar tongue that he might please his countrymen. It was the king who made Leland, our first English writer on antiquarian subjects, the 'King's antiquary,' 1533. It was the King to whom Roger Ascham dedicated his first work, and who sent him abroad to pursue his studies. This book, the 'Toxophilus, or the School of Shooting,' 1545, was written for the pleasure of the yeomen and gentlemen of England in their own tongue." *

William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament into the English tongue in the year 1525 was a most important work in its influence upon the English tongue, as "it fixed the standard English once for all, and brought it finally into every English home. Tyndale held fast to pure English. In his two volumes of political tracts there are only twelve Teutonic words which are now obsolete."

Turning from a view of the intellectual side to a contemplation of the condition of the masses, we find that this century was an essentially tragic one for the poor man. Feudalism, as has been intimated, was rapidly giving place to a new social order, and as a result the retainers and the hosts of humble laborers who had long been a part of the feudal organism — dependents upon the various noble houses — were cast adrift. Large areas of farming lands were being turned into pastures for sheep, as wool growing was less expensive and more remunerative than farming. The very poor were the prey of the landlord and capitalist.

The courts were so solicitous for the interests of the rich that rigid statutes were reënacted against the laborers, which arbitrarily fixed the maximum scale of prices which might be paid. The lawful wage price varied in the different seasons, but the average for the year was 5½ pence (thirteen cents) per day for skilled workmen among such trades as glaziers, carpenters, bricklayers and plumbers. The wages fixed for common workmen averaged 3½ pence (seven cents) per day. No provisions were made for the old, sick, or decrepit. Evictions were very common. Multitudes were being reduced every year to beggary, and the beggars were liable to imprisonment under a cruel statute against vagrants. In all periods characterized by heartlessness and a selfish unconcern for others, we find a low value

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* Rev. Stopford A. Brooke.

placed on human life, and the essential savagery of this time is nowhere more vividly illustrated than in the wholesale execution of thieves. It was no uncommon thing for a score of thieves to be hanged from a single gallows.

Nowhere do we find a more graphic or trustworthy picture of social and economic conditions of this period than in the first book of Utopia, which, it will be remembered, was written by Sir Thomas More for the purpose of calling the attention of Henry VIII to the pitiable conditions of the masses, and at the same time pointing out a wiser, purer, and more humane method of dealing with serious social problems than the prevailing system. In this work, under the mask of an imaginary conversation carried on by a learned traveller and other guests in the house of Cardinal Morton, More boldly depicts prevailing conditions. He represents a lawyer present who, after the manner of conventionalists, praised "the straight and rigorous justice which was executed upon felons"; these, he explained, were being hanged in twenties upon huge gallows erected to accommodate a score of victims. This conservative upholder of the sanctity of inhuman laws, however, expressed himself at a loss to understand how, in the presence of such rigorous statutes and the general enforcement of the same, thieves multiplied on every hand.

Then Sir Thomas More puts into the mouth of Raphael Hythlody his views concerning the cause of the theft and the injustice of the punishment, from which we incidentally gain an insight into social conditions. He assures the prophet of conventionalism that there is no punishment so terrible that it will keep "them from stealing which have no other craft whereby to get their living; therefore" he continues, "on this point not you only, but also the most part of the world, be like evil schoolmasters, which be readier to beat than to teach their scholars. For great and horrible punishments be appointed for thieves, whereas, much rather provision should have been made that there were some means whereby they might get their living so that no man should be driven to this extreme necessity — first to steal and then to die."

He then points out how numbers who "have come home from the wars, maimed and lamed, are no longer able to ply their old trades, yet they must eat in order to live." A second class who had been the retainers of lords and noblemen, and who had never learned a trade, being overtaken by sickness, age, or through the changing events of the transition period in which they lived, suddenly found themselves without home, food, or means of a livelihood, and were confronted by the stern alternatives to "starve to death" or to "manfully play the thief" for no man would hire them, as the market was glutted with skilled workmen. The misery incident to the mania for sheep raising is next alluded to as a fruitful cause of the increase of the homeless and destitute.

After drawing a very graphic picture of the transformation by which multitudinous small farms were being changed into vast grazing areas, Sir Thomas More continues: "Therefore, that one covetous and insatiable cormorant may compass about and enclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else by cunning and fraud or by violent oppression they be put besides it, or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied that they be compelled to sell all: by one means, therefore, or by another, by hook or by crook, they must needs depart away, poor wretched souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, and woeful mothers with their young babes. Away they trudge, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their household stuff they are forced to sell for a pittance, and when they have wandered abroad till that is spent, what can they then do but steal and be hanged, or beg and be cast into prison as vagabonds because they work not when no man will give them work though they ever so willingly proffer themselves thereto. . . . *Thus the unreasonable conclusion of a few hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of the Island in the which thing the chief felicity of the realm did consist.*"

Our author next points out how prostitution, drinking, and gambling were rapidly increasing in the selfish and brutal atmosphere engendered by such a state of things after which he makes an impassioned appeal for more just conditions. "Cast out," he exclaims, "these pernicious abominations; make a law that they who pluck down farms and towns of husbandry shall replace them, or else surrender the possession thereof to such as will go to the cost of building them anew. Suffer not these rich men to buy up all, to engross and forestall and *with their monopoly to keep the market alone as pleases them.*"

A further glimpse is given of the criminal arrogance and crushing injustice of capitalism at that time in these striking words, which it must be remembered were not written after the age had passed, nor were they the utterance of an irresponsible iconoclast. On the other hand they were the judicial statements made by one of England's foremost barristers and her most enlightened statesman to the crown; hence, they may be regarded as authoritative. "The rich men," observes Sir Thomas More, "*not only by private fraud, but also by common laws*, do every day pluck and snatch away from the poor some part of their daily living. Therefore, when I consider and weigh in my mind these commonwealths which nowadays do flourish, *I perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and title of the Commonwealth.* They invent and devise all means and crafts — first how to keep safely without fear of losing that which they have unjustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the work and labor of the poor for as little money as may be."

The descriptive lines of Sir Thomas More are exceedingly valuable, giving as they do a vivid picture of the pitiable conditions of the poor during this age, and also affording a valuable illustration of the way the masses suffer during a transition period, before they come to realize that their high and sacred duty is found in overthrowing the demoralizing and criminal conditions by which a few are enabled to crush the many, while society is debased throughout all its ramifications.

Another element which contributed greatly to the distress of the poor during the reigns of the Tudors was the excessive taxation. This was probably at no time more crushing in its effect than during the early years of the reign of Henry VIII, when Wolsey was in his glory and while the king was squandering vast sums in unfortunate experiments at war and in wicked extravagance, indulged in for the purpose of dazzling neighboring kings and princes with his wealth and power. To replenish the exhausted treasury it was found necessary to levy an income tax of sixpence on the pound, "extending even to the wage of the wretched agricultural laborer in order to secure the sum demanded. This terrible tax was twice repeated in one year."

Wolsey was then prime minister, and this able though unscrupulous statesman and prelate was merciless in his exactions. He was inordinately ambitious. It was not enough for him to be prince of the church and prime minister of England — he coveted the papal chair; but, to secure this prize it was necessary that he amass vast sums of money. He must also make friends of the Emperor Charles V and King Francis I while continuing to hold sway over the mind of Henry. A less daring soul never would have dreamed of accomplishing such a feat; a more keen-sighted man would have dismissed it as too visionary to be seriously considered. But with the papal chair ever before him, Wolsey relentlessly oppressed the people that he might humor his king and furnish him with all the money he desired to squander on empty show, not forgetting for a moment to gather a goodly fortune for the furtherance of his private aims when the propitious moment should arrive. These were indeed tragic days for the poor.

Froude in his own inimitable way thus depicts the fall of

Wolsey: "But the time for reckoning at length was arrived; slowly the hand had crawled along the dial plate — slowly as if the event would never come; and wrong was heaped on wrong, and oppression cried and it seemed as if no ear heard its voice, till the measure of the circle was at length fulfilled — the finger touched the hour, and as the stroke of the great hammer rang out above the nation, in an instant the great fabric of iniquity was shivered into ruins."

As might be imagined, with such a man as Wolsey at the head of spiritual affairs as well as prime minister of the realm, and with the church strong and wealthy, true religion languished, while the pharisaism and dogmatism which always prosper during the decadence of the religious spirit increased. In a reply to a monk who had assailed the writings of Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, than whom there was no more sincere or devoted Catholic in the realm, thus refers to the monks throughout England: "There are multitudes enough who would be afraid that the Devil would come upon them and take them alive to Hell, if forsooth, they were to set aside their usual garb, *whom nothing can move when they are grasping at money.* Are there only a few, think you, who would deem it a crime to be expiated with many tears, if they were to omit a line in their hourly prayers, and yet have no fearful scruples at all when they profane themselves with the worst and most infamous lives?" More then describes a case which came under his personal observation, where the head of a convent employed assassins to commit a crime for him. All the guilty parties were at length overtaken by the law, and the assassins described how they appeased the Holy Virgin "by a salutation on their bended knees," after which with clear conscience they set about to perpetrate the crime for which they had been hired by the "religious man."

We must not, however, regard Cardinal Wolsey as the author of these deplorable conditions; the causes of corruption had for generations been eating into the religious and secular life of the English people. Green, in speaking of the period which immediately preceded the century of Sir Thomas More, makes this general observation on the condition of religion throughout Europe "Pope and king, bishop and noble, vied with each other in greed, in self-seeking, in lust, in faithlessness, in a pitiless cruelty. It is this moral degradation that flings so dark a shadow over the Wars of the Roses. From no period in our annals do we turn with such weariness and disgust."

But while these deplorable conditions prevailed to a great extent throughout the Church in England, it was also at this time that two tremendous protests were made; one came through the apostles of the new learning, the other through the popular reformation inaugurated on the continent. This second factor in the revolution of public thought, however, did not gain much foothold for many years, but after it once aroused the mind of the masses, it became a great power which the stake and the dungeon were powerless to overcome. It was in the spring time of the revolution born of the new learning that Colet called down upon his head the anathemas of conventional ecclesiastics by his able and common-sense exposition of the New Testament; and it was at this time also that he excited the derision of the defenders of the barbarous old methods of teaching, by establishing the Latin grammar school of St. Paul for the education of boys in a humane manner. The foundation of this school was a memorable event in the educational history of England. It was presided over by William Lylye, the eminent grammarian, and may be said to have laid the foundation for a broad common or popular education; it was the seed germ of which the magnificent public school system of our day and land is the opening flower. The experiment proved immediately successful, so much so that between the year 1500 and the rise of the reformation in England, at least a score of similar schools had been established on the Island.

It will be seen that this was a century of high lights and deep shadows, a century of wild, tumultuous hope and daring thought, of sullen discontent and pitiful suffering. It was a time of startling contrasts, as are all great transition periods, and amid the strife and suffering, the hope and despair which passed throughout life we find the foundations for glorious achievements being securely laid, and from the brain of great prophet-souls we behold luminous thought-children leaping forth, destined to prove torch-bearers for the pioneers of progress in the generations which are to follow.

A MODERN PHARISEE'S PRAYER.

BY FANNY L. FANCHER.

THE drudgery I would not do,
  O Lord, assign to others!
There's much to do of dirty work —
  It will not hurt my brothers!
For they have not such soul refined,
  Nor slender milk-white hand;
I'd use my brilliant brain — not brawn,
  And thus possess the land!

A "railroad king," or "merchant prince,"
  I'm fitted for, I trow;
Then let my brothers serve me well
  With sweat upon their brow.
'Tis healthful for them, Lord, to dig
  And delve, in grimy soil —
The sweetest rest they sure will win
  With unremitting toil!

And when at last "Thy kingdom" comes,
  For which, devout, we've prayed,
Appoint me to some upper place,
  In royal robes arrayed;
For my hard-working brain, dear Lord,
  Will earn sweet, promised rest
Above my brothers (whom I love),
  In mansions of the Blest!

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

A SKETCH WRITTEN FOR A PURPOSE.

BY JOHN DAVIS.

CHAPTER IV.

Napoleon's Financial System and Methods.

Lanfrey, in his history, says: "Napoleon has for the most part had no judgment passed upon him but that either of profound hatred or of profound attachment." While that is a good reason for the diversity of opinions among writers, there is a greater one. No problem can be correctly and definitively solved unless all the elements necessary to its solution are taken into the account. Napoleon's career was that of a military hero. His means of warfare were the sword and the purse, each as important as the other. The sword arm of his power and his genius for wielding it have been treated exhaustively from every possible point of view; on the other hand, his financial arm has been mentioned by few, incidentally and partially described by a smaller number, and exhaustively discussed by none.

Every great and prolonged war in modern times has had its financial policy, adopted usually under stress of circumstances. The financial policy of the American revolution was a paper system, with all possible conditions against its success except the patriotism and indomitable perseverance of an intrepid and liberty-loving people. Coin had failed and could not be had; a substitute had to be provided or the colonies would be obliged to submit hopelessly to the utmost rigor of British tyranny. Paper bills were issued and people were asked or ordered to receive and use them as money. They were issued by a convention of colonial delegates which had no authority to issue money or to *order* anything. There was no coin to redeem the bills. They were to take the place of coin. They could not be redeemed in the revenues of the government, because there were at that time neither government nor revenues. They were not legal tender, because there was no authority competent to pass an act of general legal tender. The bills were rudely executed and easily counterfeited; and they *were* *counterfeited* in shipload quantities by the British government, in order to break down the American finances and thus to defeat the colonies. The continental currency of our American revolution was founded on nothing but patriotism! Yet, such as it was, it gave to us our American liberties. In 1820 Mr. Albert Gallatin said that "It carried us through five of the most perilous years of the war, and it cannot be denied that it saved the country." Many writers speak of that currency in derision as a "failure"! It did not fail! *It died on the battlefield* as patriotic men died, while achieving our liberties. It died heroically, in the last ditch, drowned by an overwhelming flood of counterfeits manufactured in London!

The French revolution had its system of finance. Having no coin, the revolutionary convention following our example in America, issued paper bills with no means of coin redemption or of redemption by receivability in the public revenues. They were issued to supply the place of both coin and revenues. Like the American currency they were founded on patriotism only; and being rudely executed they were, like the American currency, counterfeited in immense quantities by the British government, in order to destroy the French finances and defeat the revolution. The French assignats were not a failure. They sustained the people who overthrew the monarchy; they equipped and paid the republican armies while defending the liberties of France; and they were the easy and effective means of subdividing the public domain into homes for the people. Many volumes have been written on the French revolutionary wars, discussing the sword and its achievements, while the financial arm is merely mentioned with a sneer, and dashed aside as a failure. The French assignats, like the American currency, *died on the field of battle,* after placing the wheels of the revolution on firm ground so that they could not roll backward. Like our continental currency they were overwhelmed and drowned by the floods of counterfeits sent over from London!

During the French revolutionary wars coin failed in England, and the British government was compelled to adopt a substitute. Paper bills were issued and made practically a legal tender. Being well executed, they were not counterfeited, and they remained good money without coin redemption or material depreciation for a period of twenty-five years. Leading British writers tell us that "Pitt's paper money" in that supreme crisis prevented England from becoming "a province of France."

In all the examples given the finances were derived from the printing-press, and to the extent of its proper management each system was a success, helping the people to bear the burdens of taxation. These are the moneys of civilization. They rest on *science, art, and law* for their creation, execution, and circulation; and when properly created and administered, they are the best and safest of all forms of money. They should be receivable for the public revenues and be lawful money in all payments; their circulation must be limited in reasonable proportion to the revenues collected; and, above all, they must be executed in a style of art beyond the skill of the counterfeiters, as are the present American, French, and British currencies, otherwise the counterfeiters will inflate the currency to the point of worthlessness, as they did the continental currency of this country and the assignats of France.

Napoleon was a child of the past, a meteor from the dark ages, darting across the sky of the present. His career was an attack of the savagery of the eleventh century upon the coming civilization of the nineteenth. It was a giant effort of the behemoth of darkness to roll back into paganism and slavery the wheels of an enlightened Christian progress, and to crush out of existence the hopeful aspirations of humanity. His models of glory, his methods, and his *finances* were of the past. He checked and hindered, but he did not hurl back the future.

The historians tell us that he had a most complete military education; the statement is but half true. He called himself an "*architect of battles*"; that was true, in the superlative degree. In all that pertained to that part of war which overcomes an enemy in the field, known as the sword power, Napoleon was a profound scholar, and, by nature, a transcendent military genius. As a savage, he delighted in his vocation and called it "the most honorable of callings." He combined in himself all the attributes of savagery, and all the science, wisdom, and intellectual genius of modern warfare. These statements are hardly disputed by reasonable men. He was proud of his name, *Napoleon*, which signifies "*the lion of the desert*." But in matters of the purse, he was an untaught barbarian. He was, in matters of finance, only a bungler. As his war currency he chose the money of the past. In this he was unlike the American colonies whose infant finances beat English gold and gave us our American liberties; he was unlike the revolution in his own country, whose wheels he tried so hard to roll back into the ruts of an imperial despotism; unlike England, whose paper notes circulated as money in all parts of the British empire and on the continent, from the Elbe to Kamchatka and the wall of China; and unlike Russia, whose paper roubles he counterfeited as a last resort when his coin system had failed.

Napoleon adopted intrinsic money as the basis of his war finances. Gold and silver are products of nature and commodities of commerce, of fluctuating values. Man cannot create them. Napoleon had neither gold nor silver, and the method of obtaining them was the "gordian knot" which he must untie. Like the pagan Alexander, whom he so much admired, he severed the knot with his sword. In other words, Napoleon seized the money of others *by force*. Having chosen the money of barbarism, he used the methods of savagery to obtain it.

The details of Napoleon's financial record are almost infinite. I shall stop within the facts of reliable history. So important a matter, which has been so little discussed, and is so startling and brutal when exposed, ought to be amply illustrated. He was the sworn foe of all forms of paper money, and often said he would stop the pay of his troops rather than use it. He regarded it as "the greatest scourge of nations, and as being in morals what the plague is in the physical order." That is the voice of barbarism, the voice of the eleventh century uttered in the early dawn of the nineteenth. Yet he was glad to use "the republican paper" of the revolution until by his victories he was able to live upon others by means of military brigandage. Lanfrey, in his "History of Napoleon" (vol. i, p. 62), gives us his earliest utterance as to his financial methods, as he enters upon the invasion of Italy:

> Soldiers, you are hungry and nearly naked. The government owes you much; it can do nothing for you. Your patience and courage do you honor, but cannot procure you either profit or glory. I am come to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world. There you will find rich provinces and great towns. There you will find glory, honor, and *riches*. Soldiers of Italy, can your courage fail you?

The historian then adds: "These seductive promises, so often afterwards repeated in Bonaparte's proclamations, of fortune and abundance, of victory for conquest and no longer for liberty, were heard for the first time."

It was the voice of a freebooter announcing his favorite method of sustaining his financial policy, inherited by Napoleon from the piracy of the Mediterranean. The same writer (vol. i, p. 70) quotes from one of Napoleon's letters to the French Directory:

> I shall levy some millions on the Duke of Parma; he will propose terms of peace; do not be in a hurry to accept them, so as to give me time to make him pay the expenses of the campaign.

The claim against Genoa was thought to be large when reckoned at three million francs, but as the power of the victor increased, the demand grew to fifteen millions. The common soldiers and even the officers were not slow to follow the example and announced policy of their general. Lanfrey (vol. i, p. 70) says:

> This spirit of cupidity, this thirst for gain which he had so imprudently aroused in the army in order to create in it a taste for great enterprises, expressed itself in acts of spoliation, pillage, and violence, with such unbridled passion that he was at first appalled at his own work. At Ceva, at St. Michel, and at Mondovi the soldiers committed such excesses that, to use Bonaparte's own expression, "they made him blush to be a man."

But this is merely preliminary and incidental. Alison's "History of Europe" (vol. vii, p. 100) states the general fact of Napoleon's financial methods as follows:

> The victories of Ulm and Austerlitz provided the means of solving the [financial] difficulty. From the moment the grand army crossed the Rhine, it was fed, clothed, lodged, and paid at the expense of Germany. On the 18th of November, an edict of the emperor directed the transmission of all funds to the army of the North to cease, and on the 18th of December a similar order was given in regard to the army of Italy. Thus the three principal armies of the empire ceased to be any longer a charge upon its finances, and the tributary and conquered states bore the burden of the greater part of that enormous military force by which they were overawed or retained in subjection. This system continued without intermission during the whole remainder of the reign of Napoleon.

That was the plan of the "honest-money" man for raising revenue. All rights of property were as much violated as they had been by the revolutionists, and all the rules of honorable warfare were set aside as much as they had been by the English counterfeiters of the French money.

That historical statement is a general one. Now let us look at some special cases. I will begin with Germany. When Napoleon's army crossed the Rhine in 1796, it was destitute of everything, especially money. He immediately put in practice his established policy and oppressed the vanquished people with "the most enormous contributions." The lesser German states, desiring to take no part in the war, "purchased neutrality by the heaviest sacrifices." The duke of Wurtemburg was assessed 12,000,000 francs in money, 5,000 oxen, 150,000 quintals of wheat, and 100,000 pairs of shoes. Franconia was assessed 8,000,000 francs in money and 6,000 horses. Exactions were also made on

Frankfort, Wurzburg, Bamberg, Nuremburg, and all the towns through which they passed, amounting in all to 25,000,000 francs in money, 12,000 horses, 12,000 oxen, 500,000 quintals of wheat, and 200,000 pairs of shoes. These exactions were made on a neutral, unoffending people by the great champion of "honest money," proclaiming that he brought "war to the palace and peace to the cottage."

When Napoleon's army marched into Parma in 1796, he was not at war with the Duke of Parma, but he obliged him to pay 2,000,000 francs in silver, and to furnish 1,600 artillery horses, besides great supplies of corn and provisions and "twenty of his best paintings," one of which was valued at a million francs. On the approach of the French into the papal territories, the Vatican sent an envoy with offers of surrender and submission. The surrender stipulated that the Pope should pay to Napoleon 34,700,000 francs, of which 24,500,000 were in hard cash. At Leghorn, he sent Murat, who seized the private property of some English merchants, which he "sold for twelve million francs for the use of the army." This was in open violation of all the usages of war, "which hitherto had respected private property on land." This outrage was the more flagrant because it was perpetrated on "the territories of a neutral power, the Grand Duke of Tuscany."

For a long time our heroic financier of the eleventh century had his mind on Venice as a particularly rich spot to be captured, and at the first opportunity he invaded the Venetian territories. I will let him tell the story in his own words. In a letter to the French Directory (Alison, vol. iv, p. 85), he says:

> I have seized the citadel of Verona, armed it with the Venetian cannon, and summoned the senate to dissolve its armaments. Venice has already furnished three millions for the service of the army; but in order to extract some more out of it, I have found myself under the necessity of assuming a menacing tone toward their commissaries, of exaggerating the assassinations committed on our troops, of complaining bitterly of their armaments, and by these means I compel them, in order to appease my wrath, to furnish whatever I desire.

Venice was friendly to France, and the Venetians were jubilant at first when the French army arrived in the city. But their joy was soon dissipated. The first act of spoliation was to seize upon the bank and to capture a special deposit there of 1,800,000 francs belonging to the Duke of Modena. A contribution was levied on the city of three million francs in money, three millions' worth in naval stores, and the surrender of three ships of the line and two frigates, besides a large collection of splendid works of art, including the celebrated bronze horses which have become famous in the histories of Corinth, Constantinople, Venice, and France. These spoliations were openly demanded, but there was a secret treaty by which more were made. Writing to the French Directory, May 16, 1797 (Alison, vol. iv, p. 350), Napoleon said:

> You will receive herewith the treaty which I have concluded with the republic of Venice, in virtue of which General Baraguay d'Hilliers, with 16,000 men, has taken possession of the city. I have had several objects in view in concluding this treaty. (1) To enter into the city without difficulty, and to be in a situation to extract from it whatever we desire under pretense of executing the secret articles. (2) To be in a situation, if the treaty with the emperor [of Austria] should not finally be ratified, to apply to our purposes all the resources of the city. (3) To avoid every species of odium in violating the preliminaries relative to the Venetian territory, and at the same time to gain pretexts which may facilitate their execution.

Again, Napoleon, writing to the Directory, May 25, 1797, said:

> Venice must fall to those to whom we give the Italian continent, but meanwhile we will take its vessels, strip its arsenals, destroy its bank, and keep Corfu and Ancona.

On June 13 he wrote to General d'Hilliers telling him to "take possession of everything." And he especially named "all the Venetian vessels and all the naval stores for the use of Toulon." These orders were strictly obeyed, and then Napoleon assigned away this friendly republic to the aristocratic power of Austria. No blacker page of perfidy can be found in history.

The invasion of Italy was mainly for financial reasons, for the purposes of pillage and the wholesale spoliation of the wealth of the country. After Italy had been nearly exhausted, and the finances of France were again in need of recuperation, Napoleon commenced scanning the horizon for new fields to conquer. The invasion of new territory for the purpose of brigandage was the only financial method he knew. England was suggested by the Directory, but Napoleon preferred Egypt. In that direction victories would be easier and cheaper, and, if successful, he might be able to proceed thence to the rich treasuries of Asia. The prospect dazzled and intoxicated his active imagination, and the invasion of Egypt was resolved upon. Lanfrey (vol. i, p. 263), tells us the situation at that time:

> One thing only retarded the execution of these projects, and that was want of money. Since the treasury was no longer nourished by the millions from Italy, our finances had fallen into their old confu-

sion, and this penury paralyzed everything. The government met the want by the occupation of Rome and the invasion of Switzerland.

Berthier was sent to Rome to fill the military chest for home use; and Brune, in Berne, captured sixteen millions in specie, seven millions in arms and ammunition, and eighteen millions in stores and supplies. The financial situation being thus relieved, Napoleon prepared at once to sail for Egypt. Lanfrey (vol. i, p. 270) says:

> This magnificent armament comprised thirteen ships of the line, fourteen frigates, seventy-two corvettes; the total number amounting to nearly five hundred vessels of all kinds, conveying twenty-five thousand soldiers and ten thousand sailors.

Before starting Napoleon announced to his soldiers his policy: "*I promise each soldier on his return from this expedition a sum sufficient to purchase six acres of land.*"

That speech sufficiently reveals the financial intention of the expedition. It was merely a piratical foray into the territories of a friendly power for the purpose of pillage and military brigandage. The first exploit after starting confirms this impression and removes every lingering doubt. On arriving at the island of Malta, Napoleon landed a force and took possession of the undefended fortress. The booty found there consisted of twelve hundred pieces of cannon, ten thousand pounds of powder, two ships of war, a frigate, four galleys, forty thousand muskets, all the treasure of the Knights of St. John (the accumulation of ages), and the silver plate of all the churches, palaces, and hospitals. All of this property and treasure fell into the hands of Napoleon, and he organized the place under a French garrison.

In Egypt he met in battle only the Mameluke horsemen. With his artillery and veteran infantry his victories were cheap and easy. In the battle of the Pyramids two thousand Mamelukes were slain or drowned in the river. They were the nobility and rich men of the country, carrying on their persons considerable sums of money. On discovering this fact the French soldiers stripped and robbed the dead, and several days were spent fishing the bodies from the river, on each of which was found "a sum of five or six hundred louis in gold." "It is necessary," says Lanfrey (vol. i, p. 297), "to be acquainted with and weigh all these details, in order to know exactly in what the glory of a conqueror consists."

But, in the aggregate, the expedition to Egypt was not a financial success. The French fleet was destroyed by the English at the battle of Aboukir; the army melted away by disease and battle; the French failed at the siege of Acre;

and Napoleon returned to France as a fugitive, leaving his army under Kléber to survive or perish as best it could.

Another expedition was organized about two years later (1801) against the island of St. Domingo, partly for financial and partly for political purposes. The reader of history will remember that the French republican assembly, early in the progress of the revolution, abolished slavery in the French West Indian colony of St. Domingo, and made the manumitted blacks citizens of the French republic. The black citizens gladly accepted their new position, adopted a constitution and regular government, and held the country against all invaders, as a colony of France. When Napoleon came into power he resolved to reënslave the blacks. In order to do this he sent an immense force under his brother-in-law, General Leclerc. In that particular, however, the expedition was a failure. The blacks and the climate destroyed the French army. Leclerc was taken home in a coffin, and the liberty-loving people of St. Domingo stood triumphant on the graves of fifty thousand invading Frenchmen. But the expedition was not an *entire* failure. Napoleon tells his own story on the subject nearest his heart. Writing from Paris, March 21, 1802, to his brother Joseph (Confidential Correspondence, vol. i, p. 63), he said:

> I have just received letters from St. Domingo, dated the 20th February; they contain good news. Port Republican has been taken, with all its forts, without burning anything. They have taken Toussaint's military chest; it contained 2,500,000 francs. The ports of De la Paix and St. Domingo are occupied. The Spanish party has submitted, and on the 29th, General Leclerc had gone to attack Toussaint, who held out with 7,000 or 8,000 men.

This "Touissant" was General Toussaint L'Ouverture, governor of the island. After the close of the war Toussaint spoke of the military robberies of his country (Autobiography, p. 323) as follows:

> When Leclerc arrived, he found 3,500,000 francs in the public funds. When I returned to Cayes, after the departure of General Regaud, the treasury was empty; General Leclerc found three millions there; he found proportionate sums in all the private depositaries of the island.

Here we see the great Napoleon, "the champion of liberty," sending an army of 50,000 men to reinsate slavery in a colony of the French republic, and then, as an "honest-money" man, robbing the poor barefooted and half-naked heroes of liberty of their last franc! And, afterward, in time of peace, the black general was captured, carried to Europe, and by order of Napoleon, tortured to death in a dungeon, with cold and hunger, to make him tell if he had any hidden treasures. The expedition to St. Domingo was the act of a pirate or brigand of the middle ages, entirely in line with the origin and education of the projector, who gloried in his savage name, "the lion of the desert."

When contemplating the invasion of a country against which he had no shadow of grievance, Napoleon first considered its available wealth which might be appropriated; and if deceived in ultimate results, he was not slow to make complaint. He was deceived in Egypt. He said it was a fertile country, rich in the products of the soil, but without money, "not even enough to pay my troops." In Russia, after the burning of Moscow, he complained bitterly that there would now be no one "to pay the expenses of his campaign." On the capture of Vienna, in 1805, Napoleon levied a contribution of 100,000,000 francs in money, 2,000 pieces of artillery, 100,000 muskets, 600,000 quintals of powder, 600,000 balls, and 160,000 bombs. The day after the battle of Jena, he levied a contribution on Saxony and Prussia of 159,000,000 francs, and the rapacious French agents greatly increased the odium of the burden by their manner of collection. Saxony was so overwhelmed that she bitterly lamented her alliance with France. This was the Napoleonic policy among his friends, treating them even worse sometimes than enemies. The following is a letter to his brother Joseph (Conf. Cor., p. 70), which is easily understood:

> Schonbrunn, Nov. 15, 1805.
>
> I know that a contribution of 400,000 has been imposed on the Austrian portion of Verona. I intend to make the generals and officers who serve me well so rich that they will have no pretext for dishonoring by their cupidity the noblest of all professions, and losing the respect of their soldiers.

This language sounds like the justification of train-robbing by Jesse James or the Reno brothers, but it is not. It comes from the boss champion of "honest money," who was opposed to all forms of paper. On February 27, 1806, he wrote again to Joseph from Paris, as follows:

> Disarm Naples and levy a contribution upon the town; it will be easily paid. . . . Make your army rich, but do not let them rob.

About a week later he wrote again:

> Paris, March 6, 1806.
>
> The least that the conquest of Naples must do for you is to afford supplies to your army of 40,000 men. Lay a contribution of thirty millions on the whole kingdom. The kingdom of Naples is not exhausted; you can always get money. . . . Naples, even without Sicily, ought to give 100,000,000.

Napoleon was very urgent in matters of finance, and two days later he wrote again:

Paris, March 8, 1806.

> Pay well your army, remount well your cavalry and your trains; have shoes and clothes made. This cannot be done without money. As for me, it would be too absurd if the conquest of Naples did not put my army at its ease. . . . At Vienna, where there was supposed to not be a farthing, and they hoped that I would not levy a contribution, a few days after my arrival I levied 100,000,000; it was thought very reasonable.

Writing to Joseph respecting the port of Naples, April 11, 1806, Napoleon said:

> Have a skilful search made into the books of the merchants who have transactions in money for the Russians and Ionians, and seize that money. With a little address this operation ought to yield you several millions.

That was a clear violation of the rules of war, meddling with private property. But it was probably necessary to prevent dishonor to "the noblest of all professions."

Again, Napoleon writes:

St. Cloud, July 13, 1806.

> The kingdom of Italy yields me 140,000,000 of francs, Milanese; the kingdom of Naples and of Sicily should yield you as much; you cannot do with less. . . . If you govern your country with vigor, and raise from it a revenue of one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty millions of francs, you will be able to keep six vessels of the line and as many frigates, which, joined to my fleet at Toulon, will render more expensive and less secure the English ascendency in the Mediterranean. . . . As Calabria has revolted, why should you not seize half the estates in the province and give them to your army? This measure would be at the same time a great help to you and an example for the future. . . . I, myself, will issue the decrees confiscating for the benefit of my army one-half of the revenues of the province, both public and private.

It must not be forgotten that Napoleon's finances were usually recruited in countries where the people were divided in sentiment, where he could start a quarrel among them, array one side against the other, and thus gain easy, frequent, and brilliant victories, and then, in the end, rob both friends and foes.

Writing to the Directory on the subject of Venice, in June, 1796 (Lanfrey, vol. i, p. 100), he said:

> I have purposely devised this sort of rupture, in case you wish to obtain five or six millions from Venice. If you have more decided intentions, I think it would be well to keep up the quarrel; let me know your wishes, and wait for the right moment, which I will take advantage of according to circumstances.

When instructing his emissaries as to the treatment of an intended victim (Lanfrey, vol. i, p. 199), he said:

> If the inhabitants of the country should be inclined for independence, you should flatter their tastes, and should not fail in your proclamations to allude to Greece, Sparta, and Athens.

Speaking of the occupation and spoliation of Switzerland (Lanfrey, vol. i, p. 264), he said:

> Another motive which influenced the Directory was the millions they hoped to get from Berne.

This was the favorite policy of Napoleon, which he called "war supporting war." It was an easy system of finance in cases where it was practicable. It greatly enriched France, relieving the people from financial burdens quite as much as the paper system of the revolution had done; thus swelling the armies and immensely augmenting the military power of the nation.

(To be continued.)

IF WE ONLY KNEW.

BY CHEIRO THE PALMIST.

If we only knew, if we only knew
  But a little part of the things we see,
Methinks the false would be oft more true
  Than what is truth—or what *seems to be:*
If we only knew—if we only knew!

If we only knew the pain we cause
  By the slighting look or the word of shame,
By the seeking out of those old, old flaws
  That one scarce could help in the race for fame;
If we only knew that the deeds we scorn
  Might some day fall to ourselves to do,
Or if not us, to our babes unborn:
  If we only knew—if we only knew!

If we only knew how the man we spurn
  Had fought temptation, by day and night;
If we only knew, would we so turn
  And cast him off as a loathsome sight?
Ah me! instead of the sinner's brand,
  We'd gladly help him the right to do;
We'd lift him up with each honest hand,
  If we only knew—if we only knew!

If we only knew how the woman fell,
  Would we shun her as now, whene'er we meet?
Would we leave her then to that bitter hell
  Of self and sin and the homeless street?
Would we shrug our shoulders and toss our head
  For trusting too much, or being too true,
Or sinning, perhaps, as some do, for bread—
  If we only knew—if we only knew!

If we only knew, of that girl last night
  Who stood for a moment just at our door,
Ere she turned away from the cheerful light
  And sought the silence of Death's still shore,
Would we deem her mad, or turn aside
  From half-starved lips so cold and blue,
If they could tell us but why she died?
  If we only knew—if we only knew!

If we only knew that those now we miss
  Would have stayed so short in this vale of woe,
How much more sweet would have been each kiss!
  But we did not know—we did not know.
Regrets are useless, and tears but blind,
  And empty words can no past undo;
It's no good sighing—I had been more kind
  If I only knew—if I only knew!

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LABOR DAY.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

The legislatures of the several states composing the Union have created a new holiday known as "Labor Day"; and the question naturally arises, What is its significance, or, has it any meaning at all demanding serious consideration?

Holidays are designed to commemorate some event of great importance in national or religious affairs; but I am not disposed in writing this paper to invade the domain of ancient history for the purpose of finding the why and wherefore of either pagan or Christian holidays, and I confess to little interest in days set apart by the church for the commemoration of superstitions. If a holiday does not stand for an event, bearing irrefutable testimony that humanity has reached an advanced point in the processes of evolution, where it may boast of higher conceptions of its divinity and destiny and from which new departures may be inaugurated for new and nobler victories over antiquated superstitions or modern heresies, I can discover no significance in it worthy of commemoration. I care little, indeed nothing at all, for a birthday anniversary, whether it be that of the lowly-born Nazarene or George Washington. It stands for nothing, except the mere incident of birth, of like importance to all men. Everything depends upon acts when the child becomes a man. It is "the lives of great men" that "remind us, we can make our lives sublime"; and all men are great men, however humble their birth or circumscribed their sphere, whose acts and words contribute something to assist their fellow-men to break the fetters of ignorance and every vicious enthralment, and expand to the full stature of free men.

I am not opposed to holidays; indeed, I would increase their number in the United States. However much and vauntingly we as a nation may boast of our schools and colleges, of our art and our literature, our churches and our libraries, our civilization is sordid to a degree that challenges the wealth of hyperbole to fitly characterize it. Regardless of professions to the contrary, the god of our worship is the "Almighty Dollar"—a worship as debasing as the fetich idolatry of Hottentots—and it is this love of money which is to-day the root of our manifold national sins. It is this love of money for the power which money confers, that expresses more fully a national characteristic than any other one thing that could be named. It is a recognized iniquity. It has become a national disgrace, and is widely believed to constitute a national peril which threatens the perpetuity of our free institutions.

It is here that the question arises, Is it within the realm of the probable that holiday influences can be so shaped that conscience instead of cash can be made to sway the American mind?

I permit no one to excel me in my admiration of George Washington. I fully indorse the sentiment of the great Irish orator, that "No people can claim, no country appropriate him; the boon of Providence to the human race, his fame is eternity and his residence creation"; but I would select some day in his illustrious record as a "Washington anniversary day," when some deed was done for liberty, which more than any other deed in his radiant career, entitles him to the designation of "Father of his country."

It might be regarded as evidence of a querulous disposition to say that the natal day of the Babe of Bethlehem is of less importance to the world than many of the deeds He performed to bless mankind. Christmas is preëminently a home holiday, a day for carols and gifts and festivities, in which women and children take infinite delight; aside from such embellishments it would lapse into desuetude; while, if a day could be designated upon which Christ fed the five thousand men, besides women and children, houseless and homeless Judean tramps, it might be made a holiday of incalculable value in these days when our modern pharisees and plutocrats bind heavy burdens upon the backs of the poor, and "devour widows' houses" with evident relish. In investigating along such lines for incidents in the life of the Nazarene worthy of being kept green in the memory of man till the dawn of the millennium, why not, in designating the twenty-fifth of December as Christmas, take any day of the year as that upon which Christ scourged the money-changers from the temple? He said these money-changers had made the temple a "den of thieves." Just now in the United States, a "Christian holiday" commemoration of Christ's abhorrence of moneyed thieves could be celebrated with immense propriety. On such an anniversary the "divinity" that shapes the ends of plutocrats could be held up to the scorn of the world, and it would be a new departure in holiday exercises, not to denounce money *per se*, but to give vitality and sway to the truth that money is now used by those who command it in fabulous sums to debauch legislators and judges, to undermine our free institutions and transform the republic into a centralized despotism.

Manifestly, the American holiday that transcends in importance all other anniversaries is the Fourth of July. It stands for "thoughts that breathe," for "words that burn," and for deeds of imperishable glory. It stands, not only for the liberty, but for the equality of men. It is the one day in all the ages that celebrates the immortal declaration that "all men are created equal." It recited unalienable rights, brushed aside kings, dynasties, thrones, sceptres, titles, the dogma of the divine right to rule, and grasping man, made him a sovereign, endowed with all his powers and prerogatives. But who does not know that in the United States of America, this day of days, this natal day and this "Sabbath day" of liberty and independence, is made the occasion of vulgar feats and demagogical harangues, designed by political jugglers to blind the eyes of their auditors, while the old parties work in holy alliance to rivet fetters upon their dupes, making even the Fourth of July—sacred to the highest and holiest aspirations of humanity—a day for perfecting schemes against the welfare of the republic.

I come now to consider Labor Day as a holiday, and I ask in all seriousness, What does it stand for? What is the achievement of labor in the United States of America to be eulogized and kept in everlasting remembrance? What right withheld from labor has been wrested from the grasp of those who denied the right? Not the right to organize, for that right is included in the "unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It is a right of "us, the people." It was never conferred by constitution or statute. It is an inherent, self-evident right, and any infringement of the right is despotism, pure and simple. And here, I inquire again, what achievement, what victory of labor over its enemies is Labor Day designed to celebrate?

As I survey the thorny pathway along which labor has tramped, I am not unmindful of the reduction of hours constituting a day's work, an achievement which sheds lustre upon organized labor, a victory of incalculable value to all American toilers which ought to be an inspiring theme for Labor-Day orators. I am fully persuaded that the American idea of the strike could be made a theme for Labor-Day oratory, which would captivate those who participate in the exercises. The strike means resistance to oppression. It means war for a principle. It means home, as contradistinguished from a hut, a protest against subjugation and slavery; and when workingmen will no longer fight for their hearths and homes, their wives and their children, then upon the "thorny stem of time," liberty will cease to blossom, and the fell designs of plutocracy will have been accomplished.

The supreme significance of Labor Day, I apprehend, is found in the fact that it is set apart as a day for the discussion of questions vital with interest to all workers, involving not only labor, but legislation, law, and liberty; that it was designed and is still intended to stand for something more and superior to physical and mental relaxation, play, and pleasure; that it is a day set apart for labor to convoke its masterly men and muster its mind-forces for high deliberation upon events which, throughout the land, create alarm in its ranks. Viewing the subject from such points of observation, Labor Day expands in significance which may well challenge the gifts of genius to award it a full measure of justice.

On Labor Day, labor not only has the right, but is under the most binding obligations to recite the manifold wrongs which labor suffers, and in no uncertain tones voice its protests. If there are incidents in the struggles of labor in which those marching under its banners have performed acts of heroism in the interest of their unfortunate fellow-toilers, it would glorify the day to recite them; and if it is true that these men, who imperilled their liberty in a cause the better part of mankind approve, and are therefore the victims of worse than Russian autocratic infernalism, Labor Day, of all the holidays law and liberty have ever sanctioned, should be the day for workingmen to announce to the world that, "Live or die, sink or swim," labor is committed to the task, however herculean it may be, to find a remedy for the outrage.

But may it not be urged that, after all, the significance of Labor Day centres chiefly in the educational influences it may exert upon the great body of workingmen of the country? Conceding the largest estimate, organized labor does not include more than one-tenth of the wage-workers of the United States; the nine-tenths are unorganized. This vast majority is to be brought within the fold or remain an antagonistic element resisting the onward march of the emancipating forces of organized labor. It might be difficult to recite all the reasons assigned by unorganized workingmen for standing aloof from the various organizations whose battle cry is "Better conditions"; but it may be asserted, as a general proposition, that hostility to organization is a deficient comprehension of the purposes which organized labor has in view—the emancipation of labor from poverty-producing environments, and the degradation which such surroundings inevitably force upon their victims. Be this as it may, the supreme question is, What can be done by organized labor to induce the unorganized majority to join its ranks? I am persuaded that Labor Day could be made a potent force in accomplishing an end so desirable. To do this will require that Labor Day shall have for its theme the "Brotherhood of Workingmen," since, by irrevocable laws, the destinies of workingmen depend upon the truth that an injury to one is not only the concern of all, but an injury to all—that a wrong done to the humblest toiler, the "common" laborer, by an irrevocable law, is felt throughout the entire domain of labor.

There are numerous reasons assigned by workingmen for refusing to become members of labor organizations, as there are numerous reasons assigned for declining to become members of clubs or fraternal societies. It is not worth while to discuss such objections, since, however unwise or absurd they may be adjudged, to choose in such matters is an inherent right for the exercise of which no penalty should be imposed. And it would add indefinitely to the significance and glory of Labor Day if it should be, as it was designed to be, a day upon which all lines dividing labor, real or ideal, should be obscured, and the supreme law of brotherhood have full sway. In that event it is certain that multitudes of converts would be made to organization, and that the army of organized labor would be thereby better equipped for carrying forward its emancipating work.

MANUAL TRAINING FOR WOMEN AND THE PROBLEM OF DOMESTIC SERVICE.

BY G. VROOMAN.

Three years ago, on returning home to Chicago from a long journey, I found that a certain little maid's supply of school frocks had arrived at that point in their history when they, like the deacon's one-horse shay, were ready to go to pieces all at once. It is one of the curious things about children's clothes that they have a way of wearing out without any warning and altogether. With this dire event pending I wrote to my seamstress asking her to come to me at once. In a day or two I received a letter saying that she was engaged for weeks ahead; so I wrote to another woman who had worked for me, and she too sent word that she could give me no time until a month or six weeks later. Then I obtained from my friends the addresses of several women whom they recommended; time was pressing, and I called upon these, to find in every case that it was impossible to secure their services. This was discouraging. But I went to the Young Women's Christian Association and to the Woman's Exchange, and after many interviews with people who were unavailable either because of their own engagements or because of my prejudices in favor of intelligence, at least in some degree, I succeeded in capturing a Scandinavian who would come a week later, for two dollars per day, with board. By this time two pretty little pink elbows had appeared upon the scene in a way that was rather heartrending. The Scandinavian and I managed to get them comfortably, though not very neatly covered up; the clothes that she made were always an annoyance by reason of broken threads, clumsy fit, and unæsthetic outlines.

At this time (1892) the Chicago papers were full of the accounts of the official investigations of the condition of working-women. Every day revealed new sorrows and new injustices in the lives of these women — scanty wages, miserable environments, often the entire lack of work and inability to procure it. It seemed to me extraordinary that I on the North Side should be vainly endeavoring to secure a servant while women on the West Side were starving to death. And it was difficult to feel acutely sympathetic with the "unemployed" at the same time that I was failing in my vigorous efforts to give employment to somebody. It is a very curious economic condition in which on the one hand there exists a demand impossible to fill and on the other a supply for which there is no demand.

I asked the master of the house about it. "How can it be," I said, "that I have tried in vain for a fortnight to find a seamstress to whom I have been willing to pay two or three dollars per day, besides her carfare, and her breakfast, her luncheon, and her dinner—and tea, too, if she wanted it, while there are scores of women in this city who are able by working fourteen hours in a day, to earn twelve or fifteen cents, out of which they must pay their whole living expenses, and other scores who are starving with no work at all; and there are shops down town advertising bargain sales of overstocks of goods at prices that hardly cover the cost of the raw material?"

We discussed the question thoroughly then and many times since, but we have never been able to come to satisfactory explanations of it. Only the master of the house approached the difficulty when he asked me quizzically, "Do you think you would care for the kind of work that one of those women could do for you?"

Very often, and especially in the suburbs and in the country, one hears a woman who says something like this: "I am so tired. My cook went away a week ago, and I cannot find another." Within the past week, I myself have found it impossible to secure a servant at any of the three principal intelligence offices of Boston. The house servant, good, bad, or indifferent, is becoming scarcer every year. The newspapers are full of articles, some plaintive, some jocose, some pseudo-scientific, all lamenting the inefficiency, the rarity, the untrustworthiness, the instability, of the American domestic servant. There have been despairing housewives who have sacrificed the individuality of their homes to experiments in "coöperative housekeeping," as at Evanston, Illinois. There have been a few scholarly attempts to solve what has become a very serious national problem, notably by Professor Salmon of Vassar, Miss Elizabeth Bisland, and Mrs. Helen Campbell of Wisconsin University; but very little seems to have been actually accomplished.

A glance over the bibliography attached will show that it is to the old continental countries, with their industrial traditions and inheritances, that we must look for advance in this direction. Since the great guilds of the middle ages, manual training has been developing into an exact science which has embraced and systematized all the details of the instruction of the apprentice. And these ways of working and thinking about work have so marked the national character that when the new idea of industrial schools arose about thirty years ago, it found a congenial and receptive atmosphere in which it has flourished so vigorously that for once Europe has preceded America in a belief that what is good for a man is good for a woman, and has established women's schools which have met with universal appreciation and approval. All over the continent are manual training schools for girls. Sometimes these are state enterprises, sometimes municipal. There are cooking-schools, laundry-schools, dairy-schools, nursing-schools, sewing-schools, lace-making-schools. There are also great private technical schools attached to different manufactories as at Mülhausen, Lille, Sèvres, Torre del Greco, Venice, where all kinds of womanly work are taught. "Each district is provided with the schools adapted to its wants, and the curricula of these schools are determined by the requirements of the people" (Sir Phillip Magnus, Report to the Royal Commission).

Switzerland, probably, leads the world in the number and the excellence of her household schools. The pupils in general come from the farms and the mountains, so that awkward and unsophisticated girls are initiated into the graces of household ways; and from another class, the daughters of rich merchants and manufacturers who attend to take a course in "ideal housekeeping," in order to be able to direct the mechanism of their homes most easily and advantageously. I believe Switzerland is the only country where the industrial educator bears the mistress quite as much in mind as the servant. Another striking characteristic of these schools is that the ethics of work and of every detail of work is studied as carefully as its performance. Another characteristic is the frequent appearance in the curricula of gardening—that old-fashioned, gentle occupation and accomplishment—so that the woman goes to the very fundamentals of her *menage*; and the effect upon the character of this close association with mother earth must be a lovely one.

France with her thrift, her industry, her patience, is hardly second to Switzerland in her earnest interest in this matter. The municipality of Paris has a superb course in domestic economy which begins with the kindergarten and continues for eleven or twelve years; and the same is true in many of the cities, especially throughout the northern departments. And in France, where the woman has always been her husband's business partner, and very often the more energetic and intelligent member of the firm, the courses in domestic economy include instruction in not only the internal but the external affairs of the house. Thus a girl is taught as much bookkeeping as is necessary to keep the household accounts accurately and neatly. She understands taxes. She knows how to lease a house and what are her legal responsibilities as a tenant. She learns to estimate the cost of every article to be used and how best to provide for a given number at a given price. She is taught to be prudent and economical—O rare American traits! The saying goes that a French family could live, and right comfortably and daintily too, on what an American family throws away. Great attention is given also to detail and thoroughness. It is not merely a question of washing and starching linen, and passing it under the iron; it is a question as well of stains and their proper treatment, of soaps and their merits. It is not merely a question of the cost and the freshness of food, but of its nutritive qualities too. It is a question of the sanitation of a house as well as its tidiness. The result of all this is that there is no finer housewife in the world than the French housewife. As for French needlework and French dressmaking, every woman knows that the geographical adjective is the only adjective necessary to express their superlative excellence.

Italy has the most thoroughly nationalized system of industrial education for women, although as a national system it embraces but one branch of women's work. That is lace-making, that exquisite craft which a few years ago people were beginning to put into the category of "lost arts." With patient care and research her majesty Queen Margheretta has succeeded in reviving the industry that has always been one of the glories of commercial and æsthetic Italy, and she has established at Burano a school of which she is president, with branches at every place in the kingdom that has produced a characteristic lace. These are directed by the ladies of the court, each in her own district. The result has been of inestimable advantage to the Italian peasant women.

A work analogous to this has been undertaken in Nova Scotia by one of our own countrywomen, Mrs. Alexander Graham Bell, who is devoting herself to perfecting this industry among the women of the fishing communities, and to securing a market for their productions.

In the British Isles, in the German Empire, in Scandinavia, and especially in Belgium, where they are usually under government control, domestic training schools have rapidly attained unqualified success.

In the United States about all that has been done in this direction is of very recent growth. There are some fine private enterprises, of which the women's department of Armour Institute is the newest and completest. Wisconsin University is experimenting with a course under the direction of Mrs. Helen Campbell which is commanding general interest, and which, if it proves a success, as it undoubtedly will, and becomes a regular part of the curriculum, will probably be the most scientific and enlightened effort of the kind in the country. Wellesley once undertook something like this but it was given up. One wonders why. Many states and cities have given the system practical consideration, with conspicuous success in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and Toledo. Various churches, Christian Associations and college settlements have undertaken more or less thorough schools of domestic science. The most important and general results have been achieved in the negro schools and colleges of the South. There is hardly one in which domestic training is not a very notable and very beneficial feature. Probably one reason why we are so far behind Europe in this work is the almost total absence in our country of convents, which foster and control very many of these schools abroad. The question of funds is a very serious one in a country whose newspapers decry "fads in the public schools" and sometimes with good reason. Most of our flourishing schools have been supported partly or wholly by the state or the municipality. The state of New Jersey, notably, duplicates any sum under five thousand dollars per annum, which may be given to found or maintain any manual training school. In Massachusetts and elsewhere such schools have been very largely dependent upon individual munificence. A few have been endowed. Often it has been found that a school pays its own way; exhibitions are held and goods produced by the pupils are sold; these exhibitions are very profitable, and the running expenses of the school are reduced by the fact that no servants need be employed and fed. In some cases there is a fee for instruction.

There is no reason why Americans, with their wealth and their enlightenment, should not be as comfortable at home as the people of other nations. There is no reason why we should have our sewing done in French convents, and import our cooks and parlor-maids. There is no other country in the world where all the housekeeping machinery is so complete, and where everything is so designed to facilitate labor. It needs only the appliance of trained intelligence to our machines to make them produce the very best results. A country whose young men are becoming the foremost engineers and artisans in the world ought to give its girls a chance. What we have already done in this line has been most commendable, but sporadic. It is evident that any real progress must be dependent upon widespread interest and endeavor. These would be insured by state interference.

The advantages to the state of a general manual training system of women's education would be fourfold: (1) Skilled workers would be produced who would fill the places that are now empty, and women would be able to gain a livelihood by other and better means than those that are possible to a vast number of them now. (2) An enomous amount of the misery caused by poverty and by crime would be avoided. Expert criminologists have assured us that it is indeed for idle hands that Satan finds mischief. I cannot here enter into a discussion of the psychical and neurological laws involved, but the result of every experiment made thus far shows that work is the panacea for diseased and perverted minds. (3) Housewives would be trained to a proper understanding of the business which they profess to carry on. Woman has been divinely appointed to be a home-maker. In an age when the most trivial processes of life are being put upon scientific bases it is not consistent that the most sacred and beautiful of callings should be left to the hands of any bungler. Our lives are so dependent upon such very little things for their sweetness and their usefulness! How can one attain to serenity of heart and mind when the last refuge — home — is made feverish by continual worry and discord? As modern thought grows toward the perception and understanding of how mind and body are interrelated and interdependent we realize the necessity for a system of living that will minimize the awful nervous conditions that attack our civilization. The world's knowledge of domestic economy should be synthesized and classified and made accessible to those upon whose loving intelligence the weary children of earth are dependent for comfort and rest. (4) The relations between employer and employee would be put upon a rational business basis. A sense of the dignity of labor would be inculcated, and so most of the friction which so wears upon our domestic life would be avoided. There is no logical reason why a housewife should not receive from a person in her employ the same unfailing and unquestioning service that a merchant receives from his clerk or a banker from his cashier. And there is no logical reason why the rights and the limitations of a domestic servant should not receive from her employer the same courteous and conscientious consideration that obtains in other similar relations. The cause for the present unfortunate conditions appears plainly. Domestic service has never been dignified as a profession or trade, and until it is recognized as such there is little hope for an improved state of affairs. The manual training school distinctly insists upon and inculcates the idea that cooking, washing, nursing, sewing, are trades in exactly the way that horse-shoeing and cabinet-making are, and that they are to take the same stand in the commercial world; to be subject to contract, and to be thoroughly performed as agreed, without extortion and bullying on the one hand, and shirking and insubordination on the other.

A report made by Dr. H. H. Belfield to the United States Commissioner of Labor includes this testimony from the officers of manual training schools all over the country. The effects of manual training upon the character are that it develops judgment, earnestness, readiness, independence, self-respect, enthusiasm, accuracy, steadiness, persistence; the will is disciplined, the mind is broadened and made more logical, with a tendency to original investigation, and habits of industry are formed. Above all it teaches the nobility of labor and inculcates a love for it. So it is seen that in addition to the material advantages to the community in which it plays a part the manual training school raises its moral tone, and so has a distinct ethical value. "To sweep a room as for God's laws." Sweet George Herbert taught us long ago that this principle of work makes it, and us, divine. The establishment of a national institution that would develop the conscience and insist upon its place in the equation of life would be right, wise, and beneficent.

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INDUSTRIAL REFORM.

BY JAMES G. STEVENSON.

It is largely through industrial reform that we may hope for political reform.

It should be possible to present a practical programme of industrial reform in which all classes of society would unite, and it is with this hope that these suggestions are offered.

"The efforts of reactionaries of every class to turn the wheel of history backward are in vain. But an intelligent appreciation of its tendencies and a willing coöperation with them will make progress easier, smoother, and more rapid.

"All that the most powerful and clear-sighted intellect can do is to learn to divine the law of the great movement of society and to shorten and alleviate the birth-pangs of the New Era."

The organization of industry involves no great and sweeping changes in present methods or in existing laws. With regard to that part of industry already organized in existing institutions, it contemplates simply the application to their present methods of the principle of coöperation.

The great industrial revolution has resulted in divorcing the man from his tools, from the instruments and means by which he is enabled to work. This separation of the man from an interest in the means of production has placed him in a position of dependence amounting almost to servitude.

Nature, with her inexhaustible resources of wealth and power, is the common heritage of the human race. The right to life rests upon the right to the means by which alone life is possible. The right to the use of all the resources of nature is therefore inalienable and as sacred as life itself. To restore to the worker his right to the means of production should be the first and foremost aim of industrial reform.

By admitting all workers to participation in the use or ownership of the productive plant and the product thereof upon the principle of coöperation, present industrial institutions would fulfil the essential conditions of industrial reform. It would seem that this much is due to society from those who enjoy great and exceptional privileges at her hand. From a practical business point of view it is clearly to the advantage of every interest of industry to secure the unity and harmony which the principle of coöperation insures, and far-seeing men have already given recognition to this fact in the arrangement of their business. Every consideration of prudence, policy, and progress, not to mention the higher claims of humanity, demands a larger recognition of the inherent rights of those who do the physical work of the world. The application of the coöperation principle to institutions now strongly organized is a duty that devolves upon the ruling factors of industry and society, the men of influence and power.

This leaves the most difficult and serious question yet to be considered. To bring the unorganized industrial forces into harmony and under the action of economic law, to organize the misdirected and failing efforts of the weaker elements of society into independent, successful productive organizations, forms the real problem of industrial reform.

Upon this subject the great Mazzini, who saw perhaps with clearer vision than any who have devoted their lives to the people, their deepest needs, has given in the following words the wisest counsel they have had:

> The remedy is to be found in the union of labor and capital in the same hands. Association of labor and the division of the fruits of labor, or rather the profits of the sale of its productions, in proportion to the amount and value of the work done by each, this is the social future.
>
> You were once slaves, then serfs, then hirelings. You have but to will it to become free producers and brothers through association. Association — yet free, voluntary, and organized on certain bases by yourselves, among men who know, esteem, and love each other; not imposed by the force of governmental authority, and without respect to individual ties and affections, upon men regarded rather as ciphers and machines of production than as beings moved by spontaneous impulse and free will. Association — but to be administered with a true republican fraternity by your own delegates, and from which you should be free to withdraw at your own discretion, not subject to the disposition of the state or of an arbitrarily constituted hierarchy, ignorant of your individual wants and position.
>
> In association is the germ of an entire social transformation, a transformation which by emancipating you from the servitude of wages, will gradually further and increase produce, and improve the economical position of the country. I believe in association as the sole means we possess, not merely because it multiplies the action of the productive forces, but because it tends to unite all the various manifestations of the human mind and to bring the life of the individual into communion with the collective life of the whole; and I know that association will never be fruitful of good except among free men and free peoples, conscious and capable of their mission.
>
> I believe that man should eat and live without having every hour of his existence absorbed by material labor, so that he may be able to cultivate the superior faculties of his nature; but I listen with dread to those who tell you that enjoyment is your right, and material well-being

your aim, because I know that such teachings can only produce egotists, and these doctrines have been in France, and threaten to be in Italy, the destruction of every noble idea, of every sacrifice, and of every pledge of future greatness.

I believe that we can never make man worthier, more loving, nobler, or more divine, which is in fact our end and aim on earth, by merely heaping upon him the means of enjoyment, and setting before him as the aim of life that irony which is named happiness. Life is a mission; duty, therefore, its highest law. In the comprehension of that mission and the fulfilment of that duty lie our means of future progress.

Ignorance is the parent of poverty and of every misery that afflicts mankind. The truth alone can make man free. The programme of industrial reform should be the programme of popular education, the education which comprehends the whole of human life. It should teach the individual the lesson of self-help, of individual responsibility rather than dependence upon outside aid, upon state help or government support. It should teach him that success in life comes only with the knowledge of laws that underlie industry, economy, society, and his own constitution.

The law of economy and of man's own nature, and therefore of industry and society, is found only in association. It is only by combining the various elements of industry into free, voluntary, and strong organizations under the direction of able and efficient management that the end of true economy may be subserved, and the competition of the world be met.

There is a point in the combination of the productive forces where the interest of true economy ends and the effort to annihilate competition begins. The latter is the object that our "trusts" and "combinations" seek to attain. Where competition ends, monopoly begins; and at this point it is clearly within the province of the government, and within the letter and the spirit of our institutions, and in the very nature of things a logical necessity, if our theory of government is anything more than a name, that it shall then pass under the direct control of the government. But this is a political question, and does not fall within the limits of the industrial programme as we are now considering it.

The point at which the cheapest production is attained and the law of economy fulfilled marks the natural limit to which the productive forces should combine to realize the ideal industrial association. But until all the productive forces of society are so combined through voluntary associations or otherwise, in compliance with the law of economic production and distribution, that portion of society not thus organized will be at the mercy of the superior forces combined against them, and will inevitably be reduced to, or will continue in, a condition of servitude.

A little forethought must reveal to anyone the inevitable future of present tendencies. The separation of the man from the means of his labor is the separation of the interests which should be identical. The separation of interests is the beginning of hostility which ends in servitude or rebellion. The individual must learn that in a complex and advanced state of society his greatest liberty can only be obtained by association with others in industry. The policy of independent and individual effort must sooner or later end in disaster, for it is simply impossible for one man to contend long against the gigantic forces arrayed against him upon every hand. The question is simply whether the individual shall intelligently and voluntarily coöperate with the tendencies of his time, or whether he shall ignore them and be forced into a condition of hopeless dependence.

The farmer, popularly supposed to be the most independent member of society, begins in the most painful way to realize the fallacy of this claim. Agriculture is destined to undergo a revolution as far-reaching in its effects as that which has overtaken the other departments of industry. Modern methods, modern machinery, combinations of these into powerful associations, will inevitably mark the future of agriculture in this country. Already has this begun in the West, where the "bonanza" farms produce wheat at less than half the cost of its production on a smaller scale.

The greatest factor in the success of all industrial undertakings is that rare thing named ability. Upon this will depend the success of coöperative industrial associations. Wise and able management is procurable only by the full recognition of the value of ability. In this as in other respects the experience of successful institutions of like character should suggest the course to be pursued. The history of our great industrial and commercial institutions furnishes the instructive lesson by which we may be guided in the work of organizing the rest of society.

The difference between the coöperative associations and the ordinary corporation would consist chiefly in that the one would be owned by the many, while the other is owned by the few; and that in the one control would be vested in the majority of membership, while the other is governed by the majority of stock; ownership in the one being limited and in the other unlimited. An effort would be made to supply in the coöperative associations an element that has been missing from the ordinary corporation, namely, a soul.

This country abounds in natural opportunities which, if developed under the coöperative system of industry, would bring prosperity to everyone willing to fulfil the conditions upon which it may be obtained. Labor alone is not sufficient; it must be intelligent labor. By associating together in productive efforts men are able to employ the ability which they lack themselves, thus making in fact, this ability their own. Every department of human activity but that of business is supposed to require preparation and training, with some special aptitude. This alone is left to accident or chance. All men cannot be business directors and managers, any more than they can be doctors, lawyers, or preachers. We employ men to get us out of business dilemmas, and think it is no reproach upon our intelligence. Why should it be any greater reproach to employ men to keep us out of these dilemmas? We persist in matching our business talent against our neighbor's, and when vanquished we complain of the coldness of his disposition. The policy of every man his own manager is sending millions toward poverty every year.

Hitherto capital and labor have combined against each other. This, if persisted in, will lead to war. By combining together on the principle of coöperation the interests of both will be protected and advanced. Has not the time come for this wiser course to be put into action?

A patriotic regard for the welfare of society should enlist all the moral forces in the country in a movement whose aim is the betterment of human conditions and whose method is at once conciliatory and progressive; and for the attainment of this purpose, the reform sentiment of the nation should be organized into an industrial reform league. Such an organization, whose purpose would be the realization of industrial reform as briefly suggested herein, would draw to its support that very important class which present efforts at reform fail wholly to reach—the influential class. We can never hope for a peaceful social transformation without the aid and support of this powerful class.

Coöperation in the largest and best sense of the word means the coöperation of all classes of society in the effort to realize a higher and better social condition. However strong our personal sympathies may be with the one class or the other, we must merge these into the higher view which includes within its broad sweep the entire human race.

A HUMBLE ADVOCATE.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

Sunrise in Jones' Cove. The great encompassing mountains stood solemn and weird and silent, capped with cloud and carpeted with everlasting green about their feet where the winter scarce finds an entrance into the well screened cove slumbering among their rugged bases. Winding in and out among the gaps and crevices of the mountains Big Pigeon River might be seen fighting its way to the beautiful French Broad.

The sun was peeping over the mountains, a great round, red eye of fire. The cove still lay in shadow and in silence. It might have been a dead world, indeed, for all sign there was of life, save for the one lone figure leaning upon the low palings of the rude gate in front of a little weather-beaten cabin standing at the Cove's head, just at the point where the road begins the ascent of the mountain.

As for the woman, she too might have been a part of the deadness, as she stood there with one small, knotted labor-marked hand clasping the paling, the elbow of the other arm resting upon it, her chin in her hand, and her bright, brown eyes fixed in melancholy musing upon the distant peaks of mountain rising above the valley. Only, looking well into the face, one could not fail to see the fire that still hid in the dark eyes, like a slumbering coal-bed that waited only the revivifying breath of excitement to fan it into a living glow.

Within the cabin a man lay sleeping upon a bed over which was thrown a quilt of many-colored stripes. Two burly, calfskin-covered feet depended floorward beneath the coverlet, and the arm, thrown with the careless abandon of the weary sleeper over the man's head, wore a sleeve of heavy, gray jeans. Evidently he had thrown himself down to sleep without undressing. Upon a low trundle-bed at his side a boy of six years and a baby of one were sleeping. The woman at the gate was waiting for the man to awaken and eat his breakfast. It was already cooked, and was only waiting the pleasure of the liquor-sodden sleeper before the woman would bring it out from the skillets and pots ranged about the hearth where she had set it to prevent the food getting "stone cole" before he should sober up sufficiently to call for it.

It was a dreary life, a cat-and-dog existence for her, the silent young watcher at the gate.

"Ef I could only get my own cornsent ter hold my tongue I reckin it would be better," she mused. "But 'pears like I'd be obleeged ter die sometimes ef I didn't try ter head Ike Cary off in some o' his doin's. 'Special when he begins ter hender the chillen; the pore little chillen as can't holp the'rse'ves in noways. I jest can't be still then; I be obleeged ter fight fur my chillen. Even the ole hen out thar'll do that much fur her young; or the wil' varmints in the woods. I can't git my own cornsent ter be less keerful o' my young than the hens an' the b'ars an' sech."

It wasn't an unpleasant face that was lifted for a moment to the sunlight stealthily creeping over the mountains; it showed resolve, spirit, and a courage that death itself could not put to shame.

"I hev s'arved that thar man in thar ten year, good an' faithful. I didn't come ter him em'ty-handed nuther. I had a hunderd head o' cattle an' a half a hunderd acres o' valley lan'. An' I ware not accounted a bad-lookin' gal nuther, them days. But the law allowed as Ike Cary could keep my lan' an' truck more better nor me, an' so it ware his'n after I ware married ter him. Whose it air *now* I can't tell. The still-house got it o' Ike, I know *that* much. They-uns useter say, too, over yander in Elmiry whar I ware raised, that I ware right sprightly. Some allowed I'd make my mark ef I lived an' got my growth. I made it, yes; a mighty crosty kind o' mark it ware, when I married Ike. I ain't lacked in my sarvice none nuther, as I can see; an' what I hev got in exchange fur hit air blows and hard names. Lord, ef it ware not fur the chillen, the chillen that he air ruinin' of, I'd h'ist my heels an' take that thar road up the mount'n, an' travel away from here quicker'n yer could say 'Jack Roberson.' If it ware not fur the chillen I'd do it."

For the children; how many weary women have bowed their backs to their burdens, and taken their crosses again for the sake of the children—the children, God-given to keep the soul and body in harness if not in unison!

"You Josephine? Am I got ter wait all day fur a mouffull o' cole victuals? Or hev ye gone spang deef that ye can't hear noways, when I call ter ye? Hi God, ye air gitten too peart an' independent ter suit *my* fancy. Standin' thar sun-gazin', air ye? an' me a-waitin' fur my breakfus'. Gol darn ye, ef yer don't come in here an' fish out them victuals I'll fling the shovel at yer; else't this here brat as can't make out ter git itse'f 'wake like other folks."

She was in the cabin long enough before the man had completed his complaint, and was dishing up the breakfast. She paid no heed to his threats until he strode over to the trundle-bed where the baby was sleeping, the older child having risen when Cary called his wife to get his breakfast up.

"Stan' back from thar," she commanded. "You-uns jest let that thar chile be, Ike Cary."

Whether it was the glitter in the restless eyes, or whether he was too stupidly indifferent to carry out his threat, she neither knew nor cared; with a low laugh of derision he drew his chair up to the table and began to eat his breakfast. The woman sat near, not eating, but waiting upon her husband, and the little boy who scrambled up into a chair at her side and began calling for a dodger.

"I'd wash my face an' hands first ef I ware ye," said the mother. "It air plumb bad manners ter eat without washin'."

"Let him be," said Cary. "What be the use anyhow? They-uns'll be dirty ag'in 'ginst dinner time. Eat yer breakfus', son; pappy'll let ye."

"That ain't no way ter raise chillen," said Mrs. Cary. As she had so many times told herself, she couldn't get her own consent to hold her tongue where the children were concerned.

The man made no reply; he was busy with the chicken she had broiled and set before him. When he had finished and pushed back his plate, he seemed in a better humor—disposed to talk, indeed; though the talk always meant either an argument or a season of ridiculing the woman whom he regarded as his weaker half.

"Whar did you-uns stay las' night?" She put the question timidly, knowing from experience what the reply would be.

"Wall, now, Miss Master, whar do ye reckin?" said he. "I ware *somewhars*, that ought ter satisfy ye. But Lor, these women; they air obleeged ter know it all. Waal then, ef ye must know, I ware down ter the Forge; an' some o' the candidates ware thar, an' we had all the liquor we could carry, an' more. An' they-uns ware powerful anxious ter git my vote, too, I can tell ye. Offered me"——

She bent her small, bright eyes upon him a moment, then made a gesture as of waving him off:

"Ef you-uns hev been a-takin' of bribes an' sech, Ike Cary, *I* don't want ter know it."

"Jest as ye please, jest as ye please. But stir yer stumps an' get the cuckle-burrers out'n that thar brat's head. I aims ter fetch him ter town with me terday."

"He ain't fit ter go," she replied. "He ware ailin' all night. I gin him paregoric twicet endurin' o' the night."

"He's a-goin' jest the same," said Cary. "An' ef you-uns wants ter sen' him off lookin' like the witches hev had him, *I* ain't keerin'. He's my chile, I reckin, an' I aims ter do ez I please with him. Git up, son, an' git yer hat. Pappy's gwine let ye ride behin' him down ter S'vierville terday."

Rebellion was useless; she had tried it too often not to know. She smoothed out the tangled yellow hair, and washed the face that shone again with the anticipation of a ride to the county-seat. And when the man extended a leg and reached his hand to the boy to drag him up to the saddle behind him, she stood at the gate and "saw them off" with the best grace she could summon.

"Keep a holt on the tail of yer pappy's coat, son," she admonished the smiling youngster. "An' Ike, you-uns hol' on ter Benny; he ain't use ter ridin' behin', an' he'll slip off inter Pigeon River or somers, an' git hisse'f drowned, ef ye ain't keerful of him."

"Lord, Lord, listen at the critter," said Ike. "*Air* he my chile or not? That's what I'd like ter know."

As they rode away she stood watching them through eyes in which anger had dried the tears that might otherwise have come to her relief.

"Ter hear that man talk anybody would think as it air all his chile, an' that he never had no mammy; leastways that she got no more ter say in the raisin' of him than ef she ware a stick. Women air no better than that nohows, I'm a-thinkin'. The laws o' this kentry gins a man the right ter hol' the lash, an' he hol's it.

"The laws; *I say!* A pretty thing the laws o' this land air, a-settin' by an' seein' chillen bein' kerried ter thar death, an' allowun' as it air all right becase the father hev a right ter do as he likes with his own chillen. An' whar air the law fur the woman, I say? Why don't they let the women he'p make 'em ef they-uns hev got ter live up ter 'em? That's what *I* want er know. Lor, but wouldn't I like ter he'p make the laws fur this country; an' wouldn't I jest give the women a showin' ter live, though? *Wouldn't I?*"

She had never heard of woman suffrage in her life. She only knew that she had felt the lack of the law's protection, and recognized in a vague way that the man who governs the woman is not competent to make impartial laws for her. The thought had come to her often before; but this morning she was so impressed with it that she did not hear a step coming along the path, the nigh cut down the mountain. She had unconsciously given voice to her thought, not knowing that she had an audience: "Set a passel o' men ter make laws fur the women they expec' ter own! Shucks! Like ter make good uns, I reckin."

A man stood at the foot of the path; he had heard every word of the foolish complaining.

"Never you min' 'bout that, Mis. Cary," said he. "Thar's better days a-comin' fur the women folks I shouldn't wonder. I heeard las' week whenst I ware down ter Knoxvul ter witness fur Si Odem, as ware indicted fur stealin' of a horse—Si never took the horse no more'n you did, an' I went down ter witness as he ware over ter my house the very day he ware 'cused o' stealin' the cussed critter over in Knox County. I tol' the jury that, but they-uns 'peared not ter take my word somehows, an' Si ware sent ter the penitentiary fur ten year. But I heeard, whilest I ware thar witnessin' fur Si, as how the women folks ware goin' ter be let ter vote befo' mighty long. I went ter one o' the'r meetin's whilest I ware thar. 'Tware helt in a tent; an' how them women did talk about the men ware a scan'le, Mis. Cary. Lord, Lord, ef the women don't beat my time! Wantin' ter be let ter vote, same as men! First thing ye an' me knows, Mis. Cary, they'll be axin' ter be let wear pantaloons, and galluses, an' sech. *Then* who air ter cook breakfus', I'd like ter know? Thar ain't no tellin' what the women o' Tennessee won't be a-wantin' of next."

She was listening with wide, dilated eyes; her heart was beating like a hammer.

"Air it true that they ull be let ter vote?" said she. "Air that a true word, Jeff Bynum?"

"Wall, now, Mis. Cary, hit ain't quite settled yit," said Jeff. "This air the shape they-uns hev got it inter. The women folks they-uns allows thar be lots o' meanness kerried on in Tennessee, an' they let on as how if they-uns be let ter vote they ull send good men ter the legislatur'—men as won't take bribes, an' will put down liquor, an' wipe out wife-beatin', an' mebbe kill the Ole Scratch hisse'f, fur all anybody knows."

There was a flash of the dark eyes, a quiver of the strong lips that should have had a girlish laugh upon them, instead of that weary woman-look they wore.

"Did the women o' Knoxvul say that air?" Her face flushed with the pride she felt in them; she could have fallen at their feet in very worship.

"The women o' Knox an' Hamulton, an' some from as fur as Shelby hitse'f," said Bynum. "I declar' ter goodness, Mis. Cary, it ware a plumb caution the way they-uns talked. One got up an' allowed as she wanted ter vote ter holp *de*velop a *mo*ralerty in *gov'mint.* I wondered what the fool allowed she ware talkin' 'bout. An' another one wanted ter vote beca'se she didn't want ter be classed with luner*tics*, she said. Another one didn't want ter be put with *idjits*, though *I* could see mighty plain as she ware one, p'int blank. An' one ware ag'in bein' put down in the law with crimernals an' furriners, an' said she wanted a ekal right ter her own chillen. 'Women's rights' they-uns called it. Lord, Lord, my wife gits all the rights she air entitled to in *this* worl'; all her entitlemints an' more, ef the truth ware knowed. She hev got the right ter milk the cow, an' cook the victuals, ter rise up an' ter set down. What more mortal critter air wantin' of air too much fur Jeff Bynum ter say."

He waited for her to agree with him, but she was silent. She was no longer listening; she was thinking of those brave women in Knoxville. How her soul went out to them! The slumbering fires of her nature awoke and made response to their effort, those brave few fighting, contesting every inch of the road, their way to freedom—their way, and the way of all womanhood. She was with them as surely as though she had been in their meetings, been one of them. She recognized the need; her heart responded to the justice of their claims. She would have footed it all the way to Knoxville, gladly, just to have told them how she thanked them for their effort.

The visitor saw the keen interest in the young face, and, not unwilling to make himself interesting, proceeded to talk.

"I tell ye now, Mis. Cary," said he, "I be goin' down ter fed'ral court nex' month, ter witness fur Abe Stores, as air indicted fur illicit distillin'; an' I'll keep my ears pricked, an' ef I heear any more about this here thing o' the women votin' I'll let ye know. It air a mighty fine subject now, shore. They-uns allowed the law let ever' created critter have a sesso except lunertics, an' convic's, an' idjits, an' furriners, an' babies, *an'* women. But shucks, says I. Whar's the good o' votin'? Hit ain't henderin' the workin's o' Satan, as *I* can see. He air jest as lively terday as befo' the women axed ter be let ter vote, Mis. Cary."

She made no reply, and glancing at her face he saw that she was not thinking of him. Half aggrieved he turned away.

"Wall, I must be a-mosin'," said he.

The words recalled her wandering senses; she remembered the courtesy due to a visitor, even in her wonder over the strange knowledge that had come to her.

"Won't you-uns come in an' git a bite o' breakfus'?" she said. "Hit ain't cole yet, though Ike hev e't his an' gone."

"Naw'm, I must be a-mosin' on; I ware at a coon hunt las' night, an' the ole 'oman she'll be a-lookin' fur me ter be in time fur breakfus'. Good day, Mis. Cary. I'll be shore ter let ye know 'bout the votin' whenst I come back from witnessin' fur Abe."

He was laughing silently as he went down the sun-flooded road with the loitering step of the all-night reveller.

"Lord, now, wouldn't she cut a figger at the polls? An' wouldn't the boys jest etarnally laugh Ike out'n the Cove ef his wife ware ter take ter votin' an' sech? But ef she ware ter take a notion ter it all S'vier County couldn't stop her, she air that heady an' high-strung."

Ike, meanwhile, was pursuing his way as calmly unconcerned as though he had the world at his feet. When he reached his store, early as it was, he saw the usual crowd of loafers congregated, waiting for him to open up for the day.

He tossed the key into the midst of them as he rode past, half turning in the saddle to call out to them:

"Open the darned thing, some of ye. An' some of ye shut the door ternight, 'g'inst varmints an' sech. Holp yerse'ves ter barter an' sech, an' leave yer truck somers in thar. I'm goin' down ter S'vierville ter lay in some goods, mebby. Bob Bolton, air that yer snaggletooth countenance over thar? Whar air that root o' rattlesnake's-master you-uns ware gwine ter fetch ter trade fur some sorghum so brisk? Mis. Durham she jest doctored herse'f on corn whiskey whilest she ware waitin' on the rattlesnake's-master, that thar time she got herse'f bit. Got t'arin' drunk—tight as the devul; killed the p'ison, howsomever. But fetch it 'long, fetch it long; thar a plentier more folks fur the rattlers ter cut the'r teeth on exceptin' o' ole Mis. Durham. Good day, folkses. Walk in an' make yerse'ves ter home. An' ef so be thar's any 'mongst ye not hones' enough ter charge up what he gits, why, let him steal it, he's welcome. Ef he'd ruther be a rogue as ter be a hones' man he hev got my cornsent ter so be."

The summer waned, the days grew shorter; then came the light frost, and autumn, gaily resplendent, settled upon the hills. The trees were a rustling burden of scarlet and gold and amethyst. Then came the hoarfrost, and vegetation died like a newly born joy in the heart of a woman. The scarlet and gold gave place to ashes and dust; denuded nature's heart lay bare. Then came the rains, November, and the election. Mrs. Cary had heard nothing from Bynum; indeed she had not expected to hear. She had heard enough to awaken her heart to the great possibilities that lay buried in the bosom of that mysterious future that might dawn *sometime* for the women of Tennessee.

She felt sometimes that had fate dealt her a different lot she might indeed have been one of them—one of the *helpers* in the great cause that was already dear to her. Yet, "I dunno, nuther," she would tell herself when this thought was in her heart. "I dunno; mebby I wouldn't know so well what the need air ef I hadn't a felt it as I hev done."

Experience, mighty mother of despair, had taught her what it was to be a slave to man's meanness and ignorance. A slave—she remembered that one of the Knoxville women had said she wanted the ballot because she wanted her liberty. The thought had taken possession of her, that humble woman, lost among the hills of Tennessee, lost to everything but ignorance and despair. Liberty; why, it was liberty that reared Bunker Hill, made America—liberty, the foundation and chief corner-stone of the very government itself; the palladium of all peace; the base of the triangle upon which is founded all brotherly love and good fellowship. And woman was the only one of God's creatures to whom it was denied. But it would come—it must; the mighty minds of earth would take hold some day and knock off her shackles and set her free.

The idea possessed her; she could talk of nothing else. Afternoons when Ike would be away at the store, or off on a drunken bout somewhere, she would take the children and go off to some of the neighbor women's houses and talk to them about it. But she got little sympathy; they called her "cracked," after awhile, and some wondered why Ike Cary didn't make her "stop sech etarnal foolishness."

She had never attempted to talk to Ike about it but once. It was one evening when he came home from Pigeon Forge in high glee because of a speech he had heard down there in favor of his chosen candidate for the state legislature.

"Did ye hear anything o' the women bein' let ter vote, whilest ye ware down ter the Forge?"

She had put the question timidly; perhaps that was why it angered him.

"Listen at the fool," said he. "The idee o' women votin'! What do women know about the laws o' the land? I declar ter God, Josephine, ef you-uns ain't gittin' foolisher an' foolisher ever' day ye lives. Ye ain't got as much gumtion as that thar chile thar this minute. Now, I want ter tell ye as I hev heard enough 'bout that thar fool notion you-uns hev took up. I air not goin' ter be laughed plumb out'n the state o' Tennessee, ef I *know* it."

The next day she took her baby under her arm and went to pay a little visit at the house of her neighbor. It was near the time of the election; the men were going to and from the county-seat every day. She might learn something of the great question that had so agitated her mind. But the woman did not once broach the subject, and it was not until she was leaving that Mrs. Cary herself mustered courage sufficient to ask about it.

"De Lor', Mis. Cary," was the reply, "ye an' me better stay at home an' 'ten' ter the chillen an' the men-folks, an' leave votin' an' law-makin' to them as the Lord meant ter take charge o' it. Naw'm, I air not lookin' ter vote. My ole man allows as a woman's place air ter milk the cow an' cook the victuals an' 'ten' ter the men-folks—*ef* they-uns hev got any men-folks ter 'ten' ter; them as haven't may go votin', *I* say, an' the Lord hev mercy on the'r souls."

And as Mrs. Cary walked homeward in the gray twilight the woman regarded her from the doorstep with a curiously pitying expression.

"Josephine Cary air in an' about *de*ranged," said she. "She hev took ter vagrantin' roun' the mount'n till folks air talkin' mightily about her. An' they do say as she talks polertics same as a man. Land o' Moses! what air this worl' a-comin' ter, *I* say."

Mrs. Cary had not made herself obnoxious, however, even to the men. She *would* talk politics; they found that hard to forgive, 'tis true, because she didn't always agree with them; but as to the question of the women voting, the men made light of that, and because it was something so entirely novel and unlikely, they forgave her that "bit o' gol-darned foolishness." But many were the jokes cast at Ike on her account; her shoulders bore the marks of them. Ike had his own ideas as to the proper means of putting a stop to the ridicule she excited.

The morning of the election dawned at last, clear, cool, a forerunner of the nearing winter. The voting was done in the old way, so long customary among the mountains, and Ike's store was utilized as a precinct.

Josephine had settled it in her own mind that she would go to the election, merely as a matter of interest. There could be no harm in her going; it was at her husband's store, and other women would be coming in to trade before the day was over. Ike had taken the older boy with him early in the morning. It was nine o'clock before Josephine set a pot of pumpkin to boil, and gathering the baby under her arm set off up the mountain.

A stranger, a man from one of the valley towns, was seated near the election boxes, leaning back against the low, rough counter. He glanced up when Josephine entered, to wonder at the brightness of the small, dark eyes regarding him from beneath the black sunbonnet. Her entrance was the signal for the settlement jokers to begin; the forms of greeting were varied:

"Come ter vote, Mis. Cary?" asked one.

"Lor, Mis. Cary, the women ain't let ter vote yit."

"You-uns air jest ninety-nine year ahead o' the time, Mis. Cary."

"Fetch the baby 'long ter vote, too, Mis. Cary? Ye know ef the law allows the woman it ought ter allow the baby ter vote too. Women an' babies air disbarred; the law disbars ye both; mebby it'll admit ye both."

The woman shifted her baby to the other hip, and regarded her teasers silently for a moment; she was like some wild creature of the forest at bay, as she turned upon them, with the only weapon at her command, her tongue:

"Yes," said she, "the law air ekal ter that; the laws o' Tennessee air ekal ter 'most anything. But"—she paused, set the baby upon the counter, and put into its hand the end of the ball of twine used for tying bundles, then slowly lifted her hand—"some o' you-uns'll live ter see the women o' the land castin' o' the'r votes yet. Let them as laugh look ter it."

The prophecy fell with a strange force from the narrow, strong lips. They regarded her with a kind of awe for a moment, the boldest among them forgetting to sneer.

It was at this moment that Ike, who had been in the rear of the house filling a quart bottle with kerosene for a customer, came forward, the bottle in his hand. He glanced a moment at the silent, gaping crowd, with their gaze fixed upon the woman who had lifted her voice in prophecy. His swarthy face grew livid; without a second's hesitation he lifted his arm and hurled the bottle with all his strength at her head. It crashed past her and went to pieces in a thousand fragments upon the wall behind her. The woman never flinched.

"What air ye doin' here?" demanded the angry husband. "Didn't I tell ye ter stay at home whar ye b'longed, ye dadburned hell-cat? Comin' here ter make a fool o' yerse'f befo' a passel o' fools as ain't got no more sense than ter laugh at ye! Lemme git at ye; I'll see ef"——

The group separated to make way for him as the half-drunken man strode past them; he carried a rawhide whip that he had jerked from the hand of one of the men who had driven a yoke of oxen to the store. The woman moved aside, not to dodge the blow, but to shield the child playing with the twine-cord upon the counter. One sharp, cutting blow descended upon the thin, stooped shoulders, but before he could lift the whip for a second the strange man leaning against the counter sprang to his feet and seized his arm.

"Don't you do that again," he commanded. "Don't you dare to strike that woman again, you damned brute, you. I mean what I say; no man shall strike a woman where I am, not if I have to hang for it. Drop that lash, you coward, and get back to your oil-tubs. A pretty thing, you, to call yourself a man! Men!"—he turned to the wonder-stricken crowd about the door—"you see for yourselves how the laws of the state need mending. If I go to the legislature from this country the very first bill I shall introduce will be one to make wife-beating a felony in the state of Tennessee. Now you may elect me on that ticket or not, just as you choose."

A few minutes later he stood outside watching for Josephine to come down the rude steps, preparatory to going home.

"Why did you come here, my good woman?" he said, wishing to offer some kind of help to the poor creature. "Why did you come here? See what you have brought upon yourself."

He pointed to a blood-stain upon her shoulder where the rawhide had cut through to the skin. She glanced at the stain and then at him. Something in his voice appealed to her; this was her opportunity to say a word, to help along the women of Knoxville.

"I air not keerin' fur that," said she; "what I air keerin' fur air my liberty; I want my liberty. 'Pears like the women air the only created critters as hev not got the'r freedom in this worl'."

Instinctively there recurred to him a scene he had witnessed in his youth: a slave was being beaten for running away; he was bound with thongs, and another slave was made to ply the lash; it was of rawhide also, and there was blood upon the slave's shoulders. He received his punishment without a groan; but the next day he ran away again, and was found dead along the roadside, *en route* to liberty. And this woman of Tennessee, with her bruised and burdened back, demanded hers.

"Aye, God, and she shall have it," he told himself as he galloped home through the midnight; "she shall have it, if word of mine can avail to help along her cause. Liberty? Why, men have died for liberty; they have died to give the gracious boon to other men. Yet for woman—who has thought of *her?*"

The words of the mountain woman throbbed in his thoughts: " 'Pears like woman air the only created critter as ain't got her freedom."

He saw again the gaping crowd, the sneering faces, the uplifted lash. Again in his ears was sounding the one word of defence offered: "Some o' you-uns'll live ter see the women o' the land castin' o' the'r votes yet."

Prophetic words, and big with meaning!

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

OVER THE OLD TRAIL.*

The author of "Over the Old Trail" has enriched our literature by a graphic picture of old-time mining life in Colorado, written with striking fidelity to the realities of those stirring, rugged, and unique times, but exhibiting such fine artistic feeling that the novel is thoroughly clean, charming, inspiring, wholesome, and subtly ennobling.

The life described by this gifted author, in the hand of a nature less endowed with true artistic impulses and high ideals, without being one whit truer to the realities, would have been at times repulsive if not revolting. Yet from first to last, throughout the lights and shadows, the native humor and the deep tragedies, the genuine pathos and the heart-sickening criminality which form the web and woof of the story, a fine, pure atmosphere pervades the whole, while the delicate hand of an artist relieves the story, even in its gloomiest pages, from all that could offend any wholesome imagination.

The evident purpose of Mr. France has been to write a good story, at once true to life, artistic, and so interesting as to hold the attention of all lovers of good literature from cover to cover, and in these respects he has succeeded in an eminent degree. But he has done more than this. Without at any time becoming a preacher, or using the framework of fiction merely to emphasize some great truth, our author has succeeded in imparting a high and ennobling atmosphere to his work which cannot fail to be helpful to all readers and especially valuable to the young, while he has also, in a delightfully artless manner, interwoven much of the finest new thought of the present day in a way that must prove suggestive. Thus the story, while at no time rendered heavy by moralizing, contains in bright, spirited conversations sound observations on the double standard of morals, the rights of women, and many of the great issues now up for adjustment.

In the character of Dolly, the heroine, we have a noble pen-picture of the new woman with her fine new ideals and big heart aflame with love, balanced and held in poise by a vigorous brain, which does great credit to the discriminating power of the author. The new woman is here presented, not as the vicious sensationalists or the slow-going conventionalists delight to caricature her, but as all true men and women of the new time see and know her. Dolly is a noble creation, a fine representative of the type of oncoming womanhood which is to do so much toward redeeming the world; she is at once pure-minded, brave, strong of mind and warm of heart, impulsive and as free from prudery as she is a stranger to low ideals; and though for a time she travels a perilous pathway, to a certain degree, under the subtle psychological influence of one of that numerous class who seem framed to win the hearts of the noblest while their own natures are sadly wanting in moral rectitude, the danger is averted by an ignoble proposal from her lover which opens her eyes and closes her heart to his entreaties. The character of Dolly is especially interesting as being a true characterization of the new woman whom Tennyson has so aptly described in his prophetic picture of the coming dawn, found in these lines from "The Princess":

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*"Over the Old Trail," a novel, by Lewis B. France, pp. 340; price, cloth $1, paper 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

> The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
> Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free.
> Woman is not undeveloped man, but diverse;
> . . . like in difference.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Yet in the long years liker must they grow—
> The man be more of woman, she of man;
> He gain in sweetness and in moral height,
> Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world;
> She mental breath, nor fail in childward care;
> More as the double-natured poet, each.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Then comes the statelier Eden back to man;
> Then come the world's great bridals, chaste and calm;
> Then springs the crowning race of human kind.

It is the blossoming of this glorious prophecy of womanhood that the thoughtful and serious men and women term the "new woman." It is a characterization of this high type, which is rapidly multiplying, which Judge France so graphically and happily pictures in his heroine.

The character of Bradford is scarcely less interesting. It illustrates the potential development of a diamond in the rough, who, coming under the influence of a high life, is thereby compelled to live up to his best. Unconsciously Dolly exerts much of the same influence in developing Bradford which Old Father Welcome exerted in changing the life and the ideals of Jean Valjean. In Mr. France's hero I was frequently reminded of W. H. H. Murray's "John Norton," although there cannot be said to be much likeness between them save the presence in both instances of a true, warm heart which radiates love and grows more and more beautiful.

Sandy McLaughlin, also, is an admirably drawn character, and seldom has a novelist succeeded in picturing anything more beautiful than the love of the sturdy, noble-souled father for his brave, resolute daughter. The other characters are handled with skill and fidelity; the action and interest of the story are sustained, the conversations are bright, spirited, and natural, and there are bits of description which reveal a love of nature and a strong poetic sentiment in the author which add greatly to the charm of this fine story. Colorado may well feel proud of the author of "Over the Old Trail." I would that all young men and women in the land could read this wholesome and interesting work; it would enlarge their vision and bring them nearer the great pulsating heart of the people.

B. O. FLOWER.

A GREAT POEM.*

After a careful perusal and study of "The League of the Iroquois," by Benjamin Hathaway, I feel free to say that for scope and completeness, both in an artistic and an historical sense, and as a genuine American poem, it has never been surpassed by any writer of the present century. I am aware that my estimate will be regarded as extravagant by those who have never read this remarkable American epic, and that my opinion will be challenged by the readers and admirers of Longfellow's "Hiawatha." My answer is, Wait till you have read Mr. Hathaway's work. It compares favorably with "Hiawatha" as a work of art, and it is no less perfect as a true history of the subject. It gracefully and harmoniously blends the natural religion, or the subtle essence of the religion, of the North American Indian with the advanced and final religious idea that is just beginning to utilize and combine in one thought and sentiment that which is essential and enduring in all religions.

The North American Indian, unlike most "pagans," so-called, never or rarely worshipped idols, owing, perhaps, to the very good reason that their conception of deity as the *one* "Great Spirit"—the all-permeating, controlling, and protecting influence of the Universe—could not easily be improved upon even by enlightened Christian races, and rendered graven image-worship irrational if not practically impossible.

Mr. Hathaway, in his treatment of the religious aspect of Indian character, perhaps excels Longfellow, who, in some instances, made the subject appear grotesque beyond what tradition would justify. And yet we should bear in mind that Longfellow was dealing with the Dakotahs, while Hathaway draws his pictures from the legends of the "Five Nations," or Iroquois, to whom Parkman pays this tribute: "The Iroquois is the Indian of Indians. In this remarkable family of tribes are found the fullest development of Indian character and the most conspicuous examples of Indian intelligence."

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* "League of the Iroquois," by Benjamin Hathaway. Cloth; pp. 319; price $1, gilt $1.50. Arena Publishing Company.

Again, the style of verse selected by Longfellow becomes at times as monotonous as the steady and measured click of machinery, save when the effect is occasionally relieved by some rarely striking and dramatic passage in the story, like the "Famine" or "The Death of Minnehaha"—passages in which Longfellow stands without a rival in modern literature.

On the other hand, the style of versification chosen by Mr. Hathaway is more natural and flowing, and admits of a more varied expression in accord with the change of subject. And this was wise in Mr. Hathaway, who otherwise might have been accused of using "Hiawatha" as a model, when in reality it has served him only in the form of suggestion or inspiration.

The poem fills 300 pages, followed by twenty pages of notes, references, definitions, etc., in much finer print, making the entire work of great value as an historical record of a most remarkable and almost extinct race.

I must admit that the book was a great surprise to me, as I did not dream that our Indian literature—outside of "Hiawatha"—contained anything so rich, full, and complete as this "League of the Iroquois," which generations hence will be numbered among the classics, for its power and expression as a work of art, and used as a text-book by those in search of data and authority concerning the religious, social, and tribal life of a noble but greatly misunderstood and persecuted race whom the Saxon spirit of conquest and of commercial greed and treachery destroyed before allowing it time and opportunity to evolve into a grander civilization than its betrayers and conquerors have as yet realized, or ever can under the present order—or disorder—of things.

The following is the last poem in the book, and is a most touching farewell to

The Last of the Hunter Race.

Ye lingering few who suffering bide,
  Who wander where the falling moon
Looks on Missouri's farthest tide,
  And silvers o'er each lone lagoon;
Far exiled from your native plains
  Ye homesick roam the desert wild,
Or where Sierra-winter reigns,
  With mountains high on mountains piled.

With grief in other years unknown,
  When crimson ran each bleeding breast,
I hear afar your dying moan
  Go shrieking down the fading West.
The fading West! even now I see
  Your footsteps on its farthest shore;
The fading West! there soon will be,
  For you, a fading West no more.

And when no more a fading West
  These anxious eyes shall seek in vain,
Where shall my failing People rest?—
  Their home-bright wigwams build again?
Or who in the far years shall tell
  That this broad land, so fair unrolled,
Where now the Paleface strangers dwell,
  Was all your heritage of old?

Yet on—still on—unresting flee
  Till bounded by the billowy waste;
For oh! a more remorseless sea
  Bids your retreating footsteps haste;
The hurrying, eager hosts of toil
  On—like a fiery billow sweep,
To spoil the wild—with it to spoil
  Your homes beside the rolling deep.

Low in the sunset's waning light
  Above the hungry, roaring waves,
I see, as with prophetic sight,
  The last of all the Hunter Braves;
With warrior arm uplifted high,
  And crying to the Indian's God,
With one long, last, despairing cry
  He sinks in the devouring flood.

Gone—all are gone—the noble dead,
  Save from this sorely aching breast;
Though prone I linger, all are fled
  Of forms and sounds I love the best.
No more return the days gone by;
  The mournful waves along the shore
Blend with my own their wail and cry,
  And echo back, "No more!—no more!"

Had Mr. Hathaway, instead of Longfellow, been the pioneer in the peculiar realm of Indian lore to which "Hiawatha" and "The League of the Iroquois" belong, the latter production would ere this have been "heard round the world." As it is, our Western poet has simply to bide his time. I feel confident, that, sooner or later, he will stand in public estimation side by side with our favorite American bard as author of one of the two American epics "that were not born to die."

Of Mr. Hathaway personally, the editor of the ARENA says in a private letter to the writer: "Mr. Hathaway is, I think, a very noble-minded man, as well as a true artist. He has had many struggles and trials, but has maintained a beautiful spirit and lived a wonderfully simple life."

The spiritual and altruistic qualities which give subtle flavor and color to Mr. Hathaway's poetry are of the most exalted type. Without these qualities there can be no permanency in poetry and no lasting fame for a poet. The poets who have given any enduring work to the world and to art have invariably been the prophets of humanity's highest ideals and aspirations—moral and spiritual teachers who have intuitively discovered their mission and the obligations and responsibilities accompanying it. They live in the grateful remembrance of their race because they wrote as they were inspired and impelled, and without any puerile doubt and fear as to the result touching their personal fame or relations to art standards. With them—without a single notable exception—it has been inspiration first and art last as a perfecter and finisher of their work. They seldom "wrote a poem for the poem's sake."

Furthermore, men of this type, like Mr. Hathaway, invariably carry the signs of their moral and spiritual kingship in their faces and in their brain structure and formation—in other words, in the "dome" which invites the angels to enter and abide and build the "temple in which a god may dwell" and feel at home. Thus phrenology, in general, no matter how much or how often it may fail in detail, is true to its claims, and gives to every grand, original spiritual and humanitarian teacher a development of top-head that corresponds with the outward manifestations of character—a battery or "power house" whence the soul derives its operative *leverage*. Hence, we read the autograph of divinity and the proclamation of Nature's royalty not only in the faces but in the top-heads of *creators* like Shakspere, Burns, Tasso, Shelley, the Brownings, Tennyson, Wordsworth, Hemans, Lowell, Emerson, Longfellow, Bryant, Whittier, Whitman, and the subject of this review. When a man lacks this dome-department, or "upper story," he almost invariably reveals a corresponding lack of the intuitional and inspirational quality without which he cannot be a poet or spiritual teacher in any high, original sense, nor have a well rounded, harmonious character, though he may be a good and gifted man in a worldly sense, and a conscientious observor of the written laws of the state, and even be a devout religionist within his moral range.

In a future number I shall review Mr. Hathaway's volume entitled "Art Life and Other Poems."

JAMES G. CLARK.

THE REIGN OF LUST.*

A travesty of a well-nigh forgotten work published nearly thirty years ago has a rather belated look, but the present specimen of the genus literary burlesque is so clever that its lack of timeliness will be readily forgiven. It is an extremely bright and amusing skit on a work written by a well known Scottish nobleman and liberal statesman, who was formerly one of the principal supporters of Mr.

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* "The Reign of Lust," by the Duke of Oatmeal, condensed and entirely rewritten for the American Public, at his Grace's request, by Amos Goth, M. A. Cloth; price 75 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

Gladstone, but who declined to follow that opportunist politician when he surrendered to Mr. Parnell and his eighty Irish votes. The noble author's rather pompous style and his predilection for capital letters are happily hit off, and the satire does not for the most part pass beyond the bounds of good-humored and legitimate caricature; though it does seem to pass beyond those bounds in a few places.

For instance, among the utterances of the author satirized, it is tolerably certain that it would be impossible to find any resembling the following. On the contrary, he would undoubtedly warmly repudiate the passage which we have italicized:

> The petty thief, the world puts in prison; the great thief in a palace. *And quite right, too* (p. 58).

Again, a little further on:

> But it had to be noticed, during all these years of Progress, that the condition of the Lower Classes, the Laboring Class, was not improving (p. 71).

This statement is, no doubt, as diametrically opposed to the Duke's belief as it is to fact. It is notorious that, during the past forty years, the condition of the laboring classes in Great Britain and Ireland, as well as in this country, has immensely improved, and in both directions: their wages are higher, and their expenses—except house rent—are lower. And their rent is higher simply because they pay more for a better article. Workingmen's dwellings have greatly improved, and the increase in their rent is not so great as the improvement in their dwellings.

Other passages might be cited, but the above will suffice to show that it by no means follows that, because in this work certain ideas are attributed to the author satirized, those ideas are actually held by him.

Apart from its merits or demerits as a travesty, however, the book is well worth reading on its own account, as a satire on the condition of things, as between capital and labor, which exists in this country. By "lust" the author means greed, and his main object is to denounce the inordinate greed of the capitalist and monopolist classes, which grow wealthy by preying upon the rest of the community. This task has often been performed before within the past few years, but seldom with so much pungency and cleverness as in the present work. A list of the titles of the chapters will give a tolerably good idea of its scope. These are: Science and Nature; The Universality of Lust; Lust in the Realm of Mind; Lust in Business; Lust for Land and Wealth; Capital and Labor; Lust in Politics; The Products of Lust; The Supporters of Lust; The Permanency of Lust; Righteousness *vs.* Lust; Love *vs.* Lust; and Moloch is God.

The unfortunate fact about books like the present, however, is that they effect little or nothing. From the time of Juvenal, and earlier, till now, mere general or wholesale denunciation has never brought about reform. The disease is patent enough; what is wanted is a remedy. And this the present work makes no attempt at supplying. Not merely that, but its author perceives clearly enough that remedies proposed by others are worthless. He says:

> In America, more than in any other country, the False Lights have misled or dazzled the opening eyes of the People. This is the country that is the paradise of the Quack. It is the home and the Happy Hunting-Ground of quacks in Religion, in Science, in Political Economy. Every little cold in the head of the Body Politic, every little sore on the Body, every case of nose-bleeding or cut finger of the poor Body Politic, has its score of Doctors, each with his quack nostrum, proclaiming that his Patent-and-Original-Cure-All is the only remedy for the ailment, and that unless his nostrum be taken quickly and often and for all time, and every other remedy done away with forever, the patient will most assuredly die. Bellamy, George, and Ingersoll, and a thousand lesser lights, all have their fads and following. Free Land, Free Labor, Free Schools, Free Silver, Free Love, and Free Liquor, with Freedom from God and Government, all have their schools and teachers. To one of one School, all other Schools are wrong. "By my Fad, and my Fad alone," cries each individual High-priest of Quackery, "is the State to be saved" (pp. 17, 18).

All this is true enough, and as long as this condition of things exists little improvement need be looked for. When the masses of this country agree as to what they want, and unite in demanding it, they will get it. As long as the present Babeldom of social quacks and quackery lasts, it will be folly to expect any great change in the present order of things. With the capitalist class it is "Divide, and rule." With the masses it is "United we stand, divided we fall"; and so long as they remain in their present disunited condition, each class fighting separately and selfishly for its own hand, so long will the whole of them lie prone in the dust.

Another thing which, as long as it exists, will prevent the masses from materially improving their position, is the circumstance that, for a trifling consideration, hundreds of thousands of them act the part of traitors to their own order, and vote for the nominees of capital. They sell their birthright for a mess of pottage. And a contemptibly meagre mess it mostly is—a few glasses of beer and a couple of dollars! So long as there are traitors in the camp in such numbers as at present, what hope can there be that patriotic, capable, and incorruptible men will be returned to Congress and to the various state legislatures? That our legislatures, from the smallest town council up to the national senate, are filled with the nominees of plutocracy and with corrupt men who will sell their souls for a few thousand dollars or a lucrative position, is the fault of the mass of voters themselves. The remedy lies in their own hands to apply at any moment they choose. If they do not choose, let them suffer the consequences. And suffer them they will till they reform themselves. That is where reform must begin—at home. "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." If he soweth corruption, he will reap a corresponding harvest. And he will richly deserve his fate.

FREDERICK T. JONES.

EDITH, A STORY OF CHINATOWN.*

This is a story of seduction, of the conventional pattern. The characters are a beautiful young girl, who is an only child and has been brought up in luxury, and perhaps a trifle spoiled; her father and mother; and the supposed narrator of the story, a newspaper reporter who meets the two latter on a railway journey from New York to California. The girl has eloped with a villain of the usual pattern, who, also as usual, deserts her, and she finds her way into a certain quarter of Los Angeles, where she is discovered by the reporter. The denouement may be left to the reader.

The story is interesting and tolerably well told, though the style is susceptible of improvement; but the main purpose of the writer is evidently to call attention to the existence of certain streets in Los Angeles and San Francisco which are a scandal and a disgrace to a Christian community. One of these is Alameda Street, in Los Angeles, and it can be best described in the author's own words:

> On either side of the thoroughfare were two rows of windows in the long line of low structures that abutted close to the walk, and from each casement light was streaming upon the darkness without. . . . Not long was he kept in doubt as to the purpose of that double row of box-like stalls. Up and down the street he paced and gazed into the open windows, inspecting the goods that were offered for sale; at first shrinkingly, with shame. But the shock that this strange spectacle had produced gradually wore away, though the honest indignation of the young man would not so easily be subdued. Within those apartments, presented for inspection like so much produce, live-stock, dry-goods, or other merchandise common in the open marts of the commercial world, were human chattels—young women, white slaves of men's passions. Attired in gaudy raiment, some with abbreviated skirts and correspondingly liberal exhibition of hose seen elsewhere only on the stage; others with an exposure of the upper portion of the form, encountered most frequently on "full-dress" occasions in polite society; some few modestly clothed. . . .
>
> Some of the human chattels assumed a gay and careless bearing—sang snatches of merry ditties, but with neither mirth nor joy in the hard tones of the tuneful voices; others silently sat upon the auction-block awaiting the coming of a bidder, perhaps in shame, perhaps with anguish and in hunger, with fear and hope. . . .
>
> All this was upon a public street of a modern city of civilized America. All this was openly, glaringly exposed to the gaze—yea, commanded and demanded publicity—of any and all who might pass by; the human chattels could be touched by the hand of the pedestrian; his or her eyes could not escape the sad and shocking and shameful sight.

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* "Edith, a story of Chinatown," by Harry M. Johnson. Price, cloth 75 cents, paper 25 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

A row of cages, a hundred more or less, each imprisoning a human captive, shut out from the rest of the world, but free to lure within those who were without. A hundred spider's webs, more or less, and a hundred spiders inviting the fly that they would devour to come into their parlors. Only, in this case, the spiders themselves had once been the flies that had fallen into the meshes of male plunderers; and then, when man had despoiled them of purity, virtue, chastity, he and his sisters had driven them out of society, out of homes, out of human affections, and into a worse wilderness than the jungles of Darkest Africa—a black, hopeless, loveless, living hell (pp. 26-31).

The author states that the condition of things in Du Pont Street, San Francisco, is even worse than that above described. He also states that these scandals have been existing for many years. It is scarcely credible that they can have been so with the knowledge and tacit sanction of the Christian and church-going men and women of Los Angeles and San Francisco; and it is therefore presumable that, now when their attention has been called to them so pointedly by the author of the present work, so great a reproach to their civilization and common humanity will be at once removed. It would be strange indeed if, while the pious folk of the cities named have, after the fashion of Mrs. Jellyby, been for years subscribing missionary funds for the conversion of heathen negroes in Borioboola Gha or other real or imaginary places in central Africa, they have not a few dollars to spare to aid in putting an end to a worse condition of heathenism existing at their own doors. F. T. JONES.

THE GOSPEL IN PAGAN RELIGIONS.*

This book holds the largest measure of tolerance and charity possible to those who keep their minds within the narrow bonds of a Christian faith, and it is an earnest and sincere attempt to mitigate some of the most horrible and revolting (if they were not so palpably absurd and groundless and presumptuous) doctrines of Christianity. These foolish Christians, with their little petty, fantastic ideas of the universe and the mystery of life and mind, and their utterly superfluous Redeemer, impute such notions and motives and conduct to the Infinite Mind, omnipresent in the cosmos, and behind all phenomena, as put all positive human knowledge of the physical universe, all sense of congruity and reason, and all philosophy and history out of court. It is worse than useless to try to arrive at any basis of reason and fact with those professing Christianity, for even the greatest intellects among them put reason aside as inadequate for the examination of Christian doctrines. They substitute "faith" —a perversion of the diseased imagination endeavoring to seize something outside the iron laws of fact and Nature. Christians in putting reason aside have no patience to learn anything from the world in which they are placed. They content themselves with forever playing upon and twisting the words in *one* collection of books of human speculation and myth and history, written in different eras, compounded of the philosophies of various races, but all colored and distorted by the religious and racial conceptions of one race, and naturally containing the extravagant world-conceptions of a superstitious time, before the dawn of the sciences of exact knowledge.

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* "The Gospel in Pagan Religions." By an Orthodox Christian. Price, cloth $1.25, paper 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

Thus we see all the criticisms of a careful and conscientious student like the late Professor Huxley, based upon the facts of biology, geology, history, and archæology, swept aside by the theological devotees, with the remark that "he lacked faith in spiritual and transcendental knowledge." This sort of knowledge is of that convenient kind that forever eludes definition. He and his associates proved that the popular and accepted mythology of the Old Testament version of the origin of things and other matters of a speculative and not semi-historical nature, and that the birth and miracles and resurrection of Jesus were all opposed to the facts of Nature and of no more value than similar folk-lore and myths of other races and quarters of the world, now valued simply as literature and links in the development of the cosmic consciousness of the race. The Bible is one of the world's most precious records of the human mind and imagination, and of the history of a wonderful people. It is filled with the philosophy of the ancient world, and it is vital and real for all time because it holds the highest human thought and speculation of a strong and poetic race and gives us rare glimpses of their neighbors' civilization, now being supplemented by archæological investigation. But it is no more the word of God than these hasty lines of criticism, for God is not the anthropomorphic fussy creature of man's fears, and His only laws are Nature's laws. The Bible is of no more peculiar origin than the Egyptian Book of the Dead, than the Homeric books, than the Talmud, the philosophies of Confucius and Mencius, the "sacred" books of Buddha, or the Vedas and Sagas. No person of the first rank in scholarship and science in the modern world regards the Bible as anything but the priceless literary records of the speculations, poetry, and history of one of the earliest articulate peoples in human history. God is no more in the Bible, in the peculiar sense of plenary inspiration, than He is in this week's *Police Gazette.* But the highest aspirations and thoughts of an ancient people are there, and they touch our thoughts in the identity of all human experience and the endless seeking for the meaning of life and the universe. It is too late in the day for rational beings to squabble over the petty dogmas of the old, narrow, ancient world, that did not extend beyond the Pillars of Hercules, as to the nature and extent of God's salvation and mercy. The only salvation we can rationally know anything about in this world is the uplifting of life from the mere plane of the brute instincts we share with the rest of the animal world, through the control of all our doings by the reason and conformity to the laws of Nature, with that moderation in all things that reason teaches through experience. To lift the mind above the pressure of mere appetite and to free it of its own grotesque fantasies of greed, is all that can reasonably interest and occupy us here. Of the intellect and the body we know something, and we know that all moral perception is nothing more than the perfection of intellect seizing the true relations of life, the operations of law in the universe. Of the soul we know nothing. Its existence is unproved, its qualities and attributes are undefined; it is but a thought in the presence of the change we call death. One thing we know, and that is, when the intellect is swamped and degraded in ignorance and the passions of the flesh, those elements of cosmic feeling we call virtue and morality are lacking, so that, if there is any soul, it seems to be in the keeping of the intellect. Indeed it is difficult to comprehend how men can be appealed to in any way on any matter except through their intelligence. If this is clouded or perverted, there can be no reaching them through any other channel. Thus the soul, if it is not part and parcel of mind, is impotent and superfluous.

Among the pleasing beliefs and humilities of Christian theology are two very important tenets. One is that faith alone can save, good works without faith being of no avail, while faith without good works is potent and will save at the eleventh hour. The other is that salvation is only possible through belief in the redemption offered to all mankind by the crucifixion of Jesus. Those who have never heard of Jesus and his crucifixion are to perish in their sins, for only those can be saved who are saved by faith in Jesus. All of which is very quaint and fantastic, considering what a very obscure person Christ was in his own day, and what a very unimportant official event his crucifixion with two petty thieves was, if indeed it ever took place at all, a matter which is in historical doubt for several good reasons, among which is the fact that the trial is reported to have taken place at night, which was contrary to the law and custom of the time.

But waiving all discussion of the real character of Jesus' teaching and ministry, we find that these dogmas of the logical damnation for the heathen are beginning to appear illogical and childish even to those still within the pale of the church. And here we have a writer, signing himself "An Orthodox Christian," who has written an able and earnest argument in rebuttal of such absurd doctrines, called "The Gospel in Pagan Religions," asserting that the so-called "pagan" peoples are not all doomed to destruction, because the word of God is in all religions. This is a distinct advance in Christian thought, but the author of "The Gospel in Pagan Religions" is not so orthodox in the opinion of the great body of Christian believers as his reason has made him suppose. It costs really *good* Christians a pang to part with the dearly cherished idea that two-thirds of the human beings in the world who are adherents of other forms of mysticism are consequently damned. But then, of course, agnostics who will not believe in miracles, outside of Hermann's Theatre, and who will not affirm anything of which they can know absolutely nothing, are in especial peril of the mild-mannered God of the "Christian" imagination.

But it seems that common sense and reason are beginning to disturb the equanimity of the theological dispensers of hell-fire, even within the ranks of the apostolic succession. History and science and archæological research pile up facts which contradict the "divine revelation" at all points, but the universal claims of the Christian miracle-shop remain undiminished. But what criticism and the eternal truths uncovered by scientific inquiry fail to do, various forms of mild heresy within the church in the cause of the simple dignity of the human reason are beginning to accomplish. The masses have withdrawn from the church because it is arrayed against them in the social and industrial struggle of life, and has nothing vital and real to offer them. They have not been influenced by scientific criticism, but disgusted by the open worship of Mammon in the temples of the lowly carpenter's son of Nazareth. In the apostolic succession the traditional theological squeeze has been put upon reason and free investigation, and, as before, reason has occasionally kicked over the traces and declared that the infallible divine revelation does not contain the whole of truth, and that God is as much in human reason as in all the alleged divine documents in the world. So the church declares her dogmas, and holds her heresy-trials, and thunders against those who lack faith and are damned; but altogether the spirit of the age is against her influence, and unfortunately the flower of the intellectual life of our time is to be reckoned with the damned. Science is slowly permeating the thought of our time with a good-humored scepticism of all cock-sure prophets who disdain proofs and evidence, and so Christianity is going the way of other mythologies, the way of the old Greek gods, and it will in a century or so be nothing but poetic material, one of the tender myth-histories of the race. The trials of Ulysses and the trials of Jesus of Nazareth will be on the same plane of romantic interest.

One of the boldest attacks upon this narrow view of the Creator of the Universe which has come from within the fold of the church for a long time is "The Gospel in Pagan Religions," which was suggested to its author by the impressive spectacle of the Parliament of Religions at the World's Fair. With the increased knowledge of the essential doctrines of all religions, the identity of their moral teaching, the core of the religion is beginning to be recognized among all intelligent people. As for the historical merits of the various religious teachers and Redeemers, the traditional Christ is comparatively modern, and as far as numerical strength of believers is concerned Christianity has never rivalled the older religions of which it is an offshoot and compound. But mere numerical following does not count for anything. It is quite possible that after ten centuries of romance and biography and commentary Madame Blavatsky will loom up to posterity as a Russo-Hindu Goddess, with uncounted millions of true believers. "An Orthodox Christian" is an independent thinker of deep moral sympathies, and without reasoning himself out of the Christian belief he has cut quite adrift from the narrow interpretation of the Scriptures that expects us to believe that God made the whole vast cosmos in order to save a little handful of Christians on this one little third-rate planet. He says:

> The Gospel—from Godspell, meaning God's Word—is good news to men, because it tells them how they may be saved. It is the power of God unto salvation to every one who believes. Man's faith in God's Word is the condition of his salvation. But God's Word is not confined within the articles of Christian creeds, nor limited by the boundaries of church organizations. God speaks in some way to all men; hence St. Paul saith to every man of the race, "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart; that is, the word of faith which we preach." Hence, the gospel, as a saving power, is to be found in pagan religions. God sends into every nation and to every tribe, those "that preach the gospel of peace and bring glad tidings of good things." This seems to be a doctrine of St. Paul, who says: "So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. But I say, have they not heard? Yes, verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." Thus, as he also says in another place, "The grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men." Hence we believe and teach that multitudes in all nations of the earth and in all ages of the world, are saved without ever knowing the creeds of Christendom. St. Peter in the full conviction of this truth opened his mouth and said, "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted of him."
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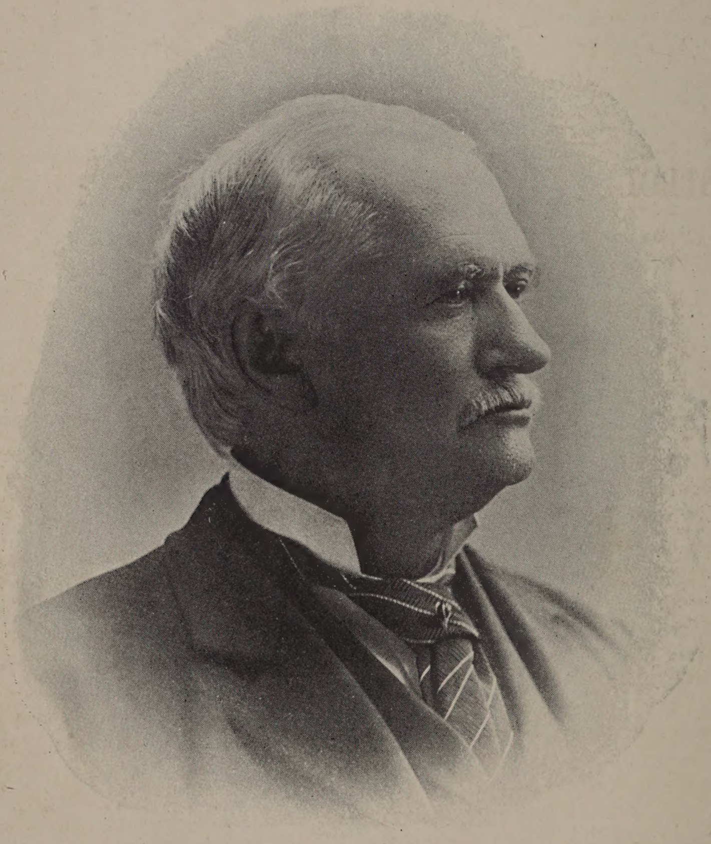
> But how can this doctrine be made to fall into accord with another declaration of St. Peter's, wherein he claims that there is no salvation for men except through Jesus of Nazareth—"For there is none other name under heaven, given among men, whereby we must be saved"? There is but one way—the door of mercy opened by the Lord Jesus Christ—through which God can save sinful men; but men may come to this door of salvation along different paths, all converging to it from different directions. The name of Christ, as the power of God unto salvation, does not stand for the pronunciation of a given collection of letters in any language, but for the great fact that "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." This vital truth, divine mercy unto human salvation, is the undeveloped Godspell that is woven as a thread of life in all pagan religions; and through this divine mercy, multitudes may be saved without knowing the historical name of him through whom human salvation is made possible.

The argument is cleverly worked out, and will do much to broaden the sympathies of those who cling to the doctrines of Christian orthodoxy in spite of the accumulated evidence of science and historical investigation. The writer is sincere and earnest, and strives to extend the boundaries of the Christian scheme of salvation hereafter by every means at command, in the Bible, and in various portions of other sacred literatures and speculative theological writings. It is a book that should have a wide reading among Christian people, and it may be the threshold of wider and more searching comparative studies. As a concordance of what the Testaments contain directly relating to this speculative question of immortality and salvation, especially as it relates to those nations outside the influence of the Christian church and the Bible, it is very valuable for reference. It is an appeal to Christians to be more liberal in their view of other religions. As an argument to upset science and the unsurpassable limits of human knowledge, as an appeal to logical-minded agnostics, it could scarcely carry weight, though it is filled with fine writing, adroit argumentation, and eloquence. But to those firm in the faith it will appeal, as a powerful reconciliation of Christian doctrine and common sense—no easy task, from any point of view.

W. B. HARTE.



Jno T. Morgan

THE ARENA.

No. LXXII.

NOVEMBER, 1895.

STROLLS BEYOND THE WALLS OF CHESTER.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I. The Diogenes of the Dee.

On the morning of the 22d of August, 1894, our little party strolled along the banks of the Dee toward the old city wall. We had left behind us the ruins of the church of St. John the Baptist and the beautiful Grosvenor Park with its velvet-like carpet of emerald and its exceptionally luxuriant shrubbery. Owing to the fact that it was somewhat cloudy, we were debating whether it would be wise to take one of the steam launches for our long contemplated visit to the country seat of the Duke of Westminster, when a weather-beaten boatman importuned us to take a ride upon the river. "It will be a fine morning to visit Eaton Hall," he urged in the broad accent of the English laboring man, "and it will be helping me if you will let me take you there."

I will not attempt to repeat either here or on the following pages the language, nor to imitate the quaint phraseology of this striking individual who clearly was guileless of any extensive acquaintance with the English grammar, but who was, nevertheless, a remarkable man. He was an earnest and thoughtful reader and an independent thinker, and I should say in many respects an excellent type of the sturdy yeomanry who so largely represent the strength of England. I afterwards learned he had saved more than a score of lives from accidental drowning in the treacherous waters of the Dee; he had also rescued several persons who, under the influence of drink, or crushed by adversity, sought the suicide's end in the still hours of the night. He was strong limbed; his face was bronzed with sun and wind—his countenance was open and bore a sturdy expression. He must have been fifty years of age, but was far stronger to all

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appearances than are many pampered sons of wealth at thirty-five. Still, his bowed shoulders and the deep wrinkles together with a certain sadness or gravity which seemed to grace his resolute brow, indicated that his lot in life had been by no means easy, and that much anxiety and care had been mingled in his cup of life. He was quite talkative, very much of a cynic at times, but frequently his remarks were exceedingly thoughtful, and more than once he reflected in a striking manner ideas which I had heard expressed with less perspicuity by toilers with whom I had chanced to fall into conversation in Dover, London, and Liverpool. His outlook on life and public matters, though frankly given in quaint and homely speech, evinced much of the philosopher, and was so strikingly opposite to the views held by the owner of Eaton Hall, that I jotted down much that passed between us, and will preface my description of the palatial country seat of the Duke of Westminister with some of the observations made by our Diogenes of the Dee.

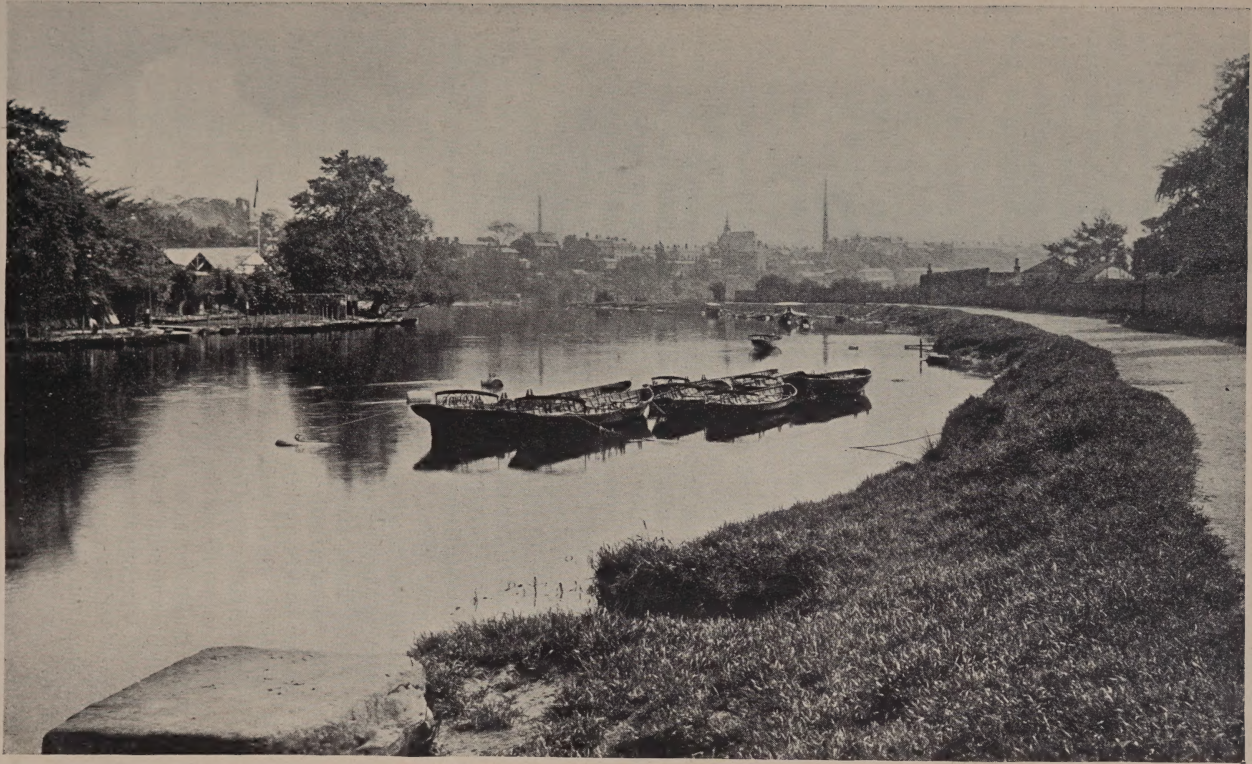
After pointing out many places of interest on the banks of the river, something was said of Judge Hughes, the eminent English author and his experiment at Rugby, Tennessee. The judge is a resident of Chester, and our philosopher seemed to regard him highly.

"He is considerable of a man," he said, "and that is more than can be said of a good many who pride themselves in the possession of titles and wealth."

"We are from America," I observed, "and you know we do not care for titles as you do over here, but I would like to know your opinion of the Duke."

The old man eyed me narrowly a moment and it seemed to me that an incredulous smile played for an instant around his lips at my reference to our contempt for titles. I felt there was a remark upon his lips which might have called to mind the exorbitant prices recently paid by many daughters of our "mushroom aristocracy" for broken-down lords, dukes, and princes, rich only in empty titles, but I fancy his native shrewdness checked him from making a remark which might possibly offend us.

After a moment's reflection he said, "The present Duke is entirely unlike his father, who was very generous and did more for Chester than any person within my recollection. You have seen his statue in Grosvenor Park?" We assented. "Well then you know something of the kind of looking man he was; no one could ever mistake him for his coachman; but the present Duke [and here our philosopher



CHESTER, FROM THE RIVER DEE.

shook his head sadly] is very different; he does not look at all like a man of quality."

I observed that looks were sometimes deceptive.

"I know," he replied, "but this is not one of those cases. He is close, he never gives Chester anything to speak of, he seems to think chiefly of himself and his pleasure, although he is anxious to be regarded as a philanthropist. They say that he has the largest rental income from London property of any man in England; I don't remember the exact figures, but I have them at home, and it is almost too big to believe."

"I have noticed it stated that the Duke is very charitable and he gives all fees from visitors to the palace to charitable institutions," I observed.

"Now there is a case in point," said our cynic. "You see the Duke is very proud of his palace; it is one of the finest in England if not in Europe, and he wants visitors from everywhere to see it; that satisfies his vanity just as the vanity of other men is satisfied in other ways. But, by charging for charity's sake a shilling to see the palace and a shilling to go through the gardens and conservatories, he is able to turn over about five hundred pounds a year to the Chester Infirmary, Rhyl Convalescent Home and other like institutions. This is heralded far and near as an example of the Duke's generosity, and he is enabled to pose as a philanthropist, while unthinking people who work and suffer that such men as the Duke may spend their time in luxurious ease and idleness in London, Scotland, and elsewhere, read these accounts of his charity and are ready to throw up their hats and shout their praises; but that is only because they don't think," continued our philosopher in a slow and emphatic tone. "But," he added earnestly, "there are more and more working men in England every month who are learning to reason for themselves, and they say, and rightly say that we don't want the crumbs that fall from these rich men's tables any longer. We are tired of crawling on our hands and knees for the bones and crumbs after we ourselves have supplied the materials for the feast. They say 'give us justice and not charity,' and you are from America so you can understand how they feel. They say that the Duke does not earn his vast income; he doesn't even go to the trouble of collecting it. London is increasing the value of his property all the time, and without his working he is enabled to reap vast fortunes earned by others, while those who rent his property often have to work hard days and stay awake nights wearing the life out of them to make ends meet and pay their rents. They have to cut down the wages of their employees to almost starvation point and their employees have to skimp and twist and turn and live a dog's life to live at all. Now why should the workers bear the burdens while society is all the time making this property more valuable and the man who has never done anything lives in ease and luxury off of it? That is not justice, and the people have a right to demand justice. Now I don't mean to say the Duke is worse than many other landlords, and think from what I read and hear that he is better than a great many of the money-lending class who are oppressing the people, but the whole system is wrong because it is not just and it is not according to the Scriptures, at least that is what these people say."

"From my point of view I think they are right," I replied.

"Do you think so? I am glad to hear you say that, for I agree with them too."

From this time on our philosopher was very free in his criticism.

"You spoke just now of the principles being unscriptural," I began.

"Does not the Book say, 'If any will not work neither shall he eat'; now what does that imply?" he quickly interposed.

"Yes, but that was not the point I had in mind. I wish to know the attitude of the clergy on the great social and political problems."

The cynic shrugged his shoulders significantly. "I belong to the church," he answered, "but I have not attended service for a long time, because I found out that from the bishops down, fine bonnets and good coats count for more than the heads and hearts of the people. Our clergymen are thinking a good deal more about having an easy time or gaining popularity and having their names appear in the great papers, coupled with fair words, than they are concerned about the poor and the starving in their midst."

"That is undoubtedly true in a large number of cases," I replied, "but there are many clergymen who are very different."

"There may be enough exceptions to prove the rule I have given, but I doubt if there would be any to spare," promptly exclaimed the cynic in homely terms and vigorous tones. "Why, there are fifty-three thousand* members of the clergy in Great Britain, not counting the dissenting ministers. Now if the Master should come as He came of old and He should go to the fishing towns and manufacturing cities of England and search out the poor and suffering; if He should mingle with them and give words of cheer to those of our time who correspond to those who were the publicans and sinners of His day, and at the same time should claim that He was the Lord and simply point to His life, teachings, and works as proof of His assertions, do you think there would be any rush of bishops in England to follow Him? No sir, I can tell you that if they followed Him it would be to testify in court against Him just as the Pharisees and chief priests did of old."

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*These figures are those of our philosopher, and I have not been able to verify his statement, so simply give the number as he gave it to us.

"I think you are correct in your conclusions," I assented. "The cry would be made by the clergy and the press to-day, as it was by conventional society and orthodox leaders in Jesus' time, that He was a wine bibber and a friend of publicans and sinners, or in a word, *disreputable*, not only unworthy of confidence but one who was an impostor making impious claims, and, being a teacher of things that were fundamentally at variance with the existing social order, He should be summarily dealt with in order that society might be protected."

"That is exactly it," exclaimed our philosopher, "and His very works would be denounced as imposition upon the ignorant, His motives would be judged and condemned, and not only the clergy and the courts, but the press and those of the masses *who do not think*, would join in the cry to discredit or destroy Him, just as the Jews did of old. I have often said this," continued the old man, "after I have heard our rectors preaching against the Jews for crucifying Jesus, while they carefully avoided anything in favor of *justice here and now*."

"There is too much dealing with generalities, too much skilful fighting shy of all remedies of a fundamental character in and out of the church the world over," I said, "but have you not found the dissenters more hospitable to the cause of the poor?"

I shall never forget the look of contempt which appeared upon the bronzed face of the old man as he shrugged his shoulders in his characteristic way and replied, "I never attend *chapel*, but from what I hear they are all berries off of the same bush when it comes to handling these questions; they are not anxious to imitate the Master; it would not be safe. No, I never go to chapel."

This was a striking illustration of the power of religious prejudice over a man who prided himself upon his independence of thought and freedom from the trammels of conventionalism. His look, tone, and movement, far more than his words, conveyed the scorn and contempt he felt for the dissenters, and I could easily understand how little it would take to fan the flame of religious prejudice in such as he, until reason and justice would count for naught. The old gentleman soon reverted to Eaton Hall and the family of the Duke, whose ancestors he incidentally reminded us originally aided the Conqueror in robbing the rightful owners of their land.

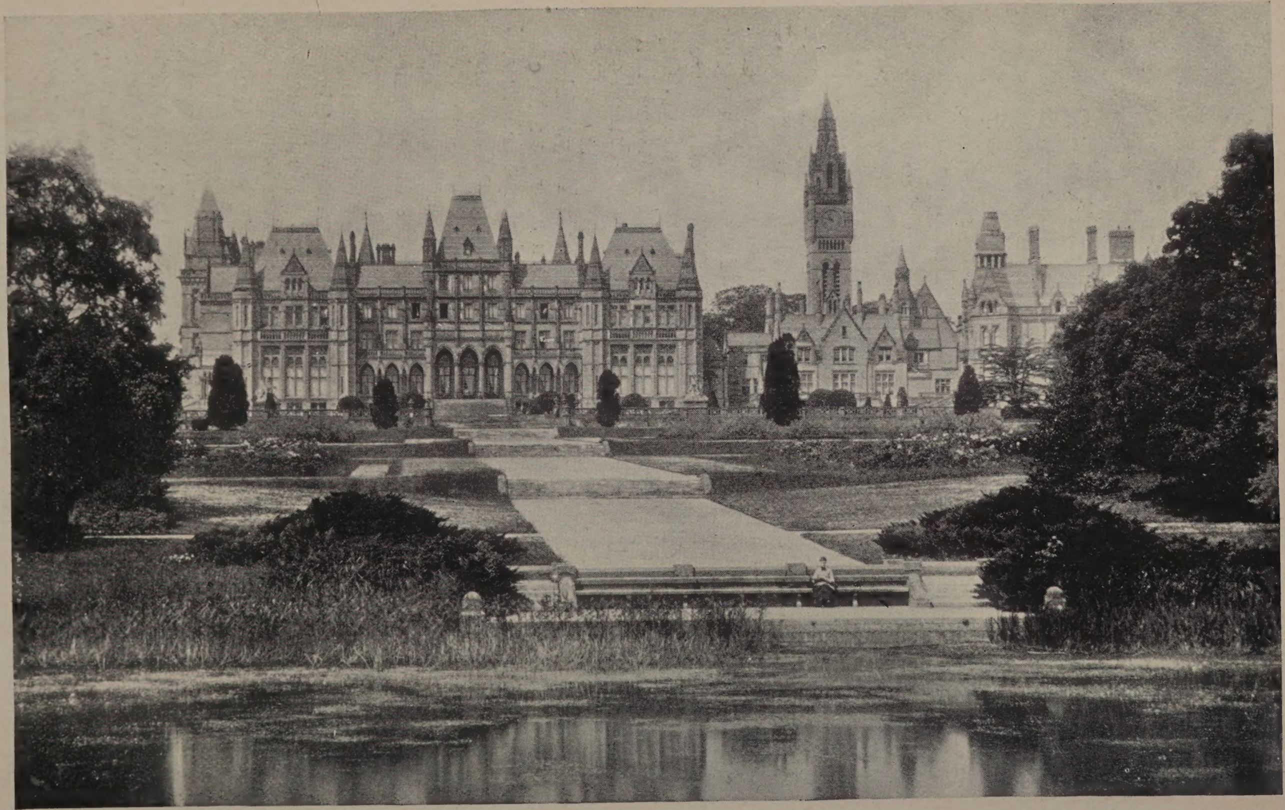
"The property of the Earl of Chester was stolen property in the beginning, and the fortune of the Duke of Westminster is largely the result of laws which have been passed favoring classes. You see," he continued, "these men don't earn the money they get; they don't even *help* earn it. At some time in their lives they come into possession of property which their fathers never earned, and which laws help them to increase, and they gain certain rights which also aid them, but their possessions are not the result of their earnings, while a large part of their wealth comes from poor men and women and children who are compelled to live such lives as the moneyed classes would not dream of having their dogs or horses live. Now you know that is not right, that is not just, and it is not according to the teachings of the Master."

Clearly I thought our philosopher was not a Tory, which suggested to my mind the fact that within a few miles of Chester lived William E. Gladstone, the idol of the Liberals.

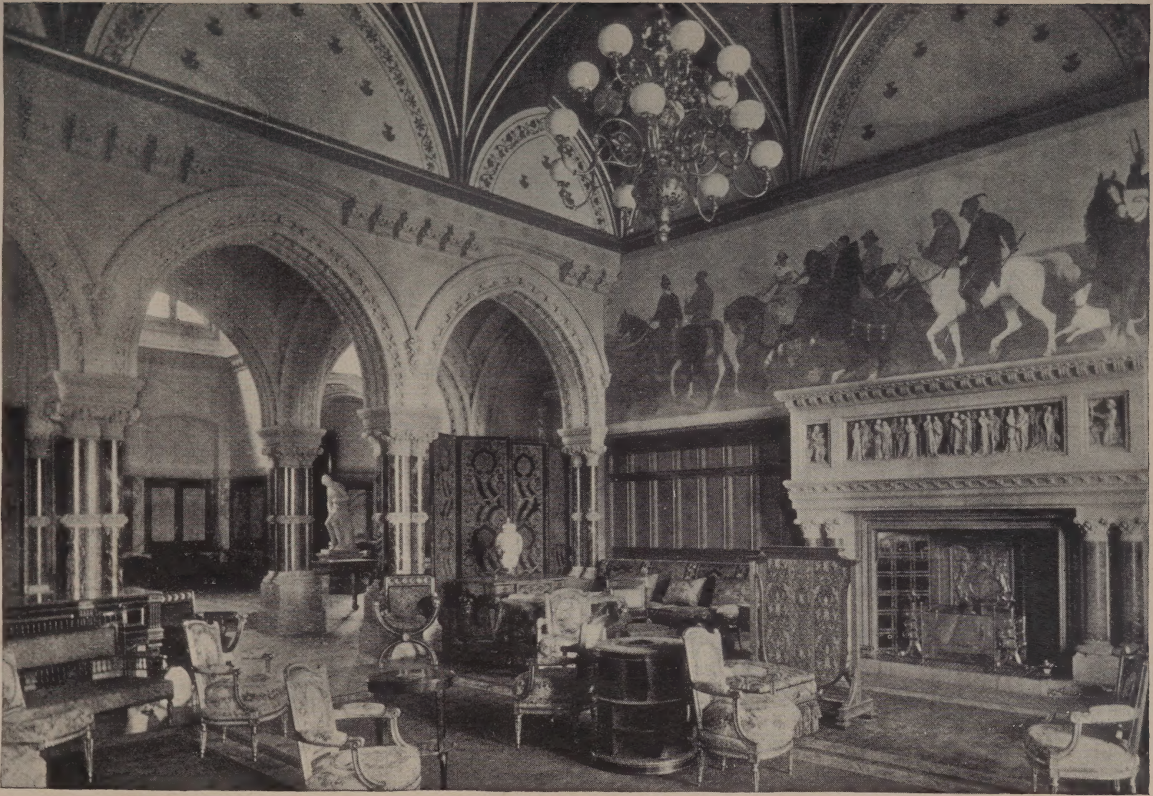
"You have one man living near Chester of whom I suppose you all feel proud."

The philosopher looked up inquiringly. "Gladstone," replied one of our party. Again I noticed the characteristic shrug of the shoulders and something akin to contempt on his face as he replied, "According to my way of thinking, and there are a good many people who agree with me, Gladstone is the most overrated man in England. He is more of a politician than a statesman. He has been on both sides of nearly every great question that has come up in his time. Does that look like statesmanship?"

"A sincere man will often change his mind and all great and worthy men will grow, as they advance in life, so as to see problems in a broader and nobler light than they at first conceived them," I replied. "If a man is always true to the fundamental ideals of justice and fraternity, always on the side of the oppressed, in seeking to relieve their suffering by insisting on the carrying out of the Golden Rule as a law in government no less than between man and man, he is to be



EATON HALL, THE COUNTRY SEAT OF THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER.



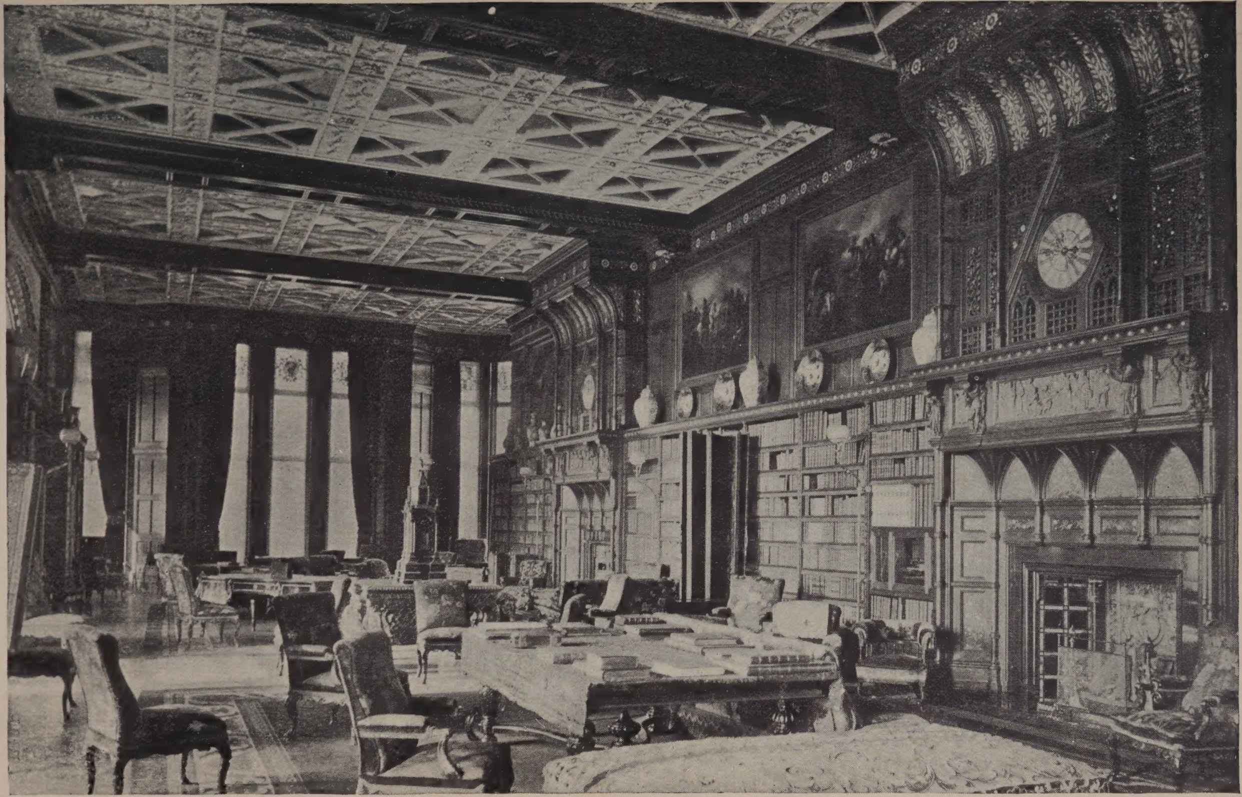
GRAND SALOON IN EATON HALL.

respected however mistaken he may be at times. It is treason to humanity and justice and a disregard to pledges and the sacrifice of fundamental demands of justice to expediency or policy which are reprehensible in statecraft and which deserve our censure. Now does not Mr. Gladstone stand for humanity and progress? is not his pulse always beating with the heart of justice?" I continued.

"No," he replied most decisively, "that is just the trouble with Gladstone; the votes to be won by appealing to the popular and selfish interests of short-sighted Englishmen have led him to disregard the very things which you say are the essentials of a statesman. Look for instance at his attitude during your civil war, when John Bright stood for the cause of freedom; where did Mr. Gladstone stand? Now I do not believe that Mr. Gladstone would admit for a moment that he believed that African, or any other kind of slavery, was right, but it was deemed politic to appeal to the selfish interests of Englishmen in sympathy with the great cotton states, and Gladstone did this; but was it the stand which a statesman would have taken?

"I could mention several other instances," he added, becoming quite earnest as he continued: "It is true he is always foremost in denouncing inhumanity and cruelty if it is in some foreign country, and there is no danger of his party losing by such a stand, but that is not the test of a man's true greatness as I see it. No man knows better than Gladstone the real injustice suffered by the working classes of England to-day, and no one professes to be more in sympathy with them; but his party has come under the control of the landlords and the moneyed classes, and therefore he will not champion any great reform of a radical character which would offend the moneyed classes to whom the Liberals, no less than the Tories, look for support in carrying elections. I used to be a Liberal, but they have pledged reform to the working men too many times, and then when the real masters object to anything of a fundamental character they make a flourish of trumpets and fire blank cartridges, but are very careful to do nothing; this pleases their masters and deceives the people who do not think. The fact is, as I see it, the Liberal party is more anxious to please the rich than the Tories are just at present."

"You think that the Liberals have been captured by the landlords and lendlords of England, and being a party founded on democratic ideals and the ancient enemy of enthroned conservatism and wealth, they are regarded with



LIBRARY IN EATON HALL.

MR. GLADSTONE AND HIS LITTLE GRANDDAUGHTER DOROTHY DREW.

more suspicion by the new masters than are the Tories, whose principles are anti-democratic and whose long fealty to the rich and titled classes frees them from suspicion which rests on the Liberals," I replied.

"That is exactly it," returned our philosopher; "they feel that they must out-Herod Herod to satisfy the rich, and on many points they are less liberal than the Tories. Now I don't know that I am in favor of Woman's Suffrage," he continued, "but take that as an example. Lord Salisbury is far more favorable to it than Gladstone, although one would naturally expect the Liberal leader to champion the right of franchise for women, and there are many other things which I might name in which the Liberals are more conservative on questions which look toward extending the freedom and bettering the condition of the people, which are being more strenuously opposed by the Liberals than the Tories. The Liberal party, it seems to me, is very much like Dickens' Uriah Heep in its attitude toward the moneyed classes. Its very action suggests Uriah's favorite phrase, 'I am very 'umble.' "

"Well," I said, "Gladstone took a brave stand for Ireland."

"And there again he counted the cost," interposed our cynic. "Look at his past record on that question. Parnell was able to convince him that his little band was indispensable to Liberal supremacy; a bargain was struck, and had all gone well with Parnell, the programme might have succeeded, but as a matter of fact I do not think Gladstone has shown true statesmanship in handling the Irish question; a middle course it seems to me, would have been the wisest at the present time at least. Mr. Gladstone favors altogether too much for the safety and security of England when we remember the geographical position of Ireland. Indeed, here again he considered the success of his party rather than the real interest of England or Ireland in the bargain which he struck with Parnell. Now if he had shown anything like this zeal in carrying out measures of permanent value in order to secure justice to English working men and tenants he would, it is true, have offended the moneyed classes no doubt, but he would have acted the part of a true statesman and a wise humanitarian, and even though he might have suffered defeat for a time, Liberalism would have gained more permanent supremacy in England in the long run. At least, that is the way we look at it, and do you know there are tens of thousands of voters all over this country who no longer take their ideas from the clergy, the big papers, or the politicians; they are thinking for themselves, and you mark my words, at the next general election the Liberal party will be overthrown. I don't expect the Tories will do much better, but it is necessary that the Liberals be rebuked. The working people," he continued, "are talking among themselves and doing a great deal of thinking. There are a great many things being written which don't appear in the papers, and which the public don't

HAWARDEN, THE HOME OF MR. GLADSTONE.

take into account, but some day all this educational work, which is making men think for themselves as never before, will tell, and the world no less than England will be surprised at the result; but here we are at the landing. I will remain until you return; don't hurry."

We stepped from the boat and turned our faces toward Eaton Hall. From remarks dropped, which space forbids my giving, it was evident that our cynical philosopher had been reading much of the literature of social democracy. He gave us an approximate number of the abandoned farms, together with the views of writers of considerable reputation, showing that the shortsighted course of England in permitting the money-lending classes to dictate her policy had reacted on the poor at home, as well as the creditor nations abroad, and that even the landlords were now suffering in consequence. From the views expressed by others, in various parts of England, no less than his own statement of the number of those who believed as he did, I became deeply impressed with the conviction that there was a tremendous undercurrent of discontent in England. Tens of thousands have lost faith in the politicians and the partisan press of to-day. They are reading a vast amount of literature favoring social democracy, and I believe that while the pendulum will possibly move backward and forward for a time between Liberalism and Toryism yet in England unless there arises, at an early date, some statesman with the sagacity of Sir Robert Peel to meet the impending crisis as he met the Corn Law agitation, some startling changes will take place in this island before a generation passes.

II. The Country Seat of the Duke of Westminster.

The roadway to Eaton Hall led through a broad expanse of sparsely wooded land beautifully carpeted with velvety grass. A large number of deer were feeding near the road, but took no notice of passing visitors; they seemed as tame as sheep in our pastures. Some idea of the extent of the Duke's domain may be gained when it is remembered that the park in which the palace of Eaton Hall is situated is eight by twelve miles in area.

We first entered the gardens; a scene of beauty never to be forgotten opened before us. The extensive conservatories were marvellous in their color effects, and although the air was tropical and heavy with mingled perfumes we were tempted to linger some time in the midst of the artificially tropical region in which the prodigality of nature in her color effects was so conspicuous. One of our party observed that if a quantity of the flowers which were fading, were cut and daily sent to the sick in and out of the hospitals at Chester and thereabouts, the cost would be small, while numbers of hearts and homes would be brightened and subtly refined. The great fruit conservatories were also interesting; here peaches, plums, and pears, no less than grapes, were trained as vines along great walls and loaded with their luscious products.

"The Duke must enjoy the flowers and fruit," I suggested to a gardener.

"He is not here much of the time to enjoy them," was the reply; "at present he is in Scotland, but he lives in London, and is here but a few months in the year."

Thinking how much the weary invalids, not four miles distant, would enjoy the luscious peaches and grapes which were hanging on these vines, we turned into the palace, which I will not attempt to describe at length, contenting myself with brief descriptions of some typical rooms.

Eaton Hall is a noble edifice, displaying in a most striking manner what the resources of modern art can do when great wealth is at command. The duke is said to be the richest nobleman in England. He has certainly expended vast sums in the most lavish manner on this magnificent country seat. Probably one of the most striking rooms of the palace is the Grand Saloon. This apartment, which in reality is an extension of the great central hall, presents a most imposing prospect from every side, impressing the visitor with the scale of grandeur which pervades the interior of the building no less than the charm of nature, heightened by the cunning hand of art, which is appreciated the moment one looks out of the great windows of the saloon. A striking feature of the interior decoration is H. Stacy Mark's panoramic paintings of Chaucer's "Canterbury Pilgrims." The strength of this work lies in the marked individuality of the characters represented rather than in its color effects, which indeed seemed to me to be indifferent; the artist, however, has achieved a real triumph in the life-like qualitites which characterize the numerous individuals represented. The vaulted ceiling of the room will attract the attention of the visitor whether or not he feels, as I did, that it was somewhat out of harmony with the other decorations in the room. It is treated after an East Indian design, the centre being a representation of the sun surrounded by stars, all treated in gold on an azure background. The mantel-piece in this apartment is especially rich and effective; but of all the show rooms of the palace, the one which impressed me as being the most harmonious in treatment as it was also the most attractive, was the library. This great hall, which is ninety-two feet in length and thirty feet in width, is richly furnished and contains more than twelve thousand volumes. Two immense mantel-pieces are noble specimens of fine wood-work and are in perfect keeping with the general treatment of the room, which throughout is rich and delightfully harmonious. A very interesting decorative feature is found in five large historical paintings by Benjamin West, among the most interesting of which are Oliver Cromwell Dissolving the Long Parliament, Charles II Landing in Dover, and The Death of General Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham. In this connection I would mention among the art treasures of Eaton Hall, several life-size portraits of the Grosvenor family executed by some of the most eminent portrait painters, including Sir John Millais—there are also some pictures attributed to Rubens.

Before leaving the palace we paused for the second time within the Chapel; here as elsewhere we were impressed with the lavish expenditure of money. The lofty tower of this chapel is fully one hundred and seventy-five feet in height; it contains a chime consisting of twenty-eight bells, the largest weighing two and a half tons. The interior of the edifice is very impressive with its handsome stained-glass windows through which the sunlight was flooding the rich furnishings from the many colored panes.

As I stood there I was reminded of some remarks made by our philosopher about Jesus, and I wondered how the lowly Nazarene, in whose honor this edifice was ostensibly erected, would have felt had He been there fresh from London, where without a place to lay His head He had shared the lot of thousands of out-of-works who nightly sleep on the stone embankment along the Thames. I believed, judging from the life He lived in Palestine, that had he stood in the aisles of this magnificent chapel, His serene brow would have borne a look of mingled sorrow and indignation. I fancied He would have felt something of the unutterable sadness which He experienced when he wept over Jerusalem, and something of the withering indignation which marked His speech when He uttered His terrible "woes" against those "who devour widow's houses and for a pretence make long prayers."

III. Hawarden on a Fete Day.

During our stay in Chester we visited Hawarden, the home of William E. Gladstone, the man whom I believe to be the most ardently loved and the most thoroughly feared and disliked among the statesmen of England. Hawarden is six miles east of Chester across the borders of Wales, and the visitor who takes a cab or the tram-car passes through one of those horrible little towns which are given over to mining or manufacturing, so frequently encountered in England. The sight of the bare, dirty houses and the barren aspect of things on every side cannot fail to cast a gloom over the mind. I remember that the oppression occasioned by the sight of this town spoiled to a great degree the enjoyment we would otherwise have derived from the beautiful scenery which lay beyond, especially the Welsh hills, clothed in that purple haze, the charm of which may be felt but can never be described, which rose in the distance. The village of Hawarden was gorgeously arrayed in holiday attire in honor of a fete at Hawarden manor-house, and throngs were constantly arriving from remote parts of England, reminding one of pilgrims visiting the shrine of a saint. To obtain a glimpse of the face of the "Grand Old Man" seemed to be a "consummation devoutly wished," and if perchance the visitor might hear his voice, that indeed would be something for him to dwell upon when he reached home and narrated again and again to his wife, his children, and the more or less envious neighbors, the story of this great event in his sombre life. The ardent admiration entertained by thousands of visitors no less than the enthusiasm everywhere manifested by the inhabitants of Hawarden, contrasted most boldly with the opinions expressed by our Diogenes of the Dee.

The wonderful magnetic power exerted by this remarkable man who has played so important a part in the drama of English politics, reminded me of the enthusiasm which marked the campaign when Mr. Blaine ran for the presidency. I remember that while the press of Massachusetts was anything but enthusiastic in his support, he received such an ovation when he spoke in Boston as few men have ever enjoyed. Henry Clay was another great figure in American politics who awakened the same intense enthusiasm on the part of the masses which Mr. Blaine exerted, during the aggressive period of his career, and which Mr. Gladstone has long wielded throughout England. I know of no living statesman who calls forth anything like the same degree of admiration, confidence, and love from his partisans as does Mr. Gladstone. This intense loyalty, which in cases almost amounts to blind devotion, always begets bitter enmity. The Tories of England make a very black indictment when they enumerate the real or supposed shortcomings of the idol of the Liberals, while the Social Democrats, who have come out largely from Mr. Gladstone's party, and which I think are rapidly growing in numbers even though they lack as yet the power which comes with union and leadership, regard him in various degrees of disfavor, ranging all the way from sincere regret that he can not or will not see the necessity for fundamental social changes, to open contempt, no less marked or intense than that expressed by the most ultra Tories.

On the day we visited Hawarden the vast multitude which was assembled was not only rewarded by seeing Mr. Gladstone but their joy was increased by hearing him deliver a brief address, and the cup of joy was filled to overflowing when little Dorothy Drew, the petted granddaughter of the great statesman, appeared before them waving her handkerchief in response to their thunderous applause. I regret that it was impossible for us to see the aged statesman owing to the illness of one of our party.

Hawarden, like Chester, has a wonderful history. It was a Saxon stronghold before the Norman conquest, and was ceded to Hugh Lupus after the creation of the earldom of Chester. Situated almost on the border between England and Wales, it has been the scene of many exciting and important episodes in the annals of English history. In 1645 Charles I found temporary refuge here after his flight from Chester, but the castle afterwards fell into the hands of the Parliamentary forces and was subsequently almost destroyed. From the present ruins, which date back to the thirteenth century, one obtains a fine view of the Dee valley. For a period of two hundred years Hawarden belonged to the famous Stanley family, but subsequently it was purchased by Chief Justice Glynn, and in 1874 passed into the family of Mr. Gladstone.

The old castle is less interesting, perhaps, than the present mansion where resides the eminent Liberal leader. The great library of Mr. Gladstone consists of more than ten thousand volumes, and is free to the residents of Hawarden, who have merely to register their names and the dates when they borrow the volumes. A large orphanage, liberally supported by Mrs. Gladstone, is found a short distance from the mansion, and speaks of the warm heart of that most estimable lady. The park in which the castle and modern mansion are situated is exceedingly beautiful, and contrasts strongly with the home environments of the voters who go to make up the bone and sinew of the Liberal party of England.

That Mr. Gladstone has failed to grasp the real meaning and significance of the social discontent of our times, I think is unquestionably true; that he has failed to rise to the heights which would have enabled him to catch a glimpse of the new social order which must replace the present as surely as centralized government supplanted feudalism, is in my judgment equally obvious. That his position on many questions, as woman's enfranchisement for example, is distinctly opposed to the onward current of the best thought of our age is clearly apparent; but that in spite of his shortcomings his is a manly and noble figure, we must in justice concede, and be our views what they may in regard to Mr. Gladstone as a statesman, the personal and home life of the man challenges the sincere admiration of all lovers of sturdiness and comparative simplicity, in an age when those in elevated stations are living a life permeated with artificiality and where too many of our reputed great men are vying with each other in wanton luxury and selfish indulgence.

WHY DOES THE SOUTH WANT FREE SILVER?

BY UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN.

The question asked by the ARENA is, "Why does the South want free silver?" The South has no interest in silver money that is either political or geographical. It has a social and historical interest in the use of silver money which is of the greatest importance. The interest of the South in silver money relates, chiefly, to two facts: First, that it is supplied to the world only through the slow and laborious toil of the miner, and its steady production prevents the inflations and depressions of values and prices that are so easily within the control of money that is based on credit, and constantly subject to the fluctuations of those speculations that beset the world with financial gambling. Second, that it furnishes to labor the only safe and convenient measure for the value of a day's work performed by human hands.

"The South," as we designate the Southern States, has a great natural monopoly of cotton and yellow pine, and is the active rival of all other countries in the production of coal and iron. In these elements of industrial and commercial power the South has no rival whose competition is really dangerous. It is not necessary to enter into an inquiry as to the facts, or to enumerate the resources, that establish this truth, and make it both inevitable and perpetual. Whether or not the causes are understood, the result in a demonstration which the world must accept, without the necessity of any other argument than the known facts that are beyond dispute. All efforts to disprove or avoid this actual situation have failed.

These great factors in all progressive civilization are incapable of full development and perfect use in any country by any other means than individual, human hand-labor. The South must always be a great field for such toilers. In this fact we must also discern the close relation between mining for the precious metals, and the bringing into commercial usefulness of the great leading industries of the South. They are, alike, the fruits of individual labor. But there is something more than a close relationship between these industries, growing out of the similarity of the labor employed in them. There is a mutual dependence that makes them essential to each other. Without the free use of silver money, with full legal-tender power, our strength will be wasted in the effort to develop our leading industries.

Individual toil is the bottom fact in all the human progress that we call "the progress of civilization." Individual toil creates the real basis on which the human family depends for existence as well as for progress. If the world should attain to the condition that would render individual labor unnecessary, it would cease to be the theatre which God designed for the education and uplifting of the human family. This condition will always exist, and it will always present the inquiry as to how much of the fruits of labor the laborer should be permitted to enjoy. Justice, sound policy, and religion all demand that the laws shall protect labor against the avarice of those who employ it and live upon its earnings.

The South, with its virtual monopoly of two of these great and essential elements of man's physical and commercial prosperity, ought to furnish the best and most remunerative field for the labor of those who must earn their bread in the sweat of their brow. And this will be so, unless their rich productions shall become too great a temptation for those who live only by speculation in finance and commerce, and, out of their gains, support and keep in office their servants, the politicians.

In the South, the greatest need is for such regulation—of which money is the vital point—as will encourage individual toil, by securing to it a fair and steady compensation. The great industries of the South, especially in cotton, coal, iron, and lumber, will always be conducted by hand-labor. Machinery may assist these labors, but there is no substitute for the human hand in the cotton harvest-field, or in the mines, or the lumbering camp, that will dispense with individual toil, or even check the growing necessity for it. To secure the prosperity and peace of these laborers, on which the whole destiny of the South mainly depends, they must have the inducements of family, home, education for their children, and some assurance that their lives are not measured alone by the days they live, and the quantity and quality of the food they consume, and are not to end with a monument of clay in a potter's field. Whether they are white or black or yellow, their usefulness will depend upon the hope of a just reward for their labor, which shall not be taxed by their being compelled to pay interest, or usury, either to the government or to the banker that shall furnish the money to compensate them for their labor. The issue and use of paper money that represents the credit of the government, or of a bank, is inseparable from the burden either of interest or taxation. To represent money, such paper issues must be redeemable in gold or silver coin, and the banks must get the coin with which to redeem them, through the use of their credit, and the government must get it by taxation. The government has no right to mine for gold or silver, even on the public lands. That is the exclusive right of the people.

There is not a dollar of paper money in the hands of the people that did not find its way to them through the assistance and under the incumbrance of the credit of some pledge for its redemption in gold or silver coin. Every such paper dollar is a debt on which the people must pay interest, and what they pay to the banks is a very burdensome rate. Money, coined for the people—the producers of bullion—whether of gold or silver, and put into circulation by them, starts on its career of debt-paying and of the purchase and sale of commodities, with no tax or other burden upon it to be paid in taxes or over the counter of a bank. It is its own redeemer, and calls for no sacrifice. It is the earning of the toiler, crystallized into imperishable wealth and paid to him in the fruits of his own toil. The banker may get hold of it and lend it at interest; but the government receives it for taxes and pays it out for services without any responsibility for its redemption, and therefore without imposing any taxation for its redemption. In the hands of the holder it is property, to be used, in its largest sense, as property; but in the hands of the government it is only the redeemer of promises and the extinguisher of indebtedness. In the hands of the government, coined money is a measure of value, but the government cannot speculate in money.

The miners of gold and silver are the producers of the sole measures of value, and they produce the treasure that represents accumulated wealth. When such creative power, as to money, is secured to any people, whereby they may supply these representatives of wealth and these measures of all values, and when that power is fixed and guaranteed in the organic laws of our country, there can be no more important or valuable right, nor can any liberty enjoyed by the people exceed it in its blessing.

This right to have their labor coined into money is the proud and universal liberty secured to our people in the constitution of the United States. It existed under British law, both as to gold and silver, when the constitution was ordained, and it was preserved, as the liberty of free speech and of religion was preserved, to all coming generations. The South does not want to surrender this important right. This statement needs no argument to uphold it, because the constitution cannot be intelligently read in any different light. The history of our states and people, contemporary with the foundation of our government, teaches but one lesson on this subject. It is enough that no advocate of the exclusive coinage of gold has as yet contended that gold and silver are separated in their functions as to coinage, and in respect of their power as legal-tender money under our constitution. It will be a rashly bold statesman who will venture to make such a distinction between these precious metals and assert that gold is a money metal, and that silver is not, in the meaning of our constitution. If the South had no other reason for insisting upon the equality of silver and gold as money metals, in respect of coinage and legal-tender power, their inseparable union in the constitution would be an all-sufficient reason for that demand.

The South has never sought to strike down any of the rights of American citizens, as they are guaranteed in the constitution, and, although it has no silver mines and has valuable gold mines, the selfish purpose of adding double value to gold, by hostile legislation as to silver, has no place in the hearts of the Southern people, and they oppose the heresy of taxing a laborer for the use of the money that pays his daily wages. The miner can dig for gold and silver and have it coined, and pay himself his own wages, without the aid of a bank or banker, under our constitution.

The invested capital of the South is almost exclusively in real estate. The banking laws of the United States forbid the use of any of such property as a basis of bank loans to the people. The only security that the national banks are permitted to take for loans, besides the personal credit of those whose paper they may discount, is bonds, stocks, and liens, in the nature of chattel mortgages, such as bills of lading on exported crops and other productions. The whole advantage of our national banking system, which rests alone on the taxation of the people, is thus given by law to those engaged in merchandise and commerce and to those who speculate upon the annual crops and productions of the industrial people. The great mass of Southern wealth is rendered useless, under our laws, as a basis for financial credit, and the crops are resorted to and are virtually mortgaged to the commercial classes even before they are produced. This is true as to eighty per cent, at least, of all the productions of the South that enter into commerce. They go to the markets loaded with such a weight of incumbrances that there is no real choice left to the producer as to the time or place at which they must be sold, and he has almost no influence in fixing the price of his commodities. It is difficult to conceive of a more embarrassing situation than is caused by these coercive laws, which force those who create commerce to become the helpless dependents of those who handle it. The producer is cut off from the benefit of the laws of supply and demand, which properly regulate prices, and this privilege of pricing productions is thrown into the hands of the speculators who have commercial liens, in advance, on the crops or other productions. The annual losses on this account are enormous, and those who control the crops derive a corresponding profit.

Low prices of cotton and grain, at the annual opening of the market, have become as periodical as the seasons, and are regularly followed by a rise in prices after the producers have sold their crops. This could not be if the laws of the country did not give to the commercial institutions chartered by special acts, the control of the finances. The great body of the producers of all commercial property must, of necessity, avail themselves of what credit they may have while the labor of production is in progress and before the result is known. They must, therefore, resort to those who have available capital, in the form of either money or credit, to get the aid of their support; and, as a necessary result, they must pledge the annual production in advance to meet the current outlay of their business. This is especially true of the industries of the South, as everybody knows, and it creates a vital necessity for competition in the business of furnishing to them a proper supply of money. When that business is monopolized, industry is always taxed to the limit of endurance. The whole body of our productive industries is as completely under the control of the banks and other financiers as a locomotive is under the control of the engineer. To the extent that the miners of silver and gold can relieve the producing classes from the grip of this class, and only to that extent, will they derive a just reward from their labor.

Not only are we excluded from using the only real capital we have—our lands—as a basis of credit in the national banks which rest for their foundation alone upon the tax-paying power of the people, but we are forbidden to use the rightful power of the states to establish banks of issue, and thus to give our people some rightful use of their own credit, which would be safely based upon actual coin in the vaults of their local banks.

The constitution of our country is annulled for the purpose of giving the control of all finance to the national banks. The plea on which this flagrant wrong is justified—namely, that the states cannot be trusted in supplying currency to their own people, and that congress alone has the wisdom and honesty requisite to provide such laws—adds grievous insult to injury. It is unworthy of discussion. But the deplorable fact confronts us that the commerce of the South is placed by our laws within the control of financiers and the national banks to such an extent that it is handled exclusively for their profit and advantage. We grow the harvest which they reap. This is equally true of the West and of all the mining states. This condition must be relieved, or else we shall have another fatal exhibition of that ever present movement that is always alert and active in gathering the control of all productive industry within the grasp of accumulated capital. Money, instead of being the servant of industry, is now the master that rules all the fruits of labor with almost unlimited power.

The power of money is greater or less according to the ability of wealthy men and corporations to keep its control concentrated in their hands; and the power thus to focalize money depends in a large degree upon the denominations in which it is coined or printed. It is easier to get together one thousand bills of ten thousand dollars each, than it is to assemble one million dollars in bills of one dollar each. Capital handles the larger bills like a concentrated army, while labor uses small bills in widely scattered hands. The same incidents attach to gold and silver coins, and have given to silver the designation of "the money of the poor man." It is the money of every man, and is indispensable to all, and especially to the poor, because it pays for the daily bread of hundreds of millions of people.

In the form of fractional coins, every man is the friend of silver money. The enemies of silver money concentrate their warfare upon the silver dollar alone. There are but two reasons for this hostility: One is that the silver dollar, being a full legal tender, increases the volume of "sound money" in a denomination that is not easily capable of being concentrated in large sums; and the other is, that silver money circulates without creating, in its origin, any interest burden upon the people, and supplants paper money which never leaves a bank without creating a debt, by way of interest, that continues to grow so long as it is in circulation. The miner who produces a silver dollar gets no interest on it after he pays it out; but the banker who prints and circulates a promise to pay a dollar to the bearer always gets interest, and often usury, upon it so long as it is kept in circulation. The banker keeps his capital in hand, while he loans its representative to the people. The causes of this conflict between coin and paper money are not to the advantage of the people when they result in lessening the supply of sound, constitutional money in the hands of the people, and in the increase of the facility for concentrating paper money in the vaults of the banks.

The silver dollar is a domestic coin that stays in the neighborhood and does its work among the laboring classes, without going to the banks, either for redemption or for use in creating "corners" in the market or in forming a new base upon which interest or usury can be accumulated. It is, therefore, the most useful money for the people. It is not dangerous to anybody; it never did any harm and never will.

Instead of driving gold into retirement, silver is as free from exclusiveness when coined as gold is, or as silver is when they are associated in chemical or physical union, as they often are in the ores from which they are extracted. When gold abounds, for whatever reason, it has a tardy and limited circulation among the producing classes. It is not convenient for them. It is too concentrated for the minor uses of money, and it is always avoiding investment. Gold is the money of the speculator and the miser, while silver fructifies industry as the rains do the earth. It is the spring that fills the brook, the river, and the ocean, and it is all the safer because it comes, a drop at a time, from the fountain. A dollar, in silver, for a day's work in a mine, is not a dangerous cause of inflation of the currency.

The South with its gold mines, and the West with its silver mines, have a constant and indispensable demand for full legal-tender silver coins, in order to pay the laborers. The life of their industries can no more be sustained without such coins, or some banker's paper substitute for them, than the laborers in the fields, forests, and mines can be supported on insufficient food or on compressed air.

Gold coins represent accumulated wealth, as silver coins represent active working capital. When the bullion in silver coins is at a premium over the bullion in gold coins at a given ratio, the silver coins do not retire from circulation, as gold does under like conditions. Silver is always seeking investment in productive property or in commodities intended for immediate use or consumption, and, indeed, in all descriptions of property; while gold waits for speculative opportunity, and it comes into circulation only when traffic is brisk because other sound money is abundant, or when the value of property has gone to the bottom of the market in a general bankruptcy. It then becomes a wrecker and gathers in salvage.

Silver is an incentive to trade and industry, because it stimulates labor and gives to it, every day, the rewards of its daily earnings. Not so with gold; it waits for the more convenient season, when it can gather harvests where it has not sown. It cannot be split into fractions corresponding to the value of a day's work, and the banker gets the job of making the requisite paper dollars, and still uses the "gold basis" of his credit to speculate upon. No country can be prosperous, under free labor, if the toilers are not permitted to be thrifty in gathering their small earnings, day by day. The gold dollar has been abolished in our coinage laws to give place to the paper dollar, and also because the laborers found it too small in size for the convenience of their thick, rough hands. Fractions of gold dollars are absurd; they have not existed in the laws of industrial nations, and they never will be coined. We must, therefore, have fractions of silver dollars, or else we deprive the laboring classes and all others of the means of applying the value of a day's work to the several and varying wants of the family. The laborer must labor five days, on a credit, before he can get his pay in gold for a day's work. Under such a system, the laborers must be taxed to get paper money for their wages, or else they must lend the bankers hundreds of millions of dollars for five days without interest, or else they must "take their pay in the store."

The silver dollar is as large a silver coin as is needed for any use, and its size and weight will never be made larger, because that is not necessary. Why such a coin is deprecated and denounced as "unsound money," when two half dollars and four quarters or ten dimes are "sound money," though they are about eight per cent lighter in pure metal than the silver dollar, is a question that needs some rational answer. It is easily given and cannot be mistaken. The answer is that our silver dollars, being a full legal tender for all sums, are the competitors of gold and of paper money in the payment of debts.

Those who use money merely for a basis of banking and speculation, in which vast sums are employed, are not content that silver dollars should be used in payment of debts. In commercial and financial dealings with foreign countries, these classes find it to their advantage to make exchanges and payments in gold bullion—not in gold coin, for all coin is rated as bullion when it crosses the ocean. They demand the power to coerce payment of all debts of a commercial sort in gold, because that better subserves the purposes of their business, and they demand unlimited issues of bonds to borrow money for their sole advantage, to enable them to earn profits from their business.

Just at this point there arises a necessary and irrepressible conflict between the industrial and the speculating or trading classes, that must continue until the end of time under our present laws. The latter class demands that the toilers shall yield the full legal-tender, debt-paying power of silver dollars, and shall pay their debts only in gold.

Silver coin is set apart in the constitution, equally with gold coin, as legal tender for all debts; and so imperative is this obligation and duty of government that even the sovereign states are prohibited from making legal tender of any other money. It is, therefore, contrary to the constitution, and is a national humiliation, when we undertake to shape our laws so as to accommodate those engaged in commerce alone, or to mould them to the financial system of Great Britain, which limits the legal-tender power of silver coins to the sum of forty shillings or ten dollars. The South has great need of this provision of our national constitution for preventing the depreciation of the prices of crops and real estate, as well as of labor. Without it, the existing volume of private indebtedness would be greatly increased in its burden, and the prices of all our leading productions would be measured in gold at London. Every production would be valued according to the scarcity of gold, as compared with the increase of our exports of these supplies; and a large crop would insure a low price, for these reasons, and also because the consumers, the world over, are so impoverished in their supply of money, in the absence of silver money, that they are not able to pay good prices, in very scarce and dear money, for what they need. If we do not produce at pauper rates, under such conditions, the pauper consumers cannot take our productions; and the poorer classes are our best customers.

Labor will soon force the world to the adoption of a wiser plan, which has for its support the justice and the will of divine authority. In the South we have two races that furnish labor, and a class who own real estate—our actual capital—and employ labor in working it. That class may have some reasons, that are not general, for preferring a scarcity of money, with exaggerated purchasing power; but such reasons, if they exist, do not change the purpose of that class, so honorable to them, to enable their employees to enjoy the utmost thrift that is possible, and to realize the full advantage of our just system of organic law. A different feeling, manifested in a less liberal and just policy, would soon render the presence of these races and classes intolerable to each other. The duty of self-preservation entails upon the owners of landed estates the corresponding duty of preserving and encouraging those who labor in the fields, the forests, and the mines.

Justice to labor is chief among the higher virtues of men in authority. This justice cannot be done under such a contraction of coined money as is proposed by the demonetization of silver. If a laboring man can handle no money, but must live on the credit or kindness of his employer and "take his pay in the store," he is nearly as poor in the blessing of independence as is the employer who must mortgage the annual production of his land in advance that he may get some ready money with which to carry on his business.

Landed estates in the South will continue to be held in still larger areas, and the small holdings will be absorbed in them, if only gold coin is to be used as the money of redemption and in the payment of wages, and if paper money used in working these plantations must be paid for at high rates out of the annual products of the soil; such taxes always fall upon labor in the end. A laboring peasantry has never yet acquired the dignity and prosperity of free men by delving in the soil and receiving their pay in gold or in money that is taxed by the lender with a heavy interest. The cost of paper money is made too great for the laborer by the interest taxation, and that of gold because of its scarcity.

The supply of money that reaches the producers and the laborers in the South and the West, under our financial system, is exceedingly meagre. In actual circulation, it will not reach five dollars *per capita* through the whole year. Our paper and gold money does not remain among the people. It is migratory, and is moved to and from great financial centres, under the orders of the capitalists. In a sound monetary system, the money of the country would seek the market centres, instead of the markets seeking the money centres. As we are deprived of local banks of issue, by an abuse of the constitution, and as every national bank is only a stem of the great vine whose root is in New York or possibly in London, we have a need of silver money, drawn from nature's treasury, that is very pressing. It is the only money we have that the bankers cannot absolutely control. It is too heavy for distant transportation, and it does not come and go through the mails or on express trains to meet speculative demands or to be loaned to stock-gamblers. They do not want it. It lingers in the hands of toiling men and about their homes and promotes thrift among them. It is the only money that is used by nearly two-thirds of the toilers throughout the world, and it has never worked a hardship or a disappointment to any laboring man.

The South is very much in need of silver money, to reëstablish the financial power and influence that, for many decades, was felt in all the marts of commerce, when almost every man of wealth in the South was his own banker. These and a great number of other facts proved by our experience stand out as a frowning answer of solemn denial against the forebodings and false prophecies as to coming evils which comprise the whole argument against the use of silver money in the South. All our experience, it seems, must yield to the brazen audacity of false prophets. The danger of an inflation of silver from over-production is a chimera, and is proved to be such by the fact that, in all ages, it has never occurred.

The relative rate of production, as between silver and gold—sixteen parts of silver to one of gold—has varied very slightly during three centuries, and, after deducting what is required in the arts, the collective value of the silver and gold that the mines of the world have yielded is scarcely a tithe of the world's indebtedness. The only possible chance of paying the world's indebtedness is in realizing healthy prices for the productions of industry. The amount of positive wealth that is added to the value of these productions by mining for the precious metals is very small. The value of one new invention—the bicycle—and that of electrical machinery, which is also new, would require more than the value of the silver taken from our mines, annually, to represent them in money. Over-production of the precious metals is an impossible conception, when their output is compared with even the productions of inventive genius, to say nothing of the immense and rapid expansion of the value of natural productions in all parts of the world.

These increased productions of genius and labor must be distributed over the earth through the channels of commerce, which can only be done with the aid of sums of money, or of paper promises based on credit, that are nearly equal in amount to the sum of these newly created values. The greed for gain that would lock up the mines of either gold or silver, in order to give a wider and more profitable field of speculation to credit or to capital employed in banking, is simply the covetousness that is denounced in the ten commandments; and when this becomes a national sin and is encouraged by national laws, it is no wonder that panic and bankruptcy ensue.

The "want of confidence," that has become the definition of a new national disease which is supposed to infect commerce and derange finance, is a want of faith, on the part of the people, in a financial system that ignores the benevolent providence of the Creator, and installs monopoly, covetousness, and oppression in its stead. Are the people irrational, that they should suddenly lose confidence in any just and wise system of laws? That epidemic of apparent folly, in 1893, was caused by the terrible picture then presented, at a single glance, to the eyes of discerning men, in which they saw that the debts of the world were tenfold greater than the value of all the gold and silver coin in existence, and that their burden was increased one-half by the British policy of gold monometallism, to which the United States became a party in 1873. Silver, though crippled and despised, had supported this avalanche of debt and had saved the banks of New York and London, until it was demonstrated that these same banks had, and would use, the power to destroy it as legal-tender money. It was then that "confidence" was lost, and the banks refused to pay their depositors. The cause was actual and not a frantic alarm. It was the burden of debts that was cast upon gold, by the death of silver, that destroyed "confidence."

This panic reached us during the wheat harvest and destroyed its value. The cotton crop of the South was then growing in the fields, and was worth nothing as security for money. The people of the South had but a single resource, and that consisted very largely in silver dollars that had not intruded themselves as debits upon the deposit accounts of the banks. Though they were poor and without credit in the banks, they suffered less in that fateful panic than any other people except the French. They still had some money that the banks had not absorbed in their deposit accounts. The banks had not gotten hold of their silver money, and this saved them. Their debts to one another were paid more rapidly than at any previous time, and a single silver dollar often paid as much as twenty dollars of debt in a single day. These facts alone would answer the question put by the ARENA, "Why does the South want silver money?" It stood by us in our time of need, and has earned our "confidence."

Silver money, acting as the pioneer of those industries that open up new countries and new channels of traffic and commerce, and restore the old ones when they have become paralyzed, has been at work in the South since 1878. The stimulus given it by agriculture, mining, lumbering, and manufactures established "confidence" in our resources, and gold came forth from its hiding and began to seek investment in property, and also consented to leave its concealment in private hoarding and to swell the sum of the deposits in the banks. The holders of gold became investors in property, because silver had begun to establish confidence in the fact that Southern lands were valuable for textiles, grain, iron, coal, and lumber, and that these harvests could be gathered economically, by contented labor, without the aid of banks. The gold-loving Jews swarmed into the country, not to rob it, but to own it. They were "wise in their day and generation."

When the treasury was in distress, during the panic of 1893, because it was compelled to keep up the false pretence that the gold reserve of one hundred million dollars in the treasury was the real foundation of the credit of the United States, instead of the tax-paying power and the patriotism of the people, the secretary of the treasury, unable to get the gold from London, appealed to the Southern bankers for gold, and he got it. Many of those banks refused to close their doors to their depositors during that dreadful financial scourge. Money was rendered useless in keeping the new manufactories in operation, for they were wrecked; but agriculture held its own, because the farmers had silver reserves that made up, in the activity of their circulation, for the sad want of volume in the currency.

If Mr. Sherman, as secretary of the treasury, had put fifty million dollars of silver coin, along with fifty million dollars of gold coin, in the show window of the treasury, to prove to the world the solvency of the United States as a banking institution, he would have saved us from the demand for more bonds than the national banks required to keep the foundations of that system from disappearing.

They would have accepted silver money as one basis of their credit instead of bonds, which they, on a nice point of honor, claimed the right to convert into gold bonds, they being payable in coins of silver, as well as of gold. It was the power thus given to the national banks to force new issues of bonds, at their option, by the degradation of silver as full legal-tender money, that gave tongue to the sudden outcry against the silver dollar.

There has never been a moment since resumption of specie payments was decided upon, when every banker and capitalist in the United States, and many in London, would not have been found ready to raise silver bullion to the commercial parity of gold bullion, at the ratio of sixteen to one, if the government of the United States had signified its honorable and dutiful resolve to pay our debts according to the stipulations printed on their face, at the option of the government. That they would have succeeded in this high duty, without any loss of credit, is not open to doubt, and, in doing this, they would have saved our American people and their industries from the death-grasp of British avarice.

Mr. Sherman made this boasting display of our national wealth in the treasury show-window, without the authority of any law enacted by congress, and at the terrible expense of locking up one hundred million dollars of gold, as so much dead capital, in the vaults of the treasury, thereby increasing its supposed value by decreasing the quantity in circulation, and compelling the people to pay taxes on it while it lay, like a useless scion of royalty, in its gilded prison.

The South and the West, by the use of Bland-Allison silver certificates, which the national banks rejected from their clearing-houses as "unsound money," gave to them such credit that Mr. Sherman had no difficulty in exchanging eighty million dollars of those "inflated balloons," as they are called, for eighty million dollars of gold coin, with which he made up his gold exhibition in the treasury. Silver, after all, had to buy and put in the treasury the gold which has since that time been kept there as a sacred idol; while silver has been a degraded servitor, toiling in the ashes of the sacrificial altars of this new and false god.

The Bland-Allison law had restored the silver dollar to the national coinage and to its full legal-tender power, and the secretary of the treasury, unwilling to execute this law, put up one hundred million dollars in gold coin, and called it a reserve fund in the treasury, as an advertisement to foreign capitalists that the executive department would still keep the government on the basis of the single gold standard, whatever congress might enact to the contrary. It was an open defiance to the congress that had repealed the act of 1873 over the veto of the president. And yet the Bland-Allison silver certificates were used to purchase eighty million dollars of the gold coin that was used for this purpose.

The South is weary of this round of bond issues which are put forth, at the expense of the people, to keep up this idle show for the mere benefit of gold monometallism; and we are only suffering, as other producing sections of our common country are suffering, from the evils that come to every country from the degradation of either of the precious metals.

Under our present system this one hundred million dollars of useless gold coin, kept as a target for every speculator on both sides of the Atlantic, must be maintained and can be maintained only by forced loans from the people in the form of bonds sustained by taxation. This ceaseless grind must go on, and coming generations are to be loaded with taxation, for the benefit of those who now control our finances. The Southern people, in their heroic efforts to repair their losses in the civil war, are cut off from their brightest hopes by this plan of supporting the government and enriching favored classes on borrowed money. They feel that it is now a terrible burden, and they foresee that it will be still more grievous to their children. Having no local banks of issue, and their capital in real estate being denied all credit in the national banks, by express statute, they look to silver as a debt-paying, legal-tender money, and to silver certificates, giving commercial flexibility and convenience to silver dollars, as the only hope left to them whenever necessity forces them to use their credit in the conduct of their industries.

It is now demonstrated by our experience that there is no possible way to protect the one hundred million dollars of reserved gold in the treasury except to destroy the demand obligations of the United States as fast as they are redeemed, or to announce our purpose to redeem them, at our option, by the payment of the coin specified in those obligations.

The only way to "divorce" the government from its alleged banking business is to withdraw its alleged banking obligations. To do this without the substitution of local bank issues or full legal-tender silver money would simply destroy the whole country. Yet this must be done, it seems, in honor of the golden god that is enthroned in the treasury, or else his insatiable maw must be constantly refilled with gold coin, by the issue of more bonds, that he may flood it out to the hungry syndicates and speculators who besiege this temple for more profits wrung from the people, and cry out with loud acclaim, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

The South refuses to worship at that shrine; and she would not be permitted to do so, if her knees were ready to stoop with such fawning. In our system of finance, the producing classes are excluded from the advantages that are given by law to those who speculate in money, and this curse will rest upon the country until the people are restored to the full measure of their rights, as the same are clearly defined in the constitution of the United States.

THE SOCIALITY OF JESUS' RELIGION.*

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE D. HERRON.

The chief characteristic of Biblical religion, from Moses to Jesus, is the revelation of God in the simplest facts of the common life; in the terms of social effort. Fellowship with God is scripturally disclosed in anything but occult or mythological modes, mysterious or theological terms. Both the legal and prophetic revelations of the Old Testament are in terms that are always sociological, and but incidentally theological; in forms distinctly political, having to do with social conditions and political outlooks. Moses has revelations concerning sanitary laws, architecture, marriage relations, land ownership, good government, and the commonwealth of society. Elijah and Isaiah, with all the prophets, are social and national reformers. David is a man of affairs, and Ezekiel a teacher of political ethics. Jesus is simply reared, a carpenter by trade, and seems to live the most domestic of lives in His parental home, and among His friends. His teachings or doctrines have to do with human relations, and are more distinctly economic than what we understand by the term religious. His ideal is social, and His work to redeem men for the righteous society of the earthly kingdom of heaven. He reveals the relation of God to man in the simplest facts and movements of nature, in the ordinary tasks of the common life, in the most explicit terms of economic communism. Christianity comes from Him, not as a theological or ecclesiastical system, but as a revelation of life; not as a cult of worship, but as a social ideal, based upon the sacrifice of service as the natural law of human life.

In religion as a thing in itself Jesus was not interested; rather, He looked with profound distrust upon what was then, and is now, both officially and popularly understood by religion. A religious cult was something He could not tolerate; an official religion was to Him a usurpation. Religious forms and theological dogmas He regarded as matters of little consequence, except as they perverted and oppressed human life. There is no indication that Jesus came expecting to found a new religion, but every indication that He came expecting to disclose to men the divine or natural order of human relations. He came, and His disciples were sent, to reveal a new mode of life. Nothing indicates that the people who heard Him gladly, or that the disciples who followed Him, had any thought that a new religion was being founded. The idea of becoming specifically the founder of a new religion was one of the temptations of the devil which Jesus overcame in the wilderness—a temptation to which Mahomet afterward yielded. Jesus never contemplated the organized cult of worship, the great ethnic religion, that has grown up bearing His name. I do not say that this is wholly evil, or that it was not an inevitable historical process in the evolution of the universal society and religion. But it is foreign, and in large measure antagonistic, to anything in the thought or outlook of Jesus.

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* From a lecture course to be given in various American cities this winter.

It was human life that interested Jesus and that seemed to Him, even at its worst, to be the one altogether sacred matter of concern. Every phase and expression of life caught and held His attention to the point of intensest fascination. He reverenced human life, and spoke with abhorrence of the religion that would conceive of man as made for itself. The call of Jesus was to citizenship in the kingdom of God, which was then the commonly understood Hebrew term for social justice, and which term Jesus used to represent the new and glorious order of life he expected to organize upon earth—glorious because just, and just because social. He thought to show the end and reality of all religion in an organization of human life in which all men should live for the common good. Leaving no cult of worship—in fact avoiding such as the most deadly moral fatality—His blessing was upon those who divinely gave themselves to the service of humanity.

The age that finally changed the revelation of Jesus from a social ideal to an official religion, from a revelation of righteousness to a theological system, was the most licentious and untruthful, the most morally apostate and insanely wicked, in the history of the church. The Nicene council, from which the church received its theology, was so shamelessly immoral, so without sense of right and human honor, as to outrage even Constantine's sense of ethical decency—and he, though styled the first Christian emperor by church fables, almost avowedly atheistic in both morals and intellect, a character that might stand as the historic incarnation of the political genius of evil. It is a long and downward journey from Jesus to Athanasius, longer by far than from Athanasius to either Hildebrand or Calvin.

I do not say that the church has not been receiving moral discipline, yet to bear its best fruit, during these centuries of wandering in the wilderness of theology and ecclesiastical politics. But we need to understand that this wilderness, in which we still wander among the bones of our fathers, is not the land of social promise which Jesus viewed for His nation, and His human race. We need also to realize, at this moment of greatest human effort toward righteousness, that we are false to the faith of Jesus, infidel to His doctrines of human life, and recreant to His social ideal, to suffer the past to circumscribe our fundamental thought and religious work. It is not simply that I have the same right to think and act that Athanasius and Calvin had, but that I am under the same obligation to God and man to think and act in the freedom of Jesus. The moral recovery of the church from Greek and Roman theology, with the restoration of the simple religion and social ideal of Jesus to Christendom, is the process at work in modern society, and is the beatific religion which, though dimly seen, is yet mightily and hopefully attracting the common life.

The sociality of life was Jesus' fundamental religious conception. The sociality of religion is the revelation of Jesus' religious experience, and is the realization of His kingdom. His teaching did not come into the world as something new, but as an interpretation of that which is eternal in all religion; it came as a programme for the simple organization of all religious facts and forces in a redeemed and natural human life. Christianity began, so far as it issued from Jesus, not as a new religion, but as a revelation of human life in a social ideal. The whole law of man's relation to God, the knowledge of which law had hitherto been fragmentary, Jesus came declaring. To reveal the sociality of religion, he taught by deed and word.

The realization of religion in a human kingdom of heaven was the service to which He gave His life a faultless sacrifice. In neither the Old Testament nor the New Testament, does the term kingdom of God or kingdom of heaven mean anything else than a righteous society upon earth. Nothing else was either meant or understood by Jesus' teaching to the people, or to His immediate disciples. The term was commonly used to signify a perfect social justice—a justice to be fully realized when the Messiah should come. It was expected that He, whenever He came, or whoever He might prove to be, would bring in a social order so just, so free from oppression and righteous in freedom, that it would prove to be nothing else than the direct reign of God in human affairs, the manifest and indisputable setting of His government in the world. While Jesus' ideal of the kingdom was surpassingly purer than the popular and orthodox ideal, and His conception of the kingdom's law and methods radically different, it was none the less the same kingdom of heaven He intended. He did not expect, nor did He once lead the people to expect, anything other than the realization of the kingdom of heaven as a holy society of universal justice on the earth.

Many of Jesus' sayings are an assimilation and living reproduction, a rich bloom and perfect fruit, of what was best and hid in current Hebrew teaching. He had abundantly fed His spirit upon the thoughts of Isaiah, and had formed His ideals in part from that prophet's glowing visions of the redeemed nation, leading the world into a regenerated civilization. He talked in an ethical and social language that was then no more unknown to the Hebrew church than it is now, in another way, to the Christian church. It was the language of the redeemed society, calling men to repentance as the condition of its realization; the tongue of the kingdom of God, calling men to a new moral birth as the first condition of citizenship. For the redemption of human life to this holy society, He endured the cross, with His glorious disgrace, and gained the secret of power. Through the knowledge that His broken life and shed blood would be the living meat and drink of the world, that out of the travail of His soul would finally issue the salvation of the righteous society, He carried with joy the shame heaped upon Him by a faithless church and nation. For this He drank His cup of sorrow to the dregs, bore without murmuring the sufferings by which He learned obedience, and went shelterless into the assailing storms of avenging evil. The righting of human wrong, the realization of the brotherhood of human life, was the sanctifying motive that raised Him to the moral glory of the cross.

The sociality of experience is, then, a fundamental fact of Jesus' religion. We cannot hold fellowship with God apart from the particulars of our occupation and career; apart from our daily relations with men and things. Our religious experience is without value except it comprehend, change, and ethically glorify the actual facts of life. Religious experiences outside the terms of work and fact are a fiction and an evil, leading men and religion astray, and leaving human life unredeemed in the hands of its enemies. We know the legend that Julian the emperor once said that it is much easier to worship Jesus than to obey Him: Whether the saying be Julian's or not, it is true in Christian history and experience. It is easy to be worshipfully or professionally religious; to be just and righteous is quite another matter. Religion is relations, and a right relation with God is primarily a right relation with human life, where the God of man is. The sociality of religious experience is its value alike to God and man; its sociality is the true measure of its reality.

The religious, because social, test of life is in the quality of our relations with our fellowmen, of all sorts and conditions. The test comes to us amidst our work in the school, the factory, the mine, the workshop, the farm; amidst the highly respectable dishonesties of the counting-room, and the wretched integrities of commercial conceit; amidst the average pastorate, where the sweet lies of pastoral politenesses become habitual before recognized, destroying both intellectual and ethical manhood, and often putting a reputable moral emaciation in the place of a man; amidst the home experiences, which more than all else are the social fountain, and where our lives falsify our ideals. To be morally splendid in the heat of public conflict, in the thick of controversy or viewed battle, even in martyr-fire and dungeon chain, is infinitely easier than to fulfil the sacrifice of service in the daily rounds of the common life. A small and generally deceitful matter it is to become the leader of official religion, to endow great philanthropies, to be known and honored by the successful; but to fulfil the common career as a social function is to make human life a glory of God. It is not so great a moral triumph to have faith to remove mountains, to live sheltered and protected religious devotees, to give our bodies to be burned for truth's sake, as it is to love the unloving and unlovable; to become divine incarnations in the common life, and glorify God by glorifying that.

That the banker does not open his bank in the morning with the doxology, that the legislation of the state is not worded in religious phraseology, that the carpenter does not saw off each board with the Lord's prayer, that the merchant does not dismiss his customers with a benediction, that the judge does not convene court with chapters from Leviticus, that the insurance company does not print the Sermon on the Mount in its policies, renders these operations none the less social sacraments and rituals of justice. Whoever casts from his bank door, or barn door, or factory door, or club-house door, or political caucus door, or ballroom door, or kitchen door, or bedroom door, the social shrine, is so far an atheist. For atheism is God-out-ness from life; and religion is God-in-ness in relations, making every human act and intercourse a religious rite.

While I do not forget that ours is a world of stern fact and toil, with the gulf between the real and the ideal greater than the purest and strongest seem able to pass, while to the truest and bravest, life often seems a slow, wearisome, sadful school of disenchantment, and that there is bread to be earned with children to be reared, I yet remember that amidst sternest conditions of life has the glory of the Lord shone round about the sons of men. It was in the midst of hardest experiences that the ethical reality of Jesus' life was evolved. His moral glory was in the fact that it was an incarnation of, as well as in, the common life. While Herod and Pilate rule the state, with wicked Caiaphas and prudent Nicodemus in the church, and Gamaliel in the schools, the Messiah comes with the familiar accents of the common life, a carpenter's son, with a peasant education, a simple man of the people.

There comes to me often in these days an appeal of John Calvin, the most maligned man of history, whose picture looks down upon me, in the little room where I study, like some great sorrowful majestic angel of judgment. The appeal, made to the king who had banished this sweetest and gentlest of spirits, as well as stern witness to the government of God over human life, was this: "I plead the cause of all the faithful, nay the cause of Christ, which is at the present time so completely rent and trampled under foot throughout your kingdom that it seems to be in a very desperate case." But to us comes a grander, more immediate and historical appeal—the appeal of the Christ in the wronged and tormented human life of our nation and generation; the appeal of the Christ, not for reformation and separation, but for regeneration, and collective aspiration and effort toward the realization of the kingdom of heaven on the earth. By all the voices that articulate the social need and strain, the social woe and threat, God summons us to the matchless work of the divine organization of human life by the facts and forces of the religion of Jesus.

We are nearing the social crisis of the world; it is also the crisis of Christ's religion. The forces of selfishness and sacrifice are gathering for their supreme struggle on the field of Christ's truth, while the cross has become foolishness to the church which bears His name. The church has become of the world even as He was not of the world. Things which are an abomination in the sight of God are now no more highly esteemed in the world than in the church, and the church has been reconciling itself to the will of the world rather than vicariously reconciling the world to the will of God.

We can no longer expect that we, in the midst of this material civilization and its religion, can be in accord with commercial and social customs, political and religious opinions, any more than the disciples who followed Jesus through His conflict with Jewish religion, and then went abroad as witnesses and martyrs in Roman civilization. Christless institutions and interests will hold deadly hate toward the faithful disciple of to-day as truly as they hated the disciples who were sent from Olivet to convert the nations. If the organized wrong of the world is not against us, then Christ is not in us. No disciple, in any sphere of life, can be at peace with present social wrongs, with the religious apostasies that would rob Jesus' name of its glory, and at the same time have the peace of God. The peace which springs from faith in Christ is peace in the midst of conflict and tribulation; it is not the world's kind of peace; it is the peace that carries the sword of righteousness in its hand. Only by taking this sword, selling its garments of pride and luxury for its purchase, and returning to the work of the kingdom of God, can the church be the organ through which Christ's religion will accomplish the work given it to do. There is a vast heroism sleeping in the church, and the world is full of Messianic potencies struggling for expression in civilization. To these there comes the most historic and creative of opportunities for the victory of failure under the leadership of Jesus.

Human life is now so settled in discontent with individualistic principles and competitive practices, so glowing with Messianic forces, so near to breathing the heavenly breath and watchful for the holy city, that it often seems that if the many sons of God now committed to the social redemption could find some way to make one supreme associate sacrifice, fully illustrative of the social law, they might lift the whole organism into a living social vision, so appealing and commanding that it would renew the strength of the common life to enter upon the strifeless progress of the ransomed society.

VACCINATION AN ERROR—ITS COMPULSION A WRONG.

SECOND PART.

BY ALFRED MILNES, M. A.

(*Concluded.*)

I pass to the second part of my contention, and now affirm that the compulsion of vaccination is a wrong; and I put my reasons for that conclusion into the comprehensive statement that the justifications of it are false. As before, but still more briefly, I proceed to state them as I find them urged by compulsionists, appending a few words of reply to each.

Justification I: Unanimity of the Medical Profession.—The doctors, we are told, are unanimously against us, and surely they ought to know, and we ought to submit our judgment to theirs. But I reply that the very reverse is true. So far from the medical profession being unanimous on the question, there could hardly be found a matter within the limits of which more numerous and more fundamental differences are to be found between different members of the profession. I venture to affirm that no proposition can be framed with respect to the theory or the practice of vaccination, but its direct contradictory could be quoted from provaccinal medical works of equal authority.

In answer to the question, "How many marks should be made on the child's arm?" we find among physicians of unimpeachable vaccinal orthodoxy, that Drs. Drysdale and Lee say "One," Dr. Adam of Liverpool says "Two," Dr. Greenhalgh of London says "Three," the Local Government Board demands four, Dr. Sandwith of Wandsworth says "Five," Dr. Debenham of London says "Six," Dr. Curschmann, the great German authority, says "Twelve, six on each arm," and Dr. Bond of Gloucester says "The more the better." Thus has vaccine progressed, from the original single scratch of Jenner, which any old woman could make with a darning needle, up to an apotheosis of tattoo.

How often must it be repeated to secure immunity? And you can select any answer you please from the "once only" of the original Jenner, through the single or puberty repetition of Seaton, up to the "vaccinization" of Warlomont, or repetition every four months till no further result is attained, and whereby the last shred of the immortal Jenner is flung to the winds; your attention being here attracted by the way by a very pretty quarrel between Sir William Jenner, advising revaccination whenever there is an epidemic, and Dr. Guy, before quoted, declaring vaccination during epidemics to be useless or worse.

If you inquire as to the lymph to be used, you will once more let Babel loose. Horse-grease cowpox, spontaneous cowpox, horse-grease pure and simple, the form of human smallpox known as swine-pox, cattle plague, horse-pox, sheep-pox, smallpox-cowpox, an erysipelatous swelling on the thigh of a sucking colt, tartar-emetic vaccine, vegetable vaccine—all have been actually used and most have had their serious advocates. The choice is ample; the law gives you no definition, and I would not presume to offer advice. Only remember that you must have the right one or it is no good at all.

The theories of the alleged protection, though not quite so great in number, are fully as internecine in their strife as the lymphs themselves. There is the generally received exhaustion-of-pabulum theory, the secretion-of-antidote theory of Klebs, the education-of-tissues theory, or the theory of the training of the phagocytes, any one of which you may adopt as your justification for feeling disappointed if you take smallpox after being vaccinated with some one or all, or any permutation or combination of any or all, of the aforesaid lymphs. In truth the unanimity is confined to this, that while every doctor denounces the practice of every other doctor as being in some respect useless or dangerous, they all agree in denouncing me for agreeing with too many of them at once.

Unanimity does not exist. But suppose it did, what then? It would not be the first time that the no less unanimous profession had been as unanimously wrong. They were unanimous once about inoculation; and the very law that now enforces vaccination provides for a month's imprisonment of any one of them who might now try to go back to the old unanimous faith. They were unanimous once about bleeding; and this unanimous blunder was erected into a fetish and to it were sacrificed hecatombs of human victims. Its memory is perpetuated in the name of the *Lancet*, the principal medical paper of England, which thus, so far as the infallibility implied in compulsory powers is concerned, week by week cries stinking fish in open market. Unanimity does not exist, and if it did could not justify compulsion against our plea that the medical profession does not come to us with a record sufficiently reassuring to tempt us to lay at its feet our right of private judgment and our own sacred resposibilities in a matter affecting the welfare of the little atom of helplessness which, while we think the problem over, smiles in our face and trusts us.

JustificationII: The Unvaccinated are a Public Danger.—It is held that if a man lived alone, we might allow him to have smallpox at his pleasure; but that as we live in societies we cannot permit the unvaccinated to take a disease which they may communicate to others; and therefore we are forced to compel vaccination in self-defence. To this I reply that no man can give away what he has not got. The unvaccinated must have smallpox before their having it can be a danger to anyone else. And where are they to get it from? They must either, in each community, receive it from the vaccinated, or else, for that community, it must originate amongst their own class. But the evidence is overwhelming that when smallpox attacks a community it does not commence with the unvaccinated. When the great pandemic struck the town of Bonn, the first unvaccinated case to occur stood No. 42 in the chronological order of the cases. At Cologne the first unvaccinated case was No. 173. At Leignitz the first unvaccinated case was No. 224. Whilst when we come nearer home we have such outbreaks as that at Bromley, before alluded to, where every man and mother's son attacked had been vaccinated. The stream runs from the wolf to the lamb, and none but lupine logic can convict the lamb of making it muddy for the wolf to drink.

But further, this accusation gives up the whole case for vaccination. What is vaccination to do? Is it to protect, or only to mitigate? If it is to protect, then how can the unvaccinated be a danger to those whose vaccination protects them from attack? Whereas if the claim is that it only mitigates, then so far as contagion is concerned, one case of smallpox is like another, and the unmitigated, because unvaccinated, cases are neither more nor less of a public danger than the vaccinally mitigated ones. This being so, the public has no more concern with my choosing to take my smallpox without mitigation than with my taking my coffee without milk. The fact is that it is next to impossible to find any living soul who does really believe in vaccination. The plentitude of fear shows paucity of faith. And when a man declares, as a man did a little while ago declare in London, that he had been vaccinated five times, but that there was one thing he would not do if he could help it, and that was to live in the same parish with an unvaccinated child, he demonstrated with an eloquence I cannot hope to rival that his faith in vaccination was on a level with my own. Your zeal in public enforcement is a measure of your private unbelief. Vaccination is either good or bad. And its goodness removes the need, as its badness destroys the right, of enforcement on the unwilling.

Defeated on all the other counts, the last plea is virtually an appeal *ad misericordiam*. I pass to the consideration of

Justification III: It Does No Harm.—We enter here upon a portion of our subject where satire dies upon the saddened lip and sorrow reigns supreme. It is also the portion where the batteries of modern investigation have been turned with the most ruinous effect upon the fortresses of the old beliefs and the old assertions. And as a consequence efforts have of course been made to show that no such plea has been urged by any who have been of recognized authority. But equally of course the allegation is false, and also of course it comes too late. No less a writer than Mr. Simon, in the Papers from which I have already quoted, says, speaking of the advantages of vaccination, that "against this vast gain there is no loss to count"; and I venture to think that no assertion ever did more to rivet the bolts of our compulsory vaccination. Persistent denial, both general, as against all injury or any, and special, as against the possibility of the vaccinal communication of certain special diseases, has pervaded the profession. In the same Papers Mr. Simon also wrote, "I must say I believe it to be utterly impossible, save under circumstances of gross and punishable misconduct, for any other infection than that of cowpox to be communicated in what pretends to be the performance of vaccination." And in respect of the communication by vaccine of the most terrible of human contagia, the same eminent authority quotes, without, by the way, a word of disapproval, numerous experiments, heartlessly and treacherously performed with hideous results on the children of the helpless poor, with the purpose of showing such communication to be impossible. The names quoted are all those of men in the front rank of the contest, including Blache, Heim, Taupin, Rochot, Debar, Bousquet, Sigmund, and many others. And coming down to more modern times

I find in a pamphlet, now lying before me, entitled "Facts concerning Vaccination, for Heads of Families, revised by the Local Government Board, and issued with their sanction," the express declaration: "The fear that a foul disease may be implanted by vaccination is an unfounded one. . . . The alleged injury arising from vaccination is indeed disproved by all medical experience." Such have been the uncompromising declarations; turn we now to facts.

In the returns of the Registrar-General for England there is now a regular and permanent heading for deaths from "Cowpox and other effects of Vaccination." The entry began in 1881, since which time there have been recorded, on the basis of death certificates signed by medical men themselves, no less than 418 deaths. This is in itself, look at it as we will, a terrible loss of infant life. But unhappily we know that this is very far from being the true total of the death-roll. We know that when publicly conducted inquiry has brought home the fact of a death as caused by vaccination, it has brought home another truth as well, and has shown that the death-certificate did not assign the true cause, or only assigned a part of it. In fact, the advice to omit all mention of vaccination in the certificates of such cases has been published by one medical newspaper in England, and never repudiated by any other; the bald reason being given, to save vaccination from reproach. Hence, to appreciate the harm attributable to vaccination we have two things to do. We must turn to the general records of infant mortality in order to get some rough estimate of the number of the fatalities, and then, to learn their nature, we must hearken to the description of individual cases in which disaster has been admitted as beyond question. Both things are possible. For there are two parliamentary returns (No. 392, Sess. 2, 1880, and No. 372 of 1888) which set forth the deaths of infants under one year old, calculated "per million births," from various diseases of which it has been alleged that they are capable of causation or aggravation by vaccination, for each year from 1847 to 1886. The two papers form together a very bulky document, far too long for insertion here; but it is easy to give in small space the essence of them so far as our present purpose is concerned. For they embrace a space of seven years, 1847–53, of voluntary vaccination, not enforced by law and comparatively little practised by the people; then a period of fourteen years, 1854–67, of the operation of the first compulsory law, that of 1853, during which vaccination was obligatory, but very imperfectly enforced; and lastly, a period of nineteen years, 1868–86, of real and rigid compulsion. Such periods are real and natural periods to take for comparison, for they correspond to actual changes in vaccine law. Of course it will be remembered that a calculation per million births needs no correction for increasing population; hence we can take the averages of these periods and see what will be the result for some of these diseases. The results appear in the subjoined table:

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Average yearly Deaths under One Year of Age per 1,000,000 Births, from the undermentioned causes.

		Syphilis.	Erysipelas.	Skin Disease.	Scrofula.	Mesenteric Disease.
Voluntary vaccination,	1847-53,	564	817	168	351	2,981
Obligatory "	1854-67,	1,206	781	253	611	3,385
Enforced "	1868-86,	1,788	785	387	1,037	4,426

We find, then, that for four out of five of these diseases, a terrible increase has taken place, and that that increase corresponds in time periods with the increase in the stringency of the regulations for enforcing vaccination. And it is thus for the defenders of vaccine to disprove if they can the apparently obvious conclusion, which can hardly escape being drawn by anyone who, consciously or unconsciously, appreciates the method of concomitant variations. Of course we must not attribute to vaccination the whole of this increase. Under the head of syphilis, for example, there will be allowance to be made for differences of diagnosis and nomenclature. But it is no longer disputed that vaccination is a *vera causa*. That is now acknowledged on all hands, and in some quarters it is even declared that there never was any denial of it—a declaration whose worth has already been demonstrated. So great an authority as Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson—and on syphilis there is no greater—has published accounts of not merely individual cases, but of more than one series of cases. And so late as October, 1890, in his *Archives of Surgery*, he declared that the amount of such cases is in his opinion "infinitesimally small" (a point whereon we take leave to say that statisticians will draw their own conclusions), yet the risk of them cannot be obviated by any amount of care in the practice of arm-to-arm vaccination, and that "it is a cruel injustice to imply that all accidents have been the result of carelessness." Turning to the columns for skin disease, scrofula, and mesenteric disease, we have figures which tell their own tale. The column for erysipelas needs a more careful glance for its interpretation. It would seem that there is here no increase to be attributed to vaccination or anything else. But erysipelas is declining at all ages in England, and an explanation is wanted of the persistence at the very early age of under twelve months. On this much light is thrown by the history of "Vaccinal Erysipelas," the head under which deaths from vaccination were recorded in the returns before the present heading of "Cowpox and other results of Vaccination" came into use. And the history is given here:

Deaths from "Erysipelas after Vaccination."

1859	5	1870	20
1860	3	1871	24
1861	2	1872	16
1862	3	1873	19
1863	11	1874	29
1864	13	1875	37
1865	10	1876	21
1866	10	1877	29
1867	4	1878	35
1868	9	1879	32
1869	19	1880	39

So that here the evidence is complete and the conclusion unavoidable. It is the vaccinal erysipelas which is maintaining the infant, in spite of a decline in the all-age, death-rate from that disease.

And now lastly, and saddest of all, what are these cases like? We hear much medical eloquence upon the horrors of smallpox; what are the horrors of vaccination? Few things can be more terrible than vaccination at its worst. Again I call to witness Mr. Hutchinson. In the *Archives of Surgery* for October, 1889, he gives us an account of three fatal cases of vaccination. We need only extract a few words as they stand from the plain, simple medical diary of one of them. This child was vaccinated late in May, was taken ill on the 24th of June, and died on the 17th of August. And we read:

> *August* 14.—Has emaciated rapidly. Temperature continues normal. Very irritable; little, if any, sleep; crying almost constantly unless lulled.
>
> 15.—Is pinched and wan in appearance; color almost leaden. Irritability continues. Vomiting and purging. Head moved restlessly on nurse's arm; no sleep; low, moaning cry almost constant.
>
> 16.—A few quiet intervals during the night, but no real sleep; tossing head from side to side at times; constant low, moaning cry. Has emaciated with shocking rapidity. . . . . Died quietly, without fit of any kind, at 1.20 on the 17th.

Compulsory vaccination is sometimes defended on the ground that "The children belong to the State." Will, then, that "pinched and wan appearance" be to the State a tracking memory, never to be shaken off? Will that "constant low, moaning cry" ring in the ears of the State, haunt the dreams of the State, break the heart of the State, and bow the head of the State in sorrow before its time? Surely not; but it will do all that for the mother. Then turn we from the narratives of the doctors whose hands have wrought the wrong to a mother's simple tale of sorrow. In October, 1883, three children died at Great Cornard, in Suffolk; and this is from the statement of Ellen Griggs, the mother of the third child who died:

> "I sent a message to Dr. Mason that my baby was ill. When Mrs. Hills came back she told me the doctor laughed, and said my baby would be all right if I took care of it. Baby, however, gradually got worse. Her left hand was swollen as big as an orange. . . . On Thursday fits came on and screaming. The fits continued, and she screamed so violently that she lost her voice. Her little lips moved, but there was no sound. On Saturday Dr. Mason saw her, and on Sunday, when it was evident she was dying. She died on Monday, November 5, twelve days after her first sickness, and three weeks after her vaccination."

It would be hard to surpass, within the range of English literature, the pathos of this tale. The voiceless pleading of those poor dumb lips where the silence of death has settled on the living agony, reads like the creation of a nightmare.

So far, then, from there being "no loss to count," so far from there being "a few slight accidents" to mar the evenly prosperous course of vaccination, the disasters are both numerous and terrible—how numerous exactly no man will ever know. But the poor know best, and hence among them a dread of this thing which passes expression. How great that dread can be we know by its results. In the London *Daily Chronicle* of Aug. 26, 1882, may be read the report of the suicide of one Mary Clarke, and the murder by her (for so the law describes it) of her infant child. The facts were simply that Mary Clarke was destitute or nearly so. She believed that she had lost one child by vaccination. And on her in her helplessness was served a vaccination summons. And under that summons she would be fined, for the non-vaccination of her infant, the sum of twenty shillings and costs. Poor Mary! you might as well have asked her for payment of the national debt. Her dread of vaccination was independent of any propaganda by anti-vaccination societies, for if she had known of any of our organizations she would have known where to seek help and would never have been left alone in her trouble. With neither money nor friends, what could she do? So she raised the floor of her room, and in a cistern beneath she drowned her infant and herself. And in their death they were not divided, and the majesty of medical law was vindicated. Thus that law which causes not a moment's anxiety to any man with a pound in his pocket or a friend by his side, which is laughed to scorn in Leicester, which is dead and buried and forgotten in Keighley, showed that it could still strike, that it still has real terrors for the hopeless, helpless, friendless, poor.

This law was never demanded by the people. It was smuggled onto the statute book through the House of Lords. It is the work of that curse of civilization, the superior person, whose function it is to concoct tangles with an airy ease which the democracy has with infinite labor to undo. The grotesque inequality of such a law is evident on the face of it, but not so evident is its innate cowardice. The doctors who agree in nothing connected with it, come nearer to agreeing as to the need of revaccination than about anything else. Yet they dare not force revaccination on the adult. Compulsion is confined to the helpless child, to the deep disgrace of all and each who permit that to be done to their babies which they would not suffer for themselves. It is an immoral law, for it puts honor up at auction with a reserve price of twenty shillings on it. A moral pestilence is worse than a physical one; and it is a moral pestilence that is being spread when the law comes to a poor man and bids him take twenty shillings in one hand and in the other the love and trust of the little twining arms about his neck, and choose between the two. The very success of such a law is its greatest condemnation, for it only ceases to be vain and empty where it breaks a conscience down.

A BATTLE FOR SOUND MORALITY.

FINAL PAPER.

BY HELEN H. GARDENER.

TENNESSEE.

The Secretary of State sends me the following:

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
NASHVILLE, TENN., June 29, 1895.

In reply to yours of the 26th inst. will say: Our legislature, just adjourned, took no action in regard to the age-of-consent law. But the legislature of two years ago passed an act raising the age from thirteen years to sixteen years and one day. The majority age in this state is twenty-one years.

Yours truly,
WILLIAM S. MORGAN, *Secretary of State.*

Since, however, I have been as yet unable to secure the full text of the law, I am not sure that Tennessee really belongs with the states which have actually grasped the basic principle of this legislation, and acted upon it. Before printing the final black-list map, I shall wish to know the wording of the law in Tennessee.*

MISSISSIPPI.

Mississippi claims to belong in the list of those who protect their children until they are sixteen, but in response to us she sends the text of a law which in no sense places her there. It is a seduction law; the girl must prove "previous chaste character," and "her testimony alone shall not be sufficient for conviction." Now, since offences of this nature are not usually committed in the presence of witnesses, it appears to me that the law is worthless. It is certainly not an age-of-consent law which protects the girls of Mississippi until they are sixteen. Mississippi had no session this year, but it is to be hoped she will act promptly and effectively in 1896. This information was sent to me in response to a request to show that Mississippi had established the age at sixteen:

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* The text secured after going to press shows that in point of fact the age in Tennessee is in reality twelve years, but that under certain conditions — which void the issue — the offence is a finable felony if the girl can prove good character and if her statement is supported by others — if she has witnesses, which is never likely, of course.

> Sec. 1004. Seduction of female children under sixteen: — Any person who shall seduce and have illicit connection with any female child under the age of sixteen years, *of previous chaste character*, shall upon conviction be imprisoned in the penitentiary not more than ten years; but the testimony of the female seduced alone shall not be sufficient for conviction. Annotated Code of Mississippi, 1892.

WASHINGTON.

The report from Washington is brief, but the text of the law now in force is clear, and covers the point properly.

In the session of 1895 the effort was made to raise the age to eighteen, but it failed, Senator Horr remarking that women already had all the protection needed. Senator Range, Senator Harper, and Miss Page, of Olympia, were among those who worked with Senator Belknap and Representative Heath, of Chehalis County, the latter of whom introduced the bill to change the age from sixteen to eighteen years, leaving the law, which is given below by the secretary of state, otherwise unchanged. No fuller report has been sent except in letters of a private nature. At the next session it is believed that the age will be changed to eighteen, and that boys under eighteen will be excluded from the full penalty in cases where violence is not used, and their punishment be either left to the court or be less severe, and be so stated in the law.

STATE OF WASHINGTON.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

OLYMPIA, April 20, 1895.

In reply to yours of recent date, I beg to say that the legal age in this state for the purposes of marriage is eighteen years. The laws of this state for 1885–86 read: "If any person ravish or carnally know any female of the age of sixteen years or more, by force or against her will, or carnally know and abuse any female child under the age of sixteen years, he shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for life or for any term of years."

Yours very respectfully,

J. H. PRICE, *Secretary of State.*

SOUTH DAKOTA.

South Dakota reports that the age there is now sixteen. The same reports come from Illinois and the District of Columbia. The text of the Illinois law was not sent; the only one we could obtain is of date 1887, and places the age at fourteen years. There is a unique feature attached. Following and added to the punishment of imprisonment is the degradation of permanent disfranchisement, withdrawal of the power to hold office, serve on jury, etc. That is, *as a punishment for rape a man is made the legal and political equal of a woman.*

ARKANSAS.

Arkansas had a fight this year, but failed. I am inclined to think that in the condition of the bill when it was put to vote it is well that it did fail, for I believe a better one can be passed by such staunch and able men as were its friends this session, and who will be even better prepared next time to resist such an amendment, and also to protect the boys. The report from Arkansas, made by Senator Granberry, M. D., is one of the best sent from any state, and his supplementary arguments and those of some of his colleagues are not surpassed, but space forbids their presentation here. Next year I hope to give them with the pictures of the men who shall then have won the battle.

THE "AGE-OF-CONSENT" ACT IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF ARKANSAS.

BY SENATOR G. W. GRANBERRY, M. D., OF THE 12TH DISTRICT.

The twenty-ninth General Assembly of the State of Arkansas passed the following act, raising the age of consent from twelve years to sixteen years, and such is now the law. The act reads as follows:

"Every person convicted of carnally knowing or abusing any female person under sixteen years, shall be punished by imprisoment in the penitentiary for a period of not less than five nor more than twenty-one years." Sandel's & Hill's Digest, Sec. 1865.

Early in the session of the legislature just closed, Mr. Bratton of White County introduced the following as an amendment to Section 1865:

"Every person convicted of carnally knowing or abusing any female person under sixteen years of *previously chaste character*, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for a period of not less than *one year* nor more than *five years*." The only difference in the amendment proposed above from the law now in force, are the words *previously chaste character*, other than the lowering of the penalty. The above was known as House Bill No. 115. Mr. Pope, of White County, offered an amendment to House Bill No. 115, by striking out *sixteen years*, and inserting *eighteen years*. The amendment was adopted, and became a part of the bill, and in this shape the measure came up in regular order for discussion. It was urged in favor of the lower penalty that convictions would be more certain, and the law be made more effective, as the penalty was considered excessive by many, and juries would be loath to find convictions. To this view the friends of the bill offered no serious objection, but they did most strenuously insist that the lowering of the penalty was an additional argument for raising the age to eighteen years. Those who most vigorously opposed the bill in its amended form, raising the age, were Mr. Manning, of Monroe, Mr. Bradley, of Clark, Mr. Goodwin, of Lincoln, and Mr. Gray, of Pulaski County. The usual stock arguments were urged against it, especially that designing females under eighteen years would entrap unwary youths, and thus blackmail them into marriage, or else extort money for their silence; this was, in fact, about the only argument that needed to be seriously answered. Among those who as vigorously supported the measure in the Lower House were Dr. Dunavant, of Mississippi, Mr. Pope, of White, Mr. McGehu, of Lincoln, and the brilliant young representative from Lonoke County, the youngest member of the legislature, Mr. Joe T. Robinson.

In point of ability and in oratorical powers the advocates of female chastity and purity were the peers of any on the floor of the House, and they made a splendid fight for the passage of the bill. The first move made by the enemies of the bill was to move a reconsideration of the vote by which the amendment raising the age of consent to eighteen years was adopted, which prevailed, and upon a *viva voce* vote the amendment was rejected. It was intended to demand the ayes and nays, but the speaker *pro tem.*, Mr. Newton, of Pulaski County, ruled that the motion was carried, before Mr. Pope, who was the author of the amendment, could secure recognition to demand that a recorded vote be taken.

After the amendment was stricken out, and the age of consent left at sixteen years, the bill was passed lowering the penalty without further opposition, and in this shape was sent into the senate. It was read first time and placed upon the calendar. Senator Granberry, of Lonoke County, asked unanimous consent to call up the bill and have it read the second time, which was granted. He then offered an amendment to strike out sixteen years, and insert eighteen years. He was warmly seconded, in his efforts to have the amendment adopted, by the distinguished president of that body, Senator Witt of Montgomery, Senator Quinney of Bradley, Senator Pettigrew of Franklin, and Senator Blackburn of Benton County. The amendment was adopted, and the bill passed the senate by the following votes: Ayes — Senators Adams, Blackburn, Cazort, Gray, Granberry, Hathcock, Izard, Liddel, Mehaffey, Morton, Pettigrew, Pinnix, Sloan, Weaver, Wilson, Williams, B. D., Word, Mr. President (Witt) — 18: Nayes — Senators Amis, King, Scott, Shell, Williams, A. B., Williamson, Worthen — 7. Absent and not voting — 9. Senator Quinney, one of the most ardent friends of the measure, was kept away from the senate chamber by sickness and was thus denied the pleasure of voting in the affirmative.

Having passed the senate by this decisive vote, it was returned to the house for final action. Mr. Pope called the bill up after it reached the house, and the amendment was adopted on the 9th of April, and made a special order for the 10th, after reading the journal. This was the last day of the session. During the last week of the session a train of unfortunate circumstances threw the house into great confusion, and conspired to prevent intelligent consideration of any measure. The friends of the bill were sanguine of its passage, and from this very cause, no doubt, were not as watchful of its interest as they otherwise would have been. The session closed at twelve o'clock M. on the 10th of April. The house was in great confusion, the enemies of the bill were on the alert, when someone moved a suspension of the rules, which carried, and another bill was taken up, and thus House Bill No. 115 lost its right of way to immediate consideration. When it was finally reached, the end was so near that little could be done, when someone moved to indefinitely postpone the bill. The motion carried, when in fact but few members knew what was being voted upon. Even after the adjournment of the legislature some of its friends insisted that it had passed the house. I took the trouble to examine the record, but by a singular omission the name of the mover of the motion to indefinitely postpone was omitted. When asked the reason for the omission the journal clerk could only say it was by accident. As to the cause of such omission the reader can draw his own conclusion, though it must be conceded in behalf of the clerk, that the confusion in the hall was such that it was difficult to hear anything. It was very evident all along that if the measure could have been brought to a vote in the house, after it came back from the senate, it would have passed by a handsome majority. This was freely admitted by some of its bitterest enemies. Its final defeat was deeply regretted by all who hold it to be the highest duty of the state to protect the homes of its citizens from pollution. The fight in the house was sharp and bitter from start to finish, and the gentlemen who championed the cause of the unprotected girls most thoroughly demolished the plausible sophistries offered by its enemies.

We will now consider the main objections urged against raising the age to eighteen years. First, it was claimed that the number of unprotected girls being so small, as compared with more densely populated states, no additional legislation was necessary; and second, that designing and unprincipled females under eighteen years would entrap unwary and unsuspecting youths and blackmail them into marriage, or else extort money for their silence. To the first objection, it was very ably shown by the supporters of the measure, that while the number of girls who had to leave the paternal roof and a mother's care — forced by hard necessity that knows no law — to go out and work for a living, might not be so large as in the older and more densely populated states, there was a large number in proportion to population, and the numbers were rapidly increasing. As has been well said by Dr. Emily Blackwell, and in substance, if not in the exact language, in the very able speech of Mr. McGehee on the floor of the House of Representatives: — "There is no class in society so helpless, so surrounded by temptation, as young working girls just growing up. They are surrounded by a network of snares and pitfalls. This is the class which is coveted as a prey by the licentious and by those who live by pandering to licentiousness." Truer words were never spoken, and should sink deep into the hearts of every lover of humanity.

It must ever remain, as it has always been in the past, that the great mass of the population of our state, as of all the states in the Union, will be poor in this world's goods, and that thousands in the future, as in the past, will have to struggle with poverty, and in that struggle girls of young and tender years, as pure and innocent as yours and mine, will have to work in the factories, in the stores, in the hotels and boarding-houses, coming in contact with all sorts of people, some, alas! watching for victims to indulge their brutal lusts. The state should throw every safeguard around them possible. It should do this outside of all considerations of morality and personal purity, which are potent reasons in themselves, but for *economic* reasons. It is the bounden duty of the state to protect the lives and health of her people, and especially of that class who work for a living and are the mainstay of the Republic in times of danger. Then again, when one contemplates the number of hapless victims that fill the brothels and vile dens, dragged down in their immature years, common humanity calls aloud for protection. Medical organizations and medical men in large numbers are moving in the matter, and are clearly and forcibly pointing out how the health of the nation may become largely contaminated, through hereditary influences, which calls for immediate action. The fact is too plain and clear to need further elaboration, that thousands of immature girls, just passing through the transition period that divides childhood from womanhood are being dragged down from a state of purity to one of pollution, and every possible safeguard should be called into requisition to save them from such a fate — a condition that not only destroys them as social factors, but also renders them unfit to procreate the species.

The second objection is equally fallacious. Under the present law, where the age is fixed at sixteen years, we have no record of any such blackmailing schemes as was predicted if the age was placed at eighteen years. Yet it is a well-known fact that many girls are as intelligent and shrewd and well-developed physically at sixteen as at eighteen. It was predicted that if the age were raised from twelve to sixteen, all these same dire consequences would follow, and that the male youths of the state would fall an easy prey to these wanton girls, and would be blackmailed into all sorts of conditions. But these predictions have come to naught. There is nothing in the plea to deter the legislature from doing its whole duty to protect the weak and defenceless girls from the grasp of the lecherous villains who lie in wait to destroy them. But admitting that some bad girls should attempt this, no law can possibly be enacted that some might not evade or use it for base purposes. The good would so immeasurably outnumber the possible, or probable, bad results, that the objection, like all others so far interposed, falls to the ground.

While the friends of the measure, in and out of the legislature, deeply regret that it failed, yet they propose to renew the contest upon the meeting of the next general assembly, and no effort will be relaxed until complete victory is won, and the age of consent raised to that age when a girl reaches her legal majority, and when she can contract honorable marriage upon her own responsibility, and can sell and transfer property or make a will. Her honor and purity are of far more value to her, to the community, and to the state than any paltry considerations of property rights. Common humanity shudders to even contemplate or think of the thousands of helpless victims that go to fill up the brothels in the United States, and of the consequent suffering endured, and a horrible death as a finale. To the charge that it is an attempt to legislate morals in the young, it is a sufficient answer that it is an act of justice and right, and is a moral question only in so far as justice and right are moral questions. It is protecting the weak and helpless; the strong and powerful can help themselves. Shall we enact laws to protect animals from cruelty, and not do so for the protection of our own kind?

Viewed from every standpoint — of morals, of justice, of protection of the weak from the clutches of the strong, or as an economic measure affecting the future welfare of the population of the state to save them from pollution and hereditary diseases, or of protecting girls from the dangers and errors of their own immature judgment — the necessity for additional legislation becomes more apparent. The penalty for rape, where violence is used, is death. And when the age of consent is raised to the age of legal majority, when a girl can transfer property and contract honorable marriage without the consent of her parents or guardian, our laws will probably be as near perfect upon this subject as human wisdom can devise.

There was no active opposition to the passage of the bill in the senate, and consequently little opportunity offered for discussion, but in both houses the gentlemen referred to in this article did their whole duty, and deeply regretted their inability to secure the enactment of this much needed legislation.

The Age of Consent — Is It a Purely Moral Question?

BY G. W. GRANBERRY, M. D., OF ARKANSAS.

Not satisfied with the arguments that have usually and ordinarily been advanced to defeat and deter legislation, fixing the age of consent at the time when girls reach their legal majority, its opponents now come forward and claim that it is a purely moral question, and that you cannot legislate morals into the youth of the country. It is a specious plea, and is only designed to befog and becloud the main issue and bewilder the honest seeker after truth. There is hardly a solitary law upon our statute book but what has a moral sentiment imbedded in it. The statute against theft is one that might be adduced to illustrate this point. In one sense this is a moral question, and is found in the decalogue. So are many other principles found in our jurisprudence. When we consider that in their broader sense justice and right are usually considered by the great mass of the people as moral principles or questions, the fallacy of the objection becomes apparent. Applied universally, a great purgation of our statute books would become necessary. It is in fact only a moral question collaterally.

It is universally recognized as the duty of the state not only to protect the lives of its citizens, but also to protect their homes from pollution, for this is the source from which our future supplies of population must come. It then becomes a question of vast importance to the state. What these objectors really mean, though they do not probably say so openly, is that it is a religious question, or a sectarian religious question. The ordinary everyday definition of morals refers "to practice or manners in reference to right and wrong; virtuous; just;" or again, to the "practice of the duties of life." These are questions that necessarily come within the domain of the duties of the state, albeit they are moral questions. It is the duty of the state to check wrong and encourage right. Even among the ancients this principle was recognized and acted upon. It was said of Solon, the great Athenian lawgiver, that "he considered men as men; and keeping both their capacity for virtue and their proneness to evil in his view, he adapted his laws so as to strengthen and support the one and to check and keep under the other."

An orderly regulation of the sexual relation, especially when it affects the whole body politic, is a matter to be effected by legislative action. The corruption of the female youth of the country, while in law they are *infants*, even if it is a moral question as relates to society and the duties of life, demands recognition at the hands of our lawmakers. While it may not be possible to stamp out all pollution in this respect by legal enactment, legislation will largely curtail it, and will place the ban of the state upon such practices, which in itself will help create a healthy public sentiment in that direction.

Common observation shows that the great majority of girls who are enticed and lured to a life of shame are *minors*. They have not reached that age when they would be capable of forming a sound judgment of the awful consequences of such a life. Of course, when they reach majority, they must take the responsibility of their own acts. That this is a moral question in its general sense, as it affects the well-being of society and the good of the state, does not prohibit the interference of the state. Our constitution separates church and state, and guarantees every person the right to worship God according to his own conception of his obligations to Deity. But regulating the age of consent does not come within this prohibition. The state has no right to interfere in a question of *pure morals*, when it only relates to the individual and his God, and does not affect the rights and privileges of others, as individuals or members of communities. But when anything tends to sap the very mainsprings of the body politic and the orderly regulation of society, state interference not only is permissible, but becomes an absolute duty. Self-preservation, which is above all law, renders it obligatory upon the state to keep the fountains of its life free from pollution. When the numbers that need this salutary protection are considered — and the number is increasing yearly — the great necessity of proper action becomes more evident.

TEXAS.

This completes the states which have, or claim to have, placed the age at sixteen years. Below this is a range that seems hardly credible, but when it is known that Texas had one of the hardest struggles during the past session ever had on any subject, and yet failed to place the age higher than fifteen years (a gain of three years), and that in Minnesota the struggle was similar, with a result of total failure, leaving the age in that state fourteen, it proves anew that eternal vigilance and sincere and united effort are essential if the people of a state do not wish henceforth to be "represented" by men who believe with Representative A. C. Tompkins, of Kentucky, that girls know more upon these subjects at twelve than they do at twenty, and that they know enough at twelve to enable them to properly weigh and measure the most important and profound questions of human life, and to form judgments for which they should be held as responsible as are men of fifty, while at the same time these same girls are held by law on all other subjects to be infants and in need of guardians to protect their interests and the interests of the state as their legal representative. The reports from Texas are so voluminous, and the speeches of some of the opponents so startling, that they cannot be here reported. The portraits of the leaders are also crowded out, but a fine-looking set of men they are, and it is hoped that next session their complete success in Texas may place that great state and the champions of her daughters on a full equality with their neighbors in the West and with New York. Meantime, I regret to say that the arguments of some of the legislators of Texas were on so low and vile a plane that one can have only pity for the women who are of their families and something akin to contempt for the constituents who send such men to represent them.

Review of the Age-of-Consent Legislation in Texas.

The first effort of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Texas to have the age of consent raised was in 1891, when Mrs. Mary M. Clardy was sent by the Fort Worth Union to lobby for it. An heroic effort was made then to get the age raised to sixteen, but it resulted only in raising the age from ten to twelve years. Other legislation so occupied our organization in 1893, that this was crowded out; but in our state convention of June, 1894, we decided to try once more to have "the foul blot removed from the escutcheon of Texas." In October, 1894, E. L. Dabbs, M. D., President of the "Texas Woman's Council," in her address made a similar call; and much was done in sentiment-making and petition-gathering by the various woman's societies in the state as a consequence.

I went to Austin at the opening of the session, and three days thereafter Senator Harrison introduced a bill amending the definition of rape so as to read eighteen instead of twelve years. This gentleman is a minister of the Christian or Disciple Church, and was elected to the senate by the Populists. The bill, however, was not regarded as in any sense a party measure, but was advocated by men of all parties. The senate judiciary committee No. 2 promptly reported the bill reducing the age to fourteen, "provided the defendant may show that the party on whom the offence is charged to have been committed is a female of bad character for chastity."

I had not intended to address the committee, but that report, especially the proviso, changed my mind. The bill was recommitted, and I went before the committee. After my address there was a lively discussion, all participants being senators save one, the pastor of the local Christian Church. This discussion developed the fact that bitter opposition was to be encountered. One thing surprised the women who were present, the gray-haired men opposed the higher age, the younger men championed it. There were exceptions, of course. The committee changed the proviso and reported back a substitute bill with the age still fourteen.

During the interval between the hearing before the committee and the day set for the discussion in the senate, the whole state was thrown into great excitement. Mass meetings were held, petitions gathered, personal letters written to senators and members of the house. No bill before the twenty-fourth legislature called forth so great recognition. No community was so isolated as to be untouched by the wave of feeling. The papers opened their columns for free discussion of the subject, and many sent out strongest argument from the editorial page. The *Statesman*, the great daily of the capital, led the secular press. Col. Joel H. B. Miller, the senior editor, gave a large share of his editorials to this bill, advocating eighteen years. The *Christian Courier* of Dallas, edited by Ex-Senator Homan, led the religious press. He spoke as a statesman, a lawyer, a Christian. The *Iconoclast* of Waco, edited by W. C. Brann, turned his battering-rams against the opposition, asking, "Why is it that they deliberately disregard public opinion and turn a deaf ear to the pleading of ten thousand mothers if they have not formed 'a league with death and a covenant with hell'?" His editorials were largely quoted by other state papers. The ARENA symposium was reproduced entire in the *Texas Christian Advocate* of Dallas, with favorable comments. Many other state papers did the same. So many personal letters were written to the members, that one old bachelor of the legislature is reported to have said he would vote for anything if only the women of his district would let him alone.

The day on which the bill was set for special order, an arctic blizzard was howling over the state. The senators had invited the women to be present, and notwithstanding the fearful cold, over fifty of the best women of Austin were there. We were furnished comfortable seats in the lobby, and every attention of kindness and respect was shown us. A change in the prevailing sentiment, or it may be a change in the class of lawmakers, was evident since women were invited to hear the discussion. Four years ago it was considered a really disgraceful thing that a blessed white-haired mother should have heard the discussion. At the recent session one lawmaker remarked, "If there is a woman in Texas who would *not* be present at such a discussion, I never want to meet her, for I want always to respect women."

Senator Goss introduced an amendment to reduce the age from fourteen to thirteen, and spoke to it. The burden of his song was, "Protect the boys." Senator Bowser, of Dallas, introduced the amendment to raise the age to eighteen, also the one to seventeen, and spoke strongly in defence. Senator Beall, from Waxahachie, the young man of the senate, introduced the amendment for sixteen years. He favored eighteen. The compromise had to be made fifteen in order to pass.

The small minority who were for twelve or thirteen filibustered for one whole session and part of two other sessions. The bill had no stronger friend than Senator Sherrill, of Greenville, who also made the speech against the proviso that killed it. Once the vote was a tie. Lieutenant Governor Jester, with a beaming face, voted "aye" and saved the bill.

The senate bill was passed by the house without discussion. It was called up by an eloquent young lawyer of Waco, Cullen F. Thomas, age 25. Evans of Hunt, Gough of Collin, both lawyers, and T. T. D. Andrews, a stockman from Fort Worth, were the most active friends in the house. However, while these were most active, I believe it but just to say the Texas house would have passed the original bill. The house is composed mostly of younger men, and their progressive ideas along this line of legislation argue well for a higher civilization for the future.*

The arguments against raising the age higher than thirteen or fourteen, were: 1. Girls often mature physically at twelve or fourteen years of age. Mexican girls were often mothers at twelve; being developed, the girl could consent. 2. Working girls, especially typewriters, would blackmail their employers, "urged on by designing mothers." (Bailey.) 3. We have a degraded race among us — negro. 4. It will send youths to the gallows, and fill our penitentiaries with immature boys.† 5. Southern chivalry was a sufficient protection to womanhood. 6. Seduction laws cover the case. (N. B. — Marriages between the white and negro races are unlawful in this state.)

All these arguments were met and refuted by Senators Bowser, Harrison, and Sherrill. The opposition was profuse in tributes to good women, defining both their "mission" and their "sphere." "The women are no doubt good-hearted, but had allowed their sentiment to run away with their judgment." They greatly admired "female virtue." The women listened attentively, but not one word did we hear for "male virtue."

A bill was introduced in the house making carnal knowledge with a female over twelve a misdemeanor with fine of $25 to $1,000. (*For stealing a yearling worth $4.00, in Texas, the party is sent to the penitentiary for at least two years.*) Committee sent in majority and minority reports, the minority signed by several prominent young lawyers, Thomas and Evans of the number. The house adjourned without any action on the bill, which was certainly greatly to its credit. The man introducing this bill is a criminal lawyer, a worker in a Sunday school, and father of a family of small children, all girls.

The bill, as now become the law, so modifies the definition of rape as to make it apply to girls until they are fifteen years old. No proviso of any kind. A perfect law as far as it goes. The age will be higher before the question is settled.

Senator Harrison (who introduced the bill in senate) is an educated physician. After twenty years of active practice it was an easy transition for him to become a minister. His political preferment was unsought.

Almost simultaneously, but without consultation, although politically of the same party, a similar bill was introduced in the house by Representative Cureton. The age (eighteen) was reduced to fourteen by the committee, although a brave minority report favoring sixteen years was brought in by Representatives Gough (chairman), Evans of

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* This has been so marked in almost every state as to astonish even those who knew the fact before.

† That the fourth and fifth arguments are self-contradictory did not appear to interfere with the vehemence with which both were urged. Then, too, if the fifth is true, why hesitate to so state in the form of law? H. H. G.

Hunt, and Thomas. By this strong, true stand these young statesmen became quickly recognized by the press and people all over the state. Nor can it be forgotten.

HELEN M. STODDARD, Dallas, Texas,
State President, Texas W. C. T. U.

TEXAS SENATE, 1895.

Senators who wanted the age eighteen: Lieutenant-Governor Jester, President of Senate, Beall, Bowser, Crowley, Darwin, Gage, Harrison, McComb, Presler, Rogers, Sherrill, Smith, Stafford.

Those who would not go higher than fifteen or sixteen: Atlee (16), Boren, Colquitt, Dickson (16), Dean, Lawhon (16), McKinney (16), Steele, Woods.

Senators voting for not higher than thirteen or fourteen: Agnew, Bailey, Dibrell, Greer, Goss, Lewis, Simpson, Shelburne, Tips, Whitaker.

Had it been possible to have all the friends of a sixteen-year amendment present at a vote, it would have carried with a majority of one, but these were never all present at the same time. Two or three on the Black List, after they saw the bill was going to pass at fifteen years anyway, voted for it; but that doesn't count.

DELAWARE.

The next state which claims to have placed the age at fifteen is Delaware. But in my opinion, and that of several able lawyers who have been consulted, the real age of consent in Delaware is still seven. In other words, the law of Delaware so defines rape that a man would not be convicted of this crime unless violence is used if the child is above the age of seven, but might, under another section of the law, be convicted of a "*misdemeanor* and fined *not more* than $1,000, *or* imprisoned for *not more* than seven years, or both *at the discretion of the court*," if the girl is under fifteen. But this latter relates to a finable misdemeanor, and does not, after the child is seven years old, touch the basic question as embodied in the laws of other states. If the child is more than seven years and one day, the punishment may be not more than ten cents. This is the very point of contention.

The matter came up, and bills to make the age-of-consent and rape laws more in harmony with those of other states were presented, but were defeated during the last session. It is but just to say that the penalty in Delaware for rape is death. The arguments of an able Delaware lawyer sent here to prove that the definition of rape is the same in all states, and that if "consent" is given the offence cannot be that crime, are crowded out here, but the bills already printed from other states disprove the argument, for in cases of idiots, insane, and a number of other classes, and of girls under sixteen or eighteen years of age, it is held now to be rape in more than half of the states of this Union and in several other countries. On this subject Hon. Henry B. Blackwell recently wrote: "Delaware is still wrestling with the problem of the age of protection. The law has been so far amended that it is now a misdemeanor for an adult of either sex to corrupt a minor under eighteen.* To corrupt a girl under seven years old is a felony. But if the child is one day over seven years old, her alleged 'consent' still reduces the offence from a felony to a misdemeanor, the penalty for which is comparatively slight."

The bills in Delaware were reported to have passed, and it was so telegraphed all over the country. Many were the letters of thanksgiving sent here, saying, "Now we are no longer at the foot of the list"; "Take Delaware out of that horrible position"; "It has been our shame and our utter humiliation." But the report was premature, and so far as the crime of rape is concerned, if "consent" is obtained from a child seven years and one day old, it is *not* that of felony, but is a finable misdemeanor. Hence Delaware is still at the foot of the ladder.

Next to her are the two Carolinas, in which the age is ten. No session was held in South Carolina this year. It is but just to say that North Carolina this year made an effort to better her status in this matter.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Hon. L. L. Smith, of Gatesville, introduced a bill asking that the word "ten be struck out of the code, and the word fourteen inserted," leaving the death penalty. In judiciary committee it was proposed to change this to twelve years, with death penalty, and make it a finable and prison offence up to eighteen. This was recommended by the judiciary committee, but it met with such fierce opposition on the floor of the house that as a matter of prudence, to prevent the defeat of the bill, he offered a substitute for the report of the committee, the effect of which was to leave the law as it was for rape in the first degree, the penalty for which was death, and to punish "by fine and imprisonment in the penitentiary every person convicted of carnally knowing and abusing any female of ten years and under the age of fourteen years." This passed the house in that shape, after a full discussion, by a good majority, on the second reading. On the third reading, however, the opposition made a harder fight than on the second, and got in two amendments — one to substitute "or" for "and" between "fine" and "imprisonment," and another providing that "any female of ten years and under the age of fourteen years" must be a virgin in order that any person could be convicted of carnally knowing and abusing her. It thus passed its third reading in the house. When it went to the senate, it was referred to the judiciary committee, and to Mr. Smith's surprise was there amended by a proviso that no male under the age of eighteen years could be convicted under that act. But before the report of the committee was made, by the help of a friend in the senate, Mr. Smith had it re-referred to the committee, and he himself went before them and induced them to reconsider their former action. They would not, however, strike out the whole proviso, but finally reduced the age for the protection of boys under the act from eighteen to sixteen years. The house would not have acceded to that amendment but for the fact that it was so late in the session there was not then time to consider it.

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* Fifteen.

Fancy stopping to discuss whether a child ten and one-half years old is a virgin or has outlawed herself by having once before met a male brute! Fancy also protecting boys under sixteen and girls of fourteen! Is this "Southern chivalry"?

Next come West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, and Louisiana, all of which place the age of protection at twelve years, and only one of which had a session this year. It is explained that the South has, in this matter, retained the old common law in most cases, and that this accounts (in spite of her chivalry) for the fact that as a section she stands far behind any other in her legal protection to her daughters. Most of these states held no session this year. It remains to be seen whether they will retrieve themselves at their next session. It is also fair to say that in most of the Southern states the penalty for rape is death, and that no age is named at which a boy is shielded from the full penalty, although the common-law presumption of fourteen holds. All such features will necessarily be matters for mature consideration in framing the next law. In most of the Northern and Western states the matter was somewhat less complex. But having been famous for skilful statesmanship, there is little fear but that, when undertaken in earnest, these Southern states will redeem themselves in this matter.

WEST VIRGINIA.

REPORT.

No bill was introduced at the last session of the legislature on the subject named. Age of consent in West Virginia is twelve years. (Code of 1891, Chap. 144, Sec. 16; Acts of 1882, Chap.118.) Penalty for rape: If jury return a verdict of guilty, that the accused be confined in the penitentiary; he shall be confined therein not less than seven nor more than twenty years. (Code 1891, Chap. 144, Sec. 15; Acts 1882, Chap. 118). The age of majority is twenty-one years for both male and female.

Very truly yours,

WM. M. O. DAWSON,

Clerk of the House and Keeper of the Rolls.

WISCONSIN.

Wisconsin made a gain of two years, and now stands at fourteen. The crime is rape, and the penalty "imprisonment in the state prison not less than five or more than thirty-five years."

The bill in Wisconsin was introduced by Hon. H. P. Burdick, first fixing the age at fifteen. It was formerly twelve. Afterwards he amended it by making the age sixteen, and in that form it passed the assembly without a dissenting vote. When it reached the senate it was referred to the judiciary committee, and there cropped out some opposition, principally Senator Bashford, Democrat, and Senator Spenceley, Republican. Mr. Burdick went before this committee and argued for the bill as it had passed the house, but, realizing that it was in jeopardy, he said to the committee that he would consent to making it fifteen, but would fight anything lower. It was reported by this committee with amendment fixing it at fourteen, and passed the senate in that form. When it again reached the assembly, Mr. Burdick had been made speaker, owing to the sickness of Speaker Burrows, and not wishing to leave the chair to speak in its favor, he simply requested the friends of the bill to refuse to concur in the senate amendment, and the assembly did so refuse. This resulted in a conference committee, which the speaker appointed from the assembly. The committee from the senate was firm in the position taken by the senate, and refused to recede from the amendment, and finally, rather than to get nothing, Mr. Burdick advised the assembly committee to consent, and the bill became a law, fixing the age at fourteen. The principal workers in the assembly for the bill were Hon. Messrs. A. R. Hall, W. A. Jones, and D. O. Mahoney. However, it is only fair to say that there was no opposition to the bill at sixteen in the assembly. The opposition was in the senate, which body stood for a low age.*

After the introduction of this bill, another bill was introduced by Hon. Frank L. Fraser, of Lake Beulah, Walworth Co., fixing the age at eighteen, but the bill was not pressed, and died in committee. The age of majority in this state is twenty-one, but girls may contract marriage at eighteen. The penalty for rape by force is not less than ten years imprisonment nor more than thirty; for carnal knowledge of a child under the age of consent, not less than five years nor more than thirty-five. There were no members of the senate prominent in their opposition to the Burdick bill, but by quiet work the age was reduced, as has been explained. The only argument offered by any member was that if fixed at an age higher than fourteen, convictions were hard to get in case of violation, as juries were loath to punish a man severely for carnal knowledge of a girl more than fourteen where it appeared that she was a willing party to her own debauchery. There is nothing in the argument, and it is unworthy of respectable men.

OTHER STATES.

Finally, we have twelve other states in which the age is still fourteen years. In a few of these, for example Alabama, which this year put in two bills asking for eighteen, but succeeded in getting fourteen only (it had been ten), the wording of the law has not yet reached us, so that it is impossible to say whether it is or is not a perfect law.

Next is California, of which I have written that after the bill passed making the age sixteen, the governor vetoed it, and it therefore is now only fourteen.

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* Note this fact, and what it implies in most states.

Ohio and Georgia,* in which the age is fourteen, had no session this year, and if Maine, Maryland, Nevada, and Vermont (same age) had, they have not yet reported. Indiana and Minnesota this year each put in bills asking that the age be raised from fourteen to eighteen, but in each case failed of any action whatever. Long, ably-written, and interesting reports have come from both of these states, but since they made no advance it has been deemed best to defer these reports until the history of the future legislation in these states shall demand and deserve the space.

One of the finest arguments yet made anywhere was written us by Representative Stakebake, of Indiana, who introduced a bill, as did also Rev. J. M. Fowler, whose report we regret not being able to use here. Two fine reports from Minnesota, one by a talented young lawyer, Mr. Harry Wellington Wack, and one by Mrs. Josie L. Fowler-Tabour also came, and are omitted for the reasons given above.

In closing the report of this legislation for 1895 we feel like congratulating the country upon the fact that so much more than we hoped for has been accomplished by concerted action; and we believe that the impetus is now such that the people of no state will rest until this blot is removed from their statute books, and until their youth is protected in its present and its future chances for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness upon the same basis of age and maturity of judgment and responsibility as is applied to the property and other material interests of the infant wards of the state and nation. The accompanying map and revised black list is a great advance in one year. I trust that next session may not leave New York so conspicuously alone in the East, and that no state will rest content to have it said that her lawmakers wish, and her men are willing, to take legal advantage of the girl children whose guardians and protectors they claim they are and should be.

H. H. G.

CODIFICATION IN BRIEF.

In a number of these states it says "any male person over sixteen years old, or eighteen, etc., shall" etc. In other states no age is named for the male offender except the presumption of the common law, which places it at fourteen.

DELAWARE. 7. Rape. Death. 15, misdemeanor, "*fined* not *more* than $1,000 *or* prison not *more* than 7 years or both, at the discretion of the court."

NORTH CAROLINA. 10. Rape. Death. 14, "crime punished by fine *or* imprisonment at the discretion of the court, *provided* she has never previously had sexual intercourse with any male person."

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* The Georgia law makes the age fourteen *unless* "by reason of her intelligence she knows good from evil" at an earlier date. This might place the age at five or seven if a jury so pleased.

SOUTH CAROLINA. 10. Death, common law.

ALABAMA. 10. "Death or imprisonment in the penitentiary for life." (Could get no information from secretary of state.)

MISSISSIPPI. "Under 10 years of age, or being over 10 *against her will*." Death, unless the jury shall fix the penalty at imprisonment in the penitentiary for life, as it may do in case of murder. Mississippi has an abduction law which, having been confused with the consent law, has formerly caused the age in Mississippi to be given as 16. Secretary of state sent this, but so far as we can learn the statute leaving the age when she can consent as 10 years is still in force in this state.

FLORIDA. 10 years is rape — death or life imprisonment; 16 years, "shall be punished by imprisonment not *exceeding twelve months or* by fine not *exceeding* $500."

VIRGINIA. 12 years for girl, 14 for boy. Death *or* prison not more than 20 nor less than 10 years.

WEST VIRGINIA. 12. Death or imprisonment not less than 7 nor more than twenty years, at the discretion of the jury.

INDIAN TERRITORY. 12. Under Cherokee law. Death *or* imprisonment for life.

KENTUCKY. 12. "Death *or* imprisonment for life at the discretion of the court."

TENNESSEE. 12 years, death *or* prison *not less* than 10 years; 16 years, prison 3 years *if* of previous good character, etc.

LOUISIANA. 12. Statute of 1889 gives 12 years. Penalty, death. (Could get no information from secretary of state.)

NEVADA. 12. Statute of 1885, "with or without consent; penalty not less than 5 years, may be for life." (Could get nothing from secretary of state.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE. 13 for girls, 14 for boys. "He shall be imprisoned not exceeding 30 years."

IOWA. 13. Imprisonment for life *or any term* of years.

UTAH. 13. Rape. "Imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding 5 years."

GEORGIA. 14, *or any* younger age if jury finds she "knows the difference between good and evil."

MAINE. 14. Imprisonment for life *or any* term of years.

VERMONT. 14. Prison not *more* than 20 years *or* fined not *more* than $2,000 or both.

MARYLAND. 14. "Death, or penitentiary for life or not less than 18 months nor more than 21 years." Report of 1892. (Could get no reply from secretary of state.)

OHIO. 14. Rape if boy is over 18. Not more than 20 nor less than 3 years.

INDIANA. 14. Imprisonment in state prison not more than 21 years and not less than one year.

ILLINOIS. 14. "Either with or without her consent." Imprisonment not less than one year, and may be extended to life.

WISCONSIN. 14. Imprisonment not less than 5 nor more than 35 years. Gain in 1895 of 2 years.

NEW MEXICO. 14. Imprisonment not less than 5 nor more than 35 years. Gain in 1895 of 2 years.

CALIFORNIA. 14. "State prison not less than 5 years." Act March, 1889. (Received no reply from governor or secretary of state when asked for wording of bill and penalty.)

TEXAS. 15. Penalty not yet reported. Gain in 1895 of 3 years.

MASSACHUSETTS. 16. Imprisonment for life or any term of years.

RHODE ISLAND. 16. "Imprisonment *not exceeding* 15 years." Report of 1894. (Could get no information from secretary of state.)

CONNECTICUT. 16. Rape. "State prison not less than 3 years." Gain of 2 years in 1895.

NEW JERSEY. 16. "Misdemeanor," fine not *exceeding* $1,000 *or* imprisonment at hard labor not *exceeding* 15 years or both.

MICHIGAN. 16. "Imprisonment, state prison for life or *any term* of years."

MINNESOTA. 16. "Under 10, in state prison for life; 14 years, state prison not less than 7 nor more than 30 years; 16 years, state prison not less than one nor more than 7 years, or county jail not less than 3 months nor more than one year."

NORTH DAKOTA. 16. If girl is under 10 years it is rape in first degree, all other cases it is second degree. Punishment, prison not less than 5 years. Gain of 2 years 1895.

SOUTH DAKOTA. 16. If in the first degree, imprisonment not less than 10 years. (See North Dakota.)

MONTANA. 16. "State prison not less than 5 years or for life." Gain of 2 years in 1895.

WASHINGTON. 12. Imprisonment for life *or* any term of years. Report of Senator Coon. Washington. 16. Report of Secretary of state, imprisonment for life *or* any term of years.

PENNSYVLANIA. 16–10. Boy *over* 16. Fine and imprisonment not *exceeding* $1,000 and not exceeding 15 years, "if the woman child was of good repute"; if the child is under 10 years no such proof required.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. 16. "Under the age of 16" imprisonment, including accessories, at hard labor for first offence not more than 15 years, and each subsequent offence not more than 30 years. Feb. 9, 1889. Wherever the United States has exclusive jurisdiction, which naturally includes Alaska and all vessels, national parks, etc.

OREGON. 16. Boy over 16. "Imprisonment not less than 3 nor more than 20 years." Gain 2 years 1895.

ARKANSAS. 16. "Shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than 5 nor more than 20 years."

NEW YORK. 18. "Imprisonment not more than 20 years." Gain of 2 years in 1895.

KANSAS. 18. Prison at hard labor not less than 5 nor more than 21 years.

COLORADO. 18. Prison not less than one nor more than 20 years. Gain of 2 years in 1895.

ARIZONA. 18. Imprisonment for life or any term not less than 5 years. Gain of 4 years 1895.

WYOMING. 18. Rape. "Shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than one year or during life."

IDAHO. 18. Rape. Prison not less than 5 years, and imprisonment may be extended for life. Gain of 4 years in 1895.

NEBRASKA. 18. "Unless previously unchaste" after 15. Boy to be over 18. Prison not less than 3 nor more than 20 years. Gain of 4 years 1895.

MISSOURI. 18. Boy over 16. Felony, imprisonment 2 years *or* fine not less than $100 nor *more* than $500, *or* imprisonment in county jail not less than one month nor more than six months, or both. Gain of 4 years 1895.

REVISED BLACK LIST FOR 1895.

Below we give the black list of states, showing the limit at which fathers, brothers, and husbands have placed the age at which *a little girl may consent to her ruin.*

SEVEN YEARS.

* Delaware.

*Delaware has other stringent laws up to 15, but her rape law "with consent" holds to 7 only.

TEN YEARS.

North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, *Mississippi, *Florida.

*Abduction and finable offences up to 16, but rape law "with consent" ends at 10.

TWELVE YEARS.

Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Indian Territory, Nevada.

THIRTEEN YEARS.

New Hampshire, Iowa, Utah.

FOURTEEN YEARS.

*Georgia, Maine, Vermont, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, New Mexico, California.

* The wording of the Georgia law may permit a jury to place the age at 5 or any other age up to 14.

FIFTEEN YEARS.

Texas.

SIXTEEN YEARS.

Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, *New Jersey, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Oregon, Arkansas, † Pennsylvania, ‡ District of Columbia.

*It is merely a finable misdemeanor in New Jersey, which should rule this state out of the 16 list.

†Must prove previous good character after 10 years. which does not place Pennsylvania justly with the 16 list.

‡District of Columbia has a very stringent law which is superior in its provisions to that of most of the states. This covers the National Park, all vessels under United States control, etc.

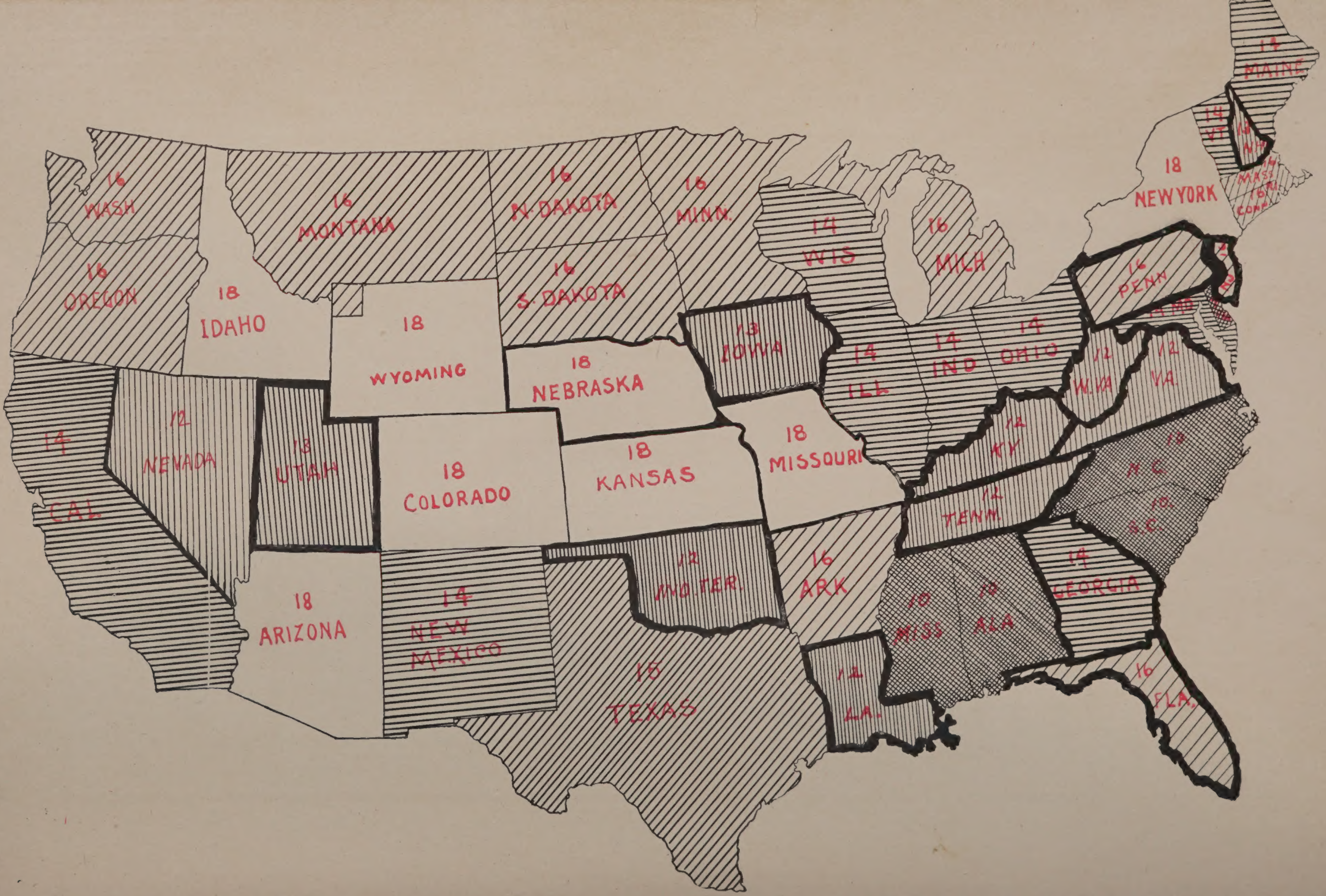
OUT OF THE BLACK LIST.

EIGHTEEN YEARS.

NEW YORK, KANSAS, COLORADO, ARIZONA, WYOMING, IDAHO, *NEBRASKA, †MISSOURI.

* The requirements in the Nebraska statute make it almost worthless after 15.

†The requirements and penalties in Missouri are the most defective of all, and will prove practically worthless in operation.



Map of the United States showing the Age of Consent in October, 1895. See Codified Laws, pp. 415-418.

THE IMPENDING POLITICAL ADVANCE.

BY HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY.

Hon. J. M. Ashley,

DEAR SIR: Owing to your intimate knowledge of our political anti-slavery history during the past quarter of a century, and your special qualifications for discussing vital problems which are of paramount importance at the present time, I take the liberty of requesting your views on the following questions:

First. Can the frauds by which two, if not three, of the Presidents of the United States are said to have been elected, be prevented without effecting a change in the Constitution ?

Second. Can a majority of the legal voters in the States having a majority of the *Presidential electors*, by concurrent action *prevent or avoid* the election of a Vice-President, and thereby relieve the country of an "heir-apparent" to the Presidency ?

Third. Without a change in the Constitution, can the voters of the several states, in their choice of Congressmen, and also in that for electors of President and Vice-President, avail themselves of any practical system of proportional representation ?

Respectfully yours, B. O. FLOWER.

REPLY BY MR. ASHLEY.

To each of your questions I give an affirmative answer. But it would require not less than three magazine articles of maximum length to answer your request satisfactorily to myself.

I hold that with an intelligent use of the ballot there is, under our present Constitution, no insurmountable obstacle to the accomplishment of any legitimate purpose of representative government which may voluntarily be resolved upon by a majority of the citizens of the United States, *provided each elector has secured to him an equality of political power, a direct vote and a fair count.*

But obviously enough, the election of a President and the dispensing with the officer known as Vice-President, and "heir apparent," by the plan I shall propose in this paper, without change of Constitution and laws, can be accomplished in a manner more satisfactory to all by an amendment which shall abolish the office of Vice-President absolutely, and guarantee to the citizens of the several States the right to vote by ballot direct for the nomination and for the election of a President, without the intervention of party caucuses and conventions (State or national), or the use of presidential electors, or an election by the House of Representatives.

As I see it, the electoral machinery by which our Presidents are now chosen is the stumbling-block in our national political highway. It is our political rock of offense, and our safety and peace demands that it be removed. If not removed it will some day produce revolution and civil war. Had Samuel J. Tilden been an Andrew Jackson, we should have had in 1877 a struggle the result of which no man can even now forecast.

The stormy outlook in our political sky for 1896 indicates that the frauds and factional divisions which in 1844 and since have been successful at two, if not three presidential elections, may again be repeated, unless timely precaution and energetic action are taken to defeat them.

Experience, however, has taught us how difficult it is to induce the American people to move out of the familiar political paths in which they have been accustomed for years to march. And I am not unmindful of the fact that there is to-day a hesitating timidity and an unreasoning prejudice against any amendment, however necessary and just, which may be proposed to our national Constitution. Especially is this the case when the amendment promises to secure greater power to the people, and reduce the number of political bosses.

John Stuart Mill once said that a proposition might be so just that all parties would reject it.

The reason for this hesitating timidity on the part of our people about amending the Constitution is not hard to find.

Immediately after the adoption of the Constitution by the convention which framed it, and its ratification by the requisite number of States to make it binding, the proslavery interests throughout the country (which from that date acted aggressively and as a unit) joined the members of the convention who, by crafty intrigue and conduct bordering on treason to the young republic, had forced Franklin and Madison, Hamilton and Randolph and the great men of the convention to yield to a reckless and unscrupulous minority of less than one-third of that body, and engraft in the Constitution provisions to make perpetual an inequality of political power which for more than three-quarters of a century was a menace to our unity and peace. From the day of that combination to the election of Lincoln, the young republic was practically manacled and powerless in their hands. And the nation is not yet entirely emancipated.

This State sovereignty and slave-holding interest, which in the convention made common cause against the creation of a true representative democratic republic, at once inaugurated a crusade for what they were pleased to proclaim "the best and wisest Constitution ever devised by man." Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, one of the ablest lawyers in the convention, and Washington's Attorney General, in reply to this kind of sophistry and oratory, said that "their chief interest was observable in the extreme solicitude they cherished for the admitted defects of the Constitution." As soon as the champions of State sovereignty and the slave interest had united and seized the Government, and by official acts and rulings in the several departments, with the coöperation of the Supreme and District courts of the United States (nearly all of these judges were selected by the slave barons) had thus interpreted the Constitution in their own behalf, hosannas were at once ordered to be sung everywhere and on all occasions by every chick-a-de-dee and cross-roads statesman, extolling the Constitution as "the perfection of human wisdom." From this time until the election of Lincoln, all candidates for office, State or national, were compelled to keep step to this kind of music, or take back seats and be denounced as "enemies of the Constitution and the perfect Union which it created."

So universal did this blind adoration become, that one Rev. Dr. Dewey, of Boston, in a moment of patriotic self-denial, declared that "if the Constitution required it, he would send his own mother back into slavery." And this reverend individual, of the Uriah Heep type, was but a sample of a whole generation of vipers who, during the war, were clamorous in their demands for peace at any price, whether of manhood or national honor, and on all occasions twisted and wrung their hands while whining out, "Give us the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was."

All readers who have reached man's estate since the Rebellion will readily comprehend that this wailing and wringing of hands for the "Constitution and Union of our fathers" was but the shallow plea of Northern Uriah Heeps for the continued domination of the slave barons in the government, and for their right to seize and chattelize men everywhere beneath our flag, on the land and on the sea. In no nation, and among no people, so far as I know, has there ever been any political idolatry to be compared with our idolatry of the national Constitution, so long as it was interpreted to affirm the dogma of State sovereignty and State secession, and the right of any State in the Union to seize and chattelize men. While such an infamous interpretation of that sacred instrument obtained, and the men who professed to believe it were in control of the national Government, no amendment of a character hostile to such interpretation would for a moment have been tolerated.

As an answer to any proposition which might be suggested for an amendment to the Constitution, the slave barons did not hesitate to proclaim that "the Constitution was a divinely inspired instrument and must not be disturbed." They emphasized this preposterous statement by announcing after the manner of St. John that "if any man shall add unto the words written in this Constitution (by way of discussion or interpretation) there shall be added unto him many plagues and many stripes." "And if any man shall take away from the words of this Constitution, there shall be taken away from him his part out of our political book of life, which containeth for the faithful abundant promises of offices, and for promotion in office; but offices and promotions in office can only be secured by him who overcometh the chidings of conscience and is steadfast, enduring submissively and without protest, unto the end."

So boldly and confidently was the dogma of State sovereignty, and the right of any State of the American Union to seize and chattelize men, impressed on the paralyzed conscience of the average citizen, that when the people awoke from their hypnotic condition, and protested in the mildest manner possible, by the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, it culminated in the War of the Rebellion. As long as the Government was in the hands of the slave barons, they of course would not make war upon it; but the moment they were turned out of office by a vote of the people, they at once discovered that "the matchless Constitution of our fathers" was not the perfect instrument which for three-quarters of a century they had affirmed, and thereupon they conspired and attempted to destroy it.

After the organization of the Confederate government, and after civil war became inevitable unless the United States consented to disunion and dismemberment, the American Congress, by the requisite two-thirds vote, only two days before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, submitted to the several States for their ratification, a constitutional amendment, which, had it been indorsed by the requisite number of States, would have made slavery constitutional everywhere beneath our flag.

When passing through this memorable ordeal my blood was often at fever heat, and I swore then and believe now, that never before, in the history of any civilized people, was there a more offensive exhibition of human weakness and utter want of manhood than was shown by the men who in the American Congress voted to make slavery constitutional and perpetual, on the 2d day of March, in the year of our Lord 1861.

After more than three years of civil war on part of the Confederates to make slavery the chief corner-stone of their Confederacy, and after Mr. Lincoln had issued his Emancipation Proclamation, pledging the honor of the nation to maintain the freedom of all liberated slaves, the thirteenth amendment, of which I had final charge in the House of Representatives, was, on the 15th day of June, 1864, defeated by a vote of 94 for to 64 against (lacking 28 votes to make two-thirds of a full house with no representatives present from the slave States in rebellion). And it is safe to say that it passed when it did only because of Mr. Lincoln's second election. On the day of its defeat, I entered a motion for the reconsideration of the vote by which the amendment was lost. Under parliamentary rules, I had charge of the measure from that day until its final passage on the 30th of January, 1865. After a long and remarkable parliamentary battle, the final decision was made by the close vote of 119 for to 56 against, being a majority of seven over the necessary two-thirds of a *quorum* required by the Constitution, with eight members absent, all of whom, if present, would probably have felt constrained by party ties to vote against it, and, if so, would have defeated it.

So demoralized was the American conscience and so morally blind in its worship of the great national idol of slavery, that fifty-six representatives in the American Congress went on record that day as voting to endorse the crime of the centuries, and to maintain the Constitution as it was, with its pro-slavery interpretation. To me, this is the blackest political record of the nineteenth century.

What wonder, then, that lesser villanies were repeatedly committed in defiance of all law, and without the possibility of redress, so long as the beneficiaries were entrenched in the national and in a majority of the State governments?

I have not the shadow of a doubt that in my time two men were put in the Presidential office by deliberate and carefully planned frauds on the ballot-box, when selecting electors for President and Vice-President. In this statement I do not include the Hayes and Tilden contest which was determined by the historic electoral commission.

Under our Constitution and laws, there is no way of reaching and correcting such frauds upon the ballot-box, so long as the beneficiaries are in possession of the National Government, and the State Governments in which the frauds originate. There is no question in my mind, that had a democrat been in the Presidential office instead of General Grant, no "electoral commission" would have been authorized by Congress, and Tilden would have been inaugurated President instead of Hayes.

Notwithstanding the general belief that *two*, if not *three*, successful Presidential frauds have been committed, there has never been on the part of the people any organized movement worthy of the name, to brand such villainy as it deserves, and to devise such an amendment to the national Constitution as would make forever impossible a repetition of the disgraceful frauds on the ballot-box, which have, in the opinion of many, put at least two men in the Presidential office who ought not to have been there.

Since 1841, there have been four Vice-Presidents who each succeeded to the Presidency on the death of the man with whom they were elected. It is well-known that each of these Vice-Presidents betrayed the men who nominated them and the party which elected them, and that three of them, in their desperate intrigues to be elected as their own successors, made an open alliance with the opponents of their own party.

Within the time of which I write, four Vice-Presidents have reached the Presidential office, who could not, by any combination, have been nominated or elected to the Presidency by their party. Could any provision in the Constitution more offensive and diabolical have been devised? And yet, no movement has ever been made strong enough to command public attention, in favor of abolishing the office of Vice-President, and thus relieving the people of one of the most objectionable and dangerous officials provided for in our "matchless Constitution."

But I affirm that the people may abolish the Vice-President as an official, and "heir-apparent," without changing the Constitution. If a majority of the voters residing in States entitled to a majority of the college of electors so resolve, they can, through the machinery of their State and national conventions, instruct their delegates to make no nomination for the office of Vice-President, and require a pledge of each candidate for Presidential elector, to vote a blank ballot for Vice-President; said electors chosen on such a platform would unquestionably obey instructions. A majority of the voters in a sufficient number of the States could thus prevent any person filling that office. And by instructing the members of the electoral college at each Presidential election to steadily vote a blank ballot for Vice-President, they would, if they constituted a majority of the electoral vote cast, practically abolish that unnecessary and dangerous officer and prospective President, without an amendment of the Constitution.

The members of the College of Presidential Electors for each State, are not national, but State officials. The Legislature of each State may appoint said electors, or it may delegate that power to a commission of its citizens, or it may, as it has now done in all the States, authorize the people to vote for and name the electors in congressional districts or for the State at large. But no matter how they may be selected in any State, it will be conceded that the power which appoints the electors may instruct them for whom to vote, or if they resolve that they should vote for Mr. Blank as Vice-President, it would be their duty to do so.

The total number of the presidential electoral vote that can be cast in 1896 (unless one or more new States are admitted) is 444, of which number 223 are a majority. If the electors duly appointed in the several States by those opposed to the existence of the Vice-Presidential office should, in compliance with the instructions of their constituents, deliberately cast 223 blank ballots for Vice-President, Mr. Blank would beyond all question be the successful candidate; and if he could be found might be captured and inaugurated. Certainly the candidate receiving less than a majority of the total electoral vote could not legally be declared the Vice-President elect. Nor would the Senate in the face of such a protest from the people undertake to select a Vice-President from any one of the minority candidates, if there were two or more candidates voted for against Mr. Blank. The Constitution provides that the Senate can only select that officer in case no choice of a Vice-President is made by the electoral college. Mr. Blank having received a majority of all the electoral votes cast, must be recognized as the legal choice of the electors and the successful candidate. One who reads his country's history would naturally conclude that the experience we have had with three of our Vice-Presidents, John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, and Andrew Jackson, was of a character so offensive as to force the nation to be practically a unit in demanding the immediate abolition of the office of Vice-President. But such we all know is not the case. As a nation, we have not outgrown the blind idolatry for the Constitution which, for three-quarters of a century, was hammered into our heads and crammed down our throats by the slave barons. They declared that "The Constitution was so perfect that no change should be made in it; that it must not even be discussed or criticised by political parties," so that to-day with all its admitted defects and patchwork amendments, we fear to touch it. This was the kind of nauseating "constitutional-pap," which was fed to Northern political weaklings up to the time Mr. Lincoln became President. So thoroughly was this blind idolatry impressed on the average citizen, that even now it gives him something like a congestive chill to suggest such an amendment as I proposed in Congress some twenty-five years ago, and such as I again submitted in an address delivered before the Ohio Society of New York, Nov. 9, 1891.

Observation and experience now incline me to favor such constitutional reforms as political evolution may develop and force upon us. I therefore suggest in this paper, a plan for the abolition of the Vice-President as an officer and for the election of a President, which if voluntarily adopted by the people will secure to the voters of the several States an approximation to proportional representation in the electoral college, without an amendment to our venerated Constitution, and without repealing or changing any law. To the end that I may anticipate and answer some of the objections that will be offered to this plan, I propose to recall to the reader some historical incidents, in connection with our anti-slavery and prohibition political campaigns.

Practically, the old abolitionists often gave aid and comfort unintentionally and unwittingly to the slave barons, against whom they were always ready at the drop of a hat to give battle. So long as they hurled their intellectual thunderbolts against slavery's fortified citadel, they were formidable and dangerous antagonists, because their arguments and appeals against the "sum of all villainies" were impassioned and unanswerable. As a rule, the favorite and generally the only answer of the slave barons to these appeals was an attempt to have all abolitionists silenced by brutal and maddened mobs, and by conduct disgraceful to a civilized people. But when the most worthy of our abolition friends undertook to organize politically and act as practical men, they were in the main failures, and often gave aid and comfort to their pro-slavery enemies.

Here is an enumeration of some of the factions with which practical anti-slavery men had to deal. One small religious faction (every one of whom were anti-slavery men) would not vote because, as they affirmed, "they were citizens of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, which was not of this world, and that they could not at the same time consistently be citizens of the kingdom of Satan, which was of this world." Therefore they declined to vote with the citizens of Satan's kingdom. Then there were the several branches of the universally respected Quaker family—all of whom were anti-slavery, but a majority of whom could not be induced to vote. Another faction, more pronounced and defiant in their hostility to slavery than those just named, held that "the national Constitution was a covenant with death and a league with hell," and for that reason refused to vote or hold office, because as they declared "they could not take an oath to support such a Constitution." There was also a small but active body of men who held, *as I did*, "that the Constitution, if honestly interpreted, was an anti-slavery instrument, and that property in men was not recognized in the national Constitution." But for the rebellion of the slave barons and the abolition of slavery by military power, the great political battle against slavery in this country would ultimately have been fought out at the ballot-box, as many of us hoped it would be, by a union of all anti-slavery men on a platform affirming "that the national Constitution is fairly interpreted, did not, and could not, recognize property in men." The triumph of such a national party would beyond question have worked a change in the interpretation of the Constitution, without formally amending it. This was my "platform" on the slavery question before I entered public life, and I have never had occasion to modify or change it.

But the wildest and most irrepressible of all the early anti-slavery factions with which we had to deal were the men who year after year met in county, state, and national conventions and nominated on an abolition platform and voted for all elective officers from presidential electors down to constable; and this without regard to the anti-slavery character of the candidates who might be running on any other ticket. At every election they fired their ballots in the air, with a reckless enthusiasm which took no note of disastrous results. Their stereotyped answer to any chiding which we gave them for this kind of misdirected effort was, "We will do our duty and let God take care of the consequences."

Naturally enough the slave barons were delighted as they witnessed these factional fights among anti-slavery men, and especially when all abolition ballots were fired in the air, and they saw them go up like rockets and come down like sticks.

But for the practical anti-slavery men who voted for and elected Mr. Lincoln in 1860, this indefensible folly on the part of the abolitionist might be going on to-day and the slave barons still be in possession of the government, with slavery as the chief corner-stone of their confederacy.

The election frauds in New York in 1844 could have been defeated, as the records show, by intelligent action on the part of the Whig abolitionists while maintaining their anti-slavery integrity and their party organization intact.

If 90 per cent of the abolition party in the State of New York, which in 1844 cast 15,812 votes for James G. Birney, had printed thirty-five of the thirty-six Clay electors on their ballot and so voted (as that number undoubtedly would have done had the opportunity been given them, because more than nine-tenths of them were Whigs), their record as a party would have been distinct and clear, and their protest against the crime of slavery been made more emphatic than it was made by voting as they did for thirty-six Birney electors whom they knew they could not elect. They would thus have defeated James K. Polk, the candidate most objectionable to all abolitionists, and elected Henry Clay, who stood on the slavery question about where Lincoln stood when he was elected President. In voting for but one Birney elector and for thirty-five Clay electors, they would have secured thirty-five electoral votes in New York for Clay, and this vote would have made him President. This record would have shown that the Whig abolitionists held the balance of power in New York, and, as practical men, knew how to use it.

The mean ratio in New York for a presidential elector in 1844, was 13,500 votes. As stated above, the abolitionists cast that year in New York 15,812 votes for Birney, and therefore would have been entitled, under my plan for proportional representation, to one member of the college of electors in that State, with over two thousands votes to spare: that is, provided the abolitionists had printed the names of thirty-five Clay electors on their ballots and voted the ticket, and the Clay committee had printed the name of one Birney elector on its ballot and voted for it; or the Clay committee might have stipulated that one of their electors should vote for Birney, provided the abolition vote was large enough to give them the balance of power, and their vote would have saved the State for Clay. They would thus have defeated Polk for the Presidency, instead of aiding and encouraging the ballot-box stuffers, as they did, by firing their ballots in the air. But the desired result, the prevention of frauds in selecting presidential electors, especially in pivotal States, can be accomplished in more ways than one. It is an easy matter, after an election in any State in which a joint electoral ticket is voted for by party groups numerous enough to constitute a majority of the total vote, to allot to each group of voters the number of electors to which they are entitled in the electoral college, in proportion to the total number of ballots cast by each. Of course each stipulation must, of necessity, be intelligently and carefully made before the election.

In 1884, the mean ratio for a presidential elector in the State of New York was 25,000 votes. The Prohibitionists cast that year in New York 25,001 votes, and on a joint electoral ticket would have voted for thirty-five Blaine electors and been entitled to the vote of one elector for St. John. This would have elected Blaine President instead of Cleveland. There is no question that 90 per cent of all the men in New York and Connecticut who voted for St. John in 1884 would have preferred Blaine to Cleveland for President. More than 90 per cent of these Prohibitionists were Republicans, and they held the balance of power in both these States, and could have proclaimed their hostility to the rum-power more effectively and quite as emphatically as they did, had they printed thirty-five Blaine electors on their ballots in New York and one for St. John, and five Blaine electors and one St. John elector for Connecticut. They would thus while preserving their party organization intact, have defeated Cleveland and elected Blaine, and shown that as Republican Prohibitionists they had their second choice for President, while teaching all observers that they were practical common-sense citizens as well as temperance men. Of course, if there had been in New York or in Connecticut in 1844 and in 1884 ten per cent or more of Democrats associated with the Abolition party or the Prohibition party (which from my observation is a violent supposition), they could, had they desired to do so, have had printed on their ballots thirty-five Polk or Cleveland electors for New York and five electors for Connecticut, and in this way voted for their second choice for President. Had such a record been made in 1884 by the Republican Prohibitionists of New York and Connecticut, as above suggested, it would be regarded to-day, by a majority of the American people, and especially by all Republican Prohibitionists, as the most memorable day in the history of their party.

The truth is, that the Abolitionists and Prohibitionists have repeatedly been unwittingly used and abused by pro-slavery men and the rum interest. It is a well-known fact that from 1844 to the election of Lincoln, in all close Northern congressional districts and States, when the occasion invited and party success appeared to demand it, abolition candidates for Congress have been put in the field by pro-slavery men, and kept in the field by their contributions in money, for the purpose of defeating men of ability who, because of their well-known hostility to slavery, were particularly obnoxious to the slave barons. These contributions were always so made that the abolition innocents who expended the money were as unsuspecting as babes, and could not be made to see that they were simply being used as "decoy ducks" to give success to their pro-slavery enemies.

In like manner the rum interests have repeatedly contributed to put in the field in close legislative districts prohibition candidates in order the more certainly to defeat the men who were not wanted in State Legislatures or in Congress by the rum power. And this amazing kind of stupidity promises to go on next year, on a larger and more dazzling scale than ever before, with some half dozen or more candidates in the field and full-fledged presidential electoral tickets for each candidate, and also candidates in many States for every office from Governor down.

The reader will comprehend from what has been written above that it was no easy task for the great body of anti-slavery men who voted for Fremont and Lincoln to get on with these earnest and honest Abolitionists or with the temperance men and women, who often unwittingly aided the ballot-box stuffers, especially as they did in New York in 1884, when they caused Blaine's defeat.

I present these familiar historic facts and personal reminiscences for the considerate judgment of the several groups of earnest, honest men who are to-day engaged in organization of new parties, or who are representing old minority organizations, like the Prohibitionists. Scores of such parties have been born in the last third of a century, and gave up the ghost, leaving a record of stupidity and folly which must to-day amuse and annoy the actors, and yet newer and wilder so-called reform movements are being repeated every year, and draw into them new and enthusiastic converts.

Such parties have heretofore been powerless for any practical purpose, and will continue to be powerless as long as they fire their ballots in the air, while such action may work a positive injury, as the wild voting of the old Abolitionists often did. After the experience which the American people have had with the Abolition party and with a score or more of smaller and larger party groups, intelligent and thoughtful men must in time learn that a well-organized party which represents a living idea and holds the balance of power in any county, district, or State, is more formidable for practical political work, if intelligently directed, than a party of many times its number.

When the Presidential election takes place next year, I hope to see as many of the minority political organizations grouped together as can agree to form a joint electoral presidential ticket, with the stipulation that each group or party to the union shall have secured to it, in each State, an equitable representation of the electoral vote, in proportion to the number of ballots cast by each party or group at the general election for the choice of presidential electors in such States. In this way, each party or group of voters would save much time and labor, and also escape the folly of wasting their ballots.

When selecting a presidential candidate on whom a number of minority party groups can unite and make up a joint electoral ticket, the difficulty encountered at the threshold arises from the fact that as our Government has been and is now administered, the President is practically the Government. In recent years it has become the custom to designate him as "our ruler."

Each party group of voters will therefore insist upon knowing the individual opinions of each Presidential candidate on all public questions in which they are especially interested, and unless the candidate can satisfy the several minority party groups that he is sound on their particular tenet, they cannot be induced to unite and vote for such a joint electoral ticket. And because of this condition, which is the legitimate outgrowth of our present complicated political machinery for the choice of a President, there is a standing premium on convention bosses and Presidential candidates who are first-class tricksters.

The practical way, therefore, to the successful accomplishment of the plan which I propose, without amending the Constitution, is to unite and demand a radical change in the mode and manner of administering the Government. For years it has been administered by the fiat of the Executive, and all thoughtful men believe it is time to call a halt. But such a change can only be secured under our Constitution and practice by electing a President who will regard this as a republic and not as a limited monarchy. It cannot be disguised that during his term of office the President has practically becomes a limited monarch or king, defying the people oftener, and assuming more of the prerogatives of royalty, than many of the oldest crowned heads of Europe. If he can secure a reëlection he is practically king for eight years.

All observing men recognize the fact that power has been craftily and steadily seized, year after year, by a majority of our Presidents, until the occupant of that office, whoever he may be, is now often called "our ruler," and is generally recognized as the supreme governing power, not only of his party but of the country.

The members of his cabinet are simply his private secretaries, and if consulted at all, give only such answers to questions submitted as are known to be desired by his royal highness. As a rule, his party in Congress stand ready to enact with alacrity his demands into law. The party representative who refuses to obey the behest of the President can, at his suggestion, be defeated for renomination by officials of his appointment, or, if renominated, be defeated by them at the polls. Those who support the President without question, and for that reason fail of renomination or reëlection, are uniformly taken care of and receive an executive appointment, such as foreign missions or cabinet positions, as a recognition of their fidelity to his majesty and in compensation for their defeat.

In this way rebellious constituents who are disloyal to the President are deliberately rebuked, hilariously disciplined and openly defied.

For many years I have favored a constitutional amendment limiting the President's power in every way possible, especially his veto power and his power to make appointments and removals from office without cause. But it will not be questioned by any thoughtful reader that the provision in the Constitution which confers on the President the veto power may be materially modified or changed without the customary formality of amending it.

A national convention of any party may nominate a candidate for President on a platform demanding a modification of the veto power, such as I more than once proposed in Congress and repeatedly advocated in political campaigns, and any man elected to the Presidency on such a platform would be in duty bound to use the veto power, if at all, only in the manner therein set forth.

Unquestionably any man may, after reaching the presidential office, without waiting for the directing authority of his party, on his own motion, either in his inaugural address or in a message to Congress, give notice that he will not, during his term of office, use the veto power, except in the modified form herein suggested; and such a modification of the veto power, by the voluntary act of the President, would operate while he was in office as a practical modification of the executive power without amending the Constitution.

In the Forty-first Congress I proposed three constitutional amendments, which provided for the nomination and for the election of the President by direct ballot by all the duly qualified voters of the United States, and for the modification of the veto power as herein proposed; also for the abolition of the office of Vice-President.

While holding that the results intended to be secured by these proposed amendments may be in part accomplished without them, I know, as the reader must know, that the end desired can be more certainly attained and permanently secured with such amendments.

The practical point to be reached under my plan is to obtain approximately for each individual voter an equality of political power, a free ballot and an honest count. This result cannot be secured under the complicated system now in use for the choice of presidential electors except by some such plan as I propose.

In making up joint electoral tickets for the several States, the committee representing each party or group of organized voters in any State would submit an estimate of the number of ballots which in their State would probably be cast for such joint electoral tickets. The ratio required for an elector can easily be estimated, and each State committee authorized to name the number of electors on the proposed joint ticket to which their vote would entitle them, with the stipulation that if after the election it was found that the vote of any party group was larger than estimated, the increased vote should be given its additional proportional representation in the electoral college; and if in any State a party group failed to cast enough ballots at the election to make one ratio, that they should not have a vote allotted them in the electoral college. But provision might properly be made in each closely contested State in favor of any party group that held the balance of power, whose joint votes carried the election against the dominant party in the State. The mean ratio for an elector in any State can be obtained by dividing the total vote of the State by the number of electors to which it is entitled, so that prior to any election each party group can easily approximate the number of electoral votes to which it would be entitled on any joint electoral ticket.

I cannot better illustrate the absolute necessity for a change in our dangerous and unfair system of electing a President than by giving the official vote for Hale, Scott, and Pierce in 1852, and the vote in 1860 for Lincoln, Douglas, Breckenridge, and Bell, with the ratio for each elector chosen.

POPULAR VOTE.		ELECTORS.	RATIO
Pierce, Democrat	1,585,545	254	6,242
Scott, Whig	1,383,537	42	32,938
Hale, Abolition	157,296	00	00

It will be seen that Pierce received 254 electoral votes and Scott but 42 votes, while Hale did not get even one electoral vote.

Divide the total vote as above given, 3,126,378, by 296, the whole number of presidential electors for that year, and the ratio for one elector was 10,562 votes, but the Pierce electors were chosen by a ratio of only 6,242; while the ratio for the Scott electors was 32,938, or more than five times the number which elected the Pierce electors, while Hale did not receive one electoral vote, although he had 157,296 ballots cast and counted for him.

If the total vote had been divided proportionally as I suggested in making up joint electoral tickets, Pierce would have had but 150 electoral votes, Scott 131 votes, and Hale 15. As Pierce received a majority over both Scott and Hale of the popular vote, he would of course have had a majority of the electoral votes over both, and have been declared the President.

An examination of the election returns for 1860 illustrates in a still stronger light the injustice of our present system. The popular vote and the electoral vote for 1860, were as follows:

POPULAR VOTE.		ELECTORS.	RATIO.
Lincoln, Republican	1,866,452	180	10,369
Douglas, Democrat	1,375,157	12	114,596
Breckenridge, S.	847,953	72	11,770
Bell, Abolition	590,631	39	15,144
Total vote	4,680,193	303	electoral votes.

If proportional representation had been secured to all voters at this election, as I demand, Mr. Lincoln would have had 121 electors, Douglas 89, Breckenridge 55, and Bell 38.

It required but 10,369 votes for a Lincoln elector, while it required 114,596 votes to make a ratio for a Douglas elector.

It will be conceded that it would be difficult to invent any plan for the choice of a President more glaringly unjust and undemocratic than is disclosed by the election returns for 1860.

Why should a system be tolerated which gave to Douglas but 12 votes in the electoral college on a popular vote of 1,375,157 when his just proportion would have given him 89 electors?

This inequality and injustice is inseparable from the present system of electing a President, as an examination of the records for the past fifty years will show, but never before nor since 1860 did it require one hundred and fourteen thousand five hundred and ninety-six votes as a ratio for one elector, as in the case of Douglas at that election.

I know that it requires time, brains and personal activity successfully to organize and move against a solid party column of old veterans, which, with its recognized leaders and flaming banners is marching with the machine in familiar pathways to the music of fife and drum. And yet, the political unrest is so universal that I believe the time is opportune for thoughtful voters in all the States and Territories to organize and present to the next Republican and Democratic national conventions, a demand that the proposed amendments substantially as hereinafter presented shall be made a part of their platforms as a condition to voting for a joint electoral ticket in any State, or for any candidate either party may nominate.

If the conventions to which these propositions may be submitted, decline to engraft them, or any part of them, in their platform, and the candidates nominated refuse to endorse them, or to pledge themselves to be governed by them in case of their election, then the party groups that formulated and presented them must determine what action they will take touching the formation of joint electoral tickets in the several States, for the *defeat* of the candidates most obnoxious to them.

If they are in earnest and are practical men, they must organize and elect as many Representatives and Senators in Congress as possible favorable to their platform, and make *joint* tickets wherever they hold the balance of power, and can *elect* the candidate they *favor* and *defeat* those who are most objectionable.

The following are substantially the propositions which I hope to see submitted next year to the conventions of both parties, for their acceptance or rejection:

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

We demand such an amendment of the national Constitution as shall secure to each duly qualified voter in the United States the right to cast one ballot direct for the nomination and for the election of President of the United States, and that the person so elected shall be ineligible for reëlection.

We demand that the office of Vice-President be abolished.

We demand a modification of the veto power as now conferred by the Constitution on the President.

This modification shall authorize him to return with his objections to the house in which it originated, any bill or resolution passed by Congress. But if after its reconsideration it shall again be passed by a majority of all the members in each House (to which the Senate and House is entitled), it shall become a law, the President's objections to the contrary notwithstanding.

We demand a modification of the President's power of appointment to civil office, and that said appointees shall not be removed without cause.

We demand that the Constitution be so amended that United States Senators shall be nominated and elected by ballot by direct vote of the duly qualified electors in each State.

We demand that Representatives in Congress shall be nominated and elected by direct ballot, in all States having two or more members, in such manner as shall secure proportional representation to the duly qualified voters in such States.

With the adoption of a constitutional amendment for the nomination and election of a President by popular vote, and the modification of the veto power as above proposed, or with a President elected under the Constitution as it is, on a platform as above suggested, Congress becomes the sole law-making power, without Presidential intervention; and to the House of Representatives, chosen by the direct vote of the people, must be submitted for official action all questions of home government and all matters touching our foreign relations with the great governments of the world.

The Committee of Ways and Means would be the official organ of the House for the preparation and presenting to it of all bills on the tariff, and for internal revenue taxation.

Other appropriate committees would be duly organized and charged with the preparation of all subjects of legislation, whether that of coining money (gold and silver) and fixing the value thereof, or of continuing or discontinuing national banks, all questions in connection with interstate commerce and the adjustment of labor controversies, and of excluding contract laborers by restricting immigration and providing against fraudulent and undesirable naturalization, and so on to the end of the chapter.

The subject of the enforcement of the "Monroe doctrine" in its letter and spirit would be in special charge of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the President and Secretary of State would be authorized to move officially only as directed by a majority of the House of Representatives. If the voters of the nation could have thus spoken through the House of Representatives, the Nicaragua incident would probably not have happened. In any event, it would not have been tolerated without vigorous protest, and official notice would have been given to call a halt.

On a platform substantially as I have herein outlined, I could cheerfully vote for any man of recognized character and executive ability for President. Such a candidate, pledged to stand on such a platform, might personally favor legislation to which I was opposed, or be unfavorable to legislation that I desired, and yet if otherwise up to my standard of what an executive should be I would vote for him, and have no fear that my confidence would be misplaced, because on such a platform he would have no motive or excuse for deceiving or betraying anyone. With such a platform and such a candidate, I would know that if elected he would not assume the prerogatives which nearly all our Presidents have assumed in the past fifty years, by defiantly using and abusing the veto power, and the appointing power, when making an effort to secure a renomination or to force through Congress such legislation as they demanded.

Every intelligent man who voted for such a candidate would know that Congress alone and not the President, without executive interference, must determine each political question as it presented itself.

Such an Executive would be my ideal of an American President. He would of necessity be first of all an American. He would labor for the domination of American ideas and American interests not only on the North but on the South American continents and on the tributary islands of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

Instead of a scheming partisan, he would in his public life and acts be more like a dignified and upright judge, dealing impartially and honestly with men and measures. He would at no time, and under no circumstances, assume the prerogatives of a king. Such a President would give his opinions with frankness, and confer with the nation's representative men without dissimulation or intrigue. As the nation's chief magistrate, it would simply be his duty to execute, without fear or favor, the written law of a free people.

As I see it, the impending political advance must of necessity be made substantially along the lines indicated in the foregoing constitutional amendments.

THE PEOPLE'S LAMPS.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

PART I. ELECTRIC LIGHT (§ *3, continued*).

Having examined the investment and fixed charges, we come to the cost of operation. We will first tabulate and classify the facts in the committee's possession, and afterward state the conclusions to which the data seem to point. That the reader may not be obliged to refer continually to the previous parts of this report, the results already arrived at respecting investment and fixed charges are carried forward into the tables of operating cost, so that the following columns show, not only the operating cost, but also the investment and the total cost of production, or operating cost *plus* fixed charges. In many cases, as we have seen, the returns tabulated under the head "expenditure per arc per year" include so much new value as to cover depreciation and sometimes the whole body of fixed charges; but the full fixed charges—5 per cent on the investment, the limit rate as ascertained in the preceding discussion—has been added in every case to the actual expenditure per arc, so that the figures in the column of "total cost of production" may represent the utmost cost, even waiving the cancellation of fixed charges by new values.

TABLE XX.

COST OF PRODUCING LIGHT IN PUBLIC PLANTS.

Group A.—Steam street plants. Standard Service, or 2,000-c.-p. lamps all night every night.

	No. of arcs in use.	Source of Power.	Run with other works or not.	Expenditure per arc per year.	Investment per arc.	Total cost of production under complete public ownership.	Interest on debt per arc per year.
West Troy . . .	115	c. $3.15	No	$61	$279	$75	No debt
Allegheny, Pa. . .	620*	s. .95	No	64	300	79	No debt
Easton, Pa. . . .	122	c. 3.00	No	85	325	92	$11.20
Painesville, O. . .	70	c. 2.10	No	52½	180	61¼	–
Dunkirk, N. Y. .	75	c. 2.00	Yes	46	265	59¼	No debt
Bloomington, Ill.	240	c. 1.75	Yes	50	330	66½	–
Wheeling, W. Va.	411	c. 1.04	Yes	65	300	80	$10

* Allegheny has some incandescents in the public buildings, but the superintendent satisfactorily separates the cost of the arcs.

The Easton lamps are much more than 2,000-c.-p. In column 2, c. means "coal," s. means "slack," and the figures indicate the price per ton. Dunkirk and Bloomington unite the electric service with the water works, and Wheeling joins it with the city gas works. The rest run alone.

Group B.—Steam Street Plants. Full arcs 2,000 c.-p. not burned all night.

	No. of arcs in use.	Average hours of burning.	Source of Power.	Expenditure per arc per year.	Investment per arc.	Total cost of production under complete public ownership.	Interest on debt per arc per year.
Fredonia, N. Y. .	58	6½	c. $2.00	$48.50	$203	$58.50	No debt
North East, Pa. .	30	5	c. 3.00	50.00	66	53.33⅓	No debt
Frederick, Md. .	65	6	–	54.00	230	65.50	–
Bay City, Mich. .	181	7	c. 1.95	50.00	198	60.00	No debt
Kalamazoo, Mich.,	180	8	c. 2.50	58.00	211	68.50	$8.50
Marietta, O. . . .	110	9½	Nat. gas $8 a year per lamp	33.75	165	42.00	No debt
Painesville, O. . .	70	5	c. 2.10	44.25	180	53.50	–
S. Evanston, Ill. .	64	6	c. 2.65	67.00	105	72.25	No debt
Elgin, Ill. . . .	98	10	–	43.00	250	55.50	–
Bowling Green, Ky.	72	7½	–	50.00	200	60.00	–
Topeka, Kan. . .	184	8	c. 2.70	74.00	300	87.00	–
Little Rock, Ark.,	210	8	c. 3.15	42.00	167	50.00	No debt
Aurora, Ill. . . .	200	6¼	c. 1.60	53.50	250	61.00	No debt
Paris, Ill.	90	8	–	40.00	111	45.50	–
La Salle, Ill. . .	98	8	sl. .75	35.00	112	40.50	$1.25
Martinsville, Ind.,	30	moon	–	33.00	166	41.33⅓	–
Goshen, Ind. . .	40	6	–	68.00	275	81.75	No debt
Columbus, Ind. .	68	8	–	36.00	150	43.50	–
Fairfield, Ia. . .	16	6¾	c. 2.30	70.00	312	85.50	No debt

The last seven plants are operated in connection with other works — water works in every case but the last, and perhaps in that; the kind of other works is not specified in its report. The first twelve plants are not operated with other works. The Painesville figures represent the results obtained before the recent change to all-night service. In column 3, "c." means coal, "sl." = slack, " nat. g." = natural gas.

Group C.—Steam Street Plants with sub-arcs.

	No. of 1200 c.-p. lamps in in use.	Average hours of burning.	Source of power.	Expenditure per lamp per year.	Investment per lamp.	Total cost of production under complete public ownership.	Interest on debt per lamp per year.
Danvers, Mass. .	78	5.7	c.$3.00	$46.00	$212	$56.50	$13.50
Braintree, Mass. .	118*	7.5	c. 3.05	47.50	280	58.00	11.50
Hudson, Wis. . .	50	6	–	36.00	140	42.00	–
Jamestown, N. Y.,	137	6	–	21.50	210	32.00	–
Portsmouth, O. .	150*	6	c. 1.25	39.00	200	49.00	No debt
Marshalltown, Ia.,	64	5	c. 1.40	18.50	190	27.50	No debt
	No. lamps averaging 1400 c.-p.						
South Norwalk . .	98	7	c. 3.65	42.33⅓	218	53.00	$8.00

Braintree and Portsmouth have also some commerce and will appear again below. Portsmouth and Marshalltown are operated with the water works; the rest are operated alone.

Group D.—Steam Incandescent Plants.

	No. 16 c.-p. lamps or equivalent in street use.	Hours of burning.	Total No. of 16 c.-p. in use.	Hours burned (estimated)	Source of power.	Cost per lamp per year.	Investment per lamp.	Total cost of production per lamp under public ownership.	Interest per lamp per year.
Madison, N. J. .	822	8	3,388	3½	c. $3.50	$2.67	$12.00	$3.27	$0.60
Fulda, Minn. .	30	6	230	–	–	5.50	23.00	–	.26
Chariton, Ia. .	200	7	1,350	12*	c. 1.60	4.30	23.00	–	1.15
Falls City, Neb.,	150	7	780	4	c. 2.65	3.50	11.50	4.00	.45
Tecumseh, Neb.,	–	–	500	5	c. 3.25	2.88	14.00	3.58	–
Atlantic, Ia. . .	310	5	3,310	–	c. 1.50	2.26	14.00	3.00	.30
Leon, Ia.	88	6	438	–	c. 1.85	5.32	32.00	7.00	1.25
Rockport, Mo. .	130	8	500	–	c. 2.90	5.22	28.00	6.62	1.44
Shelbina, Mo. .	140	–	640	–	wd. 2.00	4.55	10.33⅓	5.00	.55
Hope, Ark. . .	52	6	150	–	–	3.40	24.00	4.60	no debt

* The daily average of twelve hours for the incandescent lamps of Chariton, Ia., is given on the authority of Rosewater. If it is correct the plant supplies light at less than one-tenth of a cent per lamp-hour.

The Madison plant is operated with the water works; the Rockport works are also coördinated with others; Atlantic, Chariton, Leon, and Shelbina run alone; the rest do not report on this point.

Group E.—Steam Commercial Plants with Arc and Incandescent Lights.

It must be specially noted that column 7 gives the cost of production per full-arc equivalent, and not merely the cost to the city per street-lamp after deducting receipts as was the case in TABLE XII.

The first six and last five plants use 1200 c.-p. arcs, the others use 2000 c.-p.	No. Street lamps in use.	Hours of burning.	Full-arc equivalents in use.	Source of power.	Expenditure per full-arc equivalent.	Investment per full-arc equivalent.	Total cost of production per full-arc equivalent.	Interest per full-arc equivalent output.	Income per full-arc equivalent of commercial lights.
Braintree, Mass. .	118	6½	409	c. $3.05	$19.00	$132	$25.00	$5.00	$10.76
Peabody, Mass. .	150	$9\frac{8}{10}$	250	c. 3.30	38.80	225	50.00	7.75	21.44
Quakertown, Pa. .	40	$6\frac{3}{10}$	180	c. 2.50	19.00	105	24.25	3.33⅓	10.00
Farmville, Va. . .	25	6	166	c. 3.40	24.00	72	27.50	0	24.75
Indianola, Ia. . .	44	6	104	c. 1.20	28.75	221	40.00	9.00	48.00
High Point, N. C.,	32	6	34	wd. 2.00	38.00	175	46.50	–	50 00
Westfield, N. Y. .	60	8	110	c. 2.00	45.00	110	50.50	3.60	30.00
St. Clairsville, O. .	30	9	105	c. 0.60	17.75	100	22.75	4.75	24.00
St. Charles, Mo. .	60	8	80	c. 2.00	56.50	187	66.00	9.50	80.00
Hannibal, Mo. . .	75	9	350	c. 2.00	19.00	134	25.50	3.33⅓	22.50
Madison, Ga. . .	40	7	77	c. 2.90	72.00	290	86.00	3.00	46.00
Clyde, O.	51	5	120	c. 2.45	25.00	116	30.75	5.00	26.00
De Graff, O. . . .	30	5½	130 }	c. & w. 2¼ & 2	{ 26	105	31.00	5.50	17.75
Newcastle, Ind. .	60	8	185 {	Nat. gas $2 a yr. pr. lamp	} 13½	108	19.00	3.33⅓	20.00
Luverne, Minn. .	12	5	134	c. 3.35	22.00	72	25.00	3.00	35.00
Chehalis, Wash. .	26	11	92	wd. 1.50	61.33⅓	150	69.00	10.50	95.00
Kendallville, Ind.,	43	11	60	c. 2.55	29.00	133	36.00	0	60.00
Schuyler, Neb. . .	10	4	82	c. 3.50	35.00	92	39.50	6.33⅓	42.00
Alexandria, Minn.,	10	4½	94	wd. 1.40	24.00	64	27.00	4.00	30.00
Wellston, O. . .	58	6	164	c. 1.00	14.75	122	21.00	6.00	24.00
Portsmouth, O. .	140	6	100	c. 1.25	58.00	300	73.00	0	114.00
Herrington, Kan. .	28	–	94	c. 2.43	67.00	303	82.00	–	68.00

The first two divisions, Braintree to Madison inclusive, run alone; the last two are coördinated, generally with the water works. In Kendallville and Portsmouth the commercial lamps are arcs, in all the other cases they are incandescent.

Group F.—Water-Power Plants.

	No. of street arcs.	Candle power.	Hours of burning.	No. of 16 c.-p. lamps (commerce)	Cost of production per full-arc equivalent per year.	Investment per full-arc equivalent.
Lewiston, Me. . .	100	2000	8 all n. moon	–	$43.00	$160
Bangor, Me. . .	150	2000	10 all night	–	34.00	230
Ypsilanti, Mich. .	88	2000	6	–	36.00	261
Crete, Neb. . . .	50	1200	6	–	*	190
Brainerd, Minn. .	30	–	5	1000	19.00	258
Marquette, Mich. .	100	2000	all night	2700	40.00	160
Swanton, Vt. . .	21	2000	all n. moon	1690	8.00	168
Marseilles, Ill. . .	21	2000	all night	800	12.50	171
Middleboro, Mass.	–	–	–	1468	8.00	800
Franklin, Mass. .	22	2000	6	350	35.00	188

* Cost of production is not given; net cost to city = 0.

The last three plants are private; Bangor, Ypsilanti Marquette, and Swanton coördinate their electric plants with the water works; Lewiston and Crete run alone; the rest unknown.

TABLE XXI.

Reported Cost of Production in Private Plants. Steam.

The figures with the name of the company indicate the power-customers previously mentioned. The dash shows that the company has a few incandescent street-lamps, which to save space are lumped with the other incandescents in the "commercial" column. The number of such lamps is small, being less than three per cent of the total incandescent in the Cambridge Co., which is one of the strongest cases. The "total cost" of column 7 is obtained by adding ten per cent on the investment per lamp to the reported cost of operation per lamp. This ten per cent is made up of three per cent depreciation, one per cent insurance beyond what is covered by the insurance companies, and six per cent legal interest, which must be included in the cost of production under private enterprise, though it is otherwise with public undertakings, as heretofore fully explained.

Group A.—Full Arcs and Incandescents.

	Street Lamps.		Commercial.		Reported cost of operation per full-arc equivalent.	Investment per full-arc equivalent.	Total cost of production per full-arc equivalent.	Income per full-arc equivalent.
	No. of 2000 c.-p.	Hours average.	2000 c-p. or equivalents.	16 c.-p.				
Boston E. L. Co., 135	1590	all n.	1592	25000	$60	$405	$100	$86
Brookline Co. . . 4	310	all n.	53	10729	36	215	57	41
Charlestown Co. .	214	all n.	43	460	52	155	67	65
Chelsea Co. . . 16	195	8	56	3998	43	187	62	52
Fall River Co. .	384	all n.	1052	549	77	365	113	134
Hyde Park Co. . –	113	5	46	5834	18	250	43	25
Lawrence Co. . . 33–	163	9	194	6591	43	214	64	59
Lowell Co. . . . 97	385	all n.	338	7076	45	320	77	73
Lynn Co. . . . 40–	407	9	170	8446	43	225	65	74
Salem Co. . . . 17–	181	all n.	119	9100	44	195	63	67
Suburban Co. . . 86	–	–	237	7587	55	213	76	55
Woburn Co. . . 6–	95	4	48	7517	32	320	64	40
Worcester Co. . 1	410	all n.	334	6852	46	215	67	85

Group B.—Sub-arcs and Incandescents. Steam.

Location of Co.	Street Lamps.		Commercial.		Reported cost of operation per sub-arc equivalent.	Investment per sub-arc.	Total cost of production per sub-arc.	Income per sub-arc of output.
	1200 c.-p.	Hours average.	1200 c.-p.	16 c.-p.				
Amherst . . . –	22	5	–	1651	$15	$127	$27.70	$21.00
Andover . . . –	31	8	–	1360	34½	225	57.00	40.00
Cambridge . . . 66–	461	all n.	47	8785	30	224	52.40	48.00
Clinton . . . . –	41	8	10	2676	26	204	46.40	27.50
Dedham . . . –	23	8	10	3256	15	204	35.40	25.50
Fitchburg . . .	206	7	57	1800	41	187	59.70	57.00
Framingham . . –	53	5¼	11	3180	22	209	42.90	26.00
Gardner	51	5	51	3320	13	74	20.40	18.00
Gloucester . . . 24	40	all n.	45	1755	48	356	83.60	65.00
Greenfield . . . 2	46	5	–	1838	25	113	36.30	32.00
Malden 4–	178	6	20	17936	15	120	27.00	26.00
Marlboro . . . –	57	6½	60	2547	28	188	46.80	35.00
Southbridge . .	58	5	32	1070	25	190	44.00	34.00
Springfield (United)	508	all n.	342	11707	32	250	57.00	56.00
Taunton	90	6	107	2639	33	150	48.00	38.00
Westboro . . .	28	5	–	2049	15	116	26.60	19.00
Whitman . . . –	27	4	26	2047	21	162	37.20	24.00
Winchendon . . –	23	5	9	1136	18	126	30.60	23.00

Group C.—Unmixed Plants.

	Street Lamps.			Commercial, 16 c.-p.	Reported cost of operation per lamp.	Investment per lamp.	Total cost of production per lamp.	Income per lamp.
	No. in use.	Candle power.	Average hours a day.		1200 c-p.	1200 c-p.	1200 c-p.	1200 c-p
Athol Co.	36	1200	5	2*	$75	$380	$113	$75
Chicopee Co. . . .	113	1200	5½	–	39	130	52	71
Spencer Co. . . .	70	1200	4½	–	61	357	97	77½
					16 c.-p.	16 c.-p.	16 c.-p.	16 c.-p.
Citizens' Co. (Reading)	–	–	–	700	$13.00	$111	$24.00	$12.50
Cohasset Co. . . .	278	30	5½	710	4.00	37	7.70	6.00
Eliot Falls Co. . .	–	–	–	28	82.00	4000	482.00	140.00
Leicester Co. . . .	149	25	5	1264	3.15	34	6.55	3.55
Milton Co.	403	25	8	2500	2.60	21	4.70	3.75
S. Hadley Falls Co. .	160	40	5	600	2.61	10¼	3.86	3.63

*16 c.-p. equivalent.

TABLE XXII.

Underground Systems.

	No. of Lamps.		Yearly cost.	Investment.	Income.
	Arcs.	Ind. 16 c.-p.			
Chicago	1110 full arcs	–	$96.67 per full arc	$620 per arc	–
Edison Co. (Boston). 551	800	84331	$3.50 per 16 c.-p. eq.	$40 per 16 c.-p. eq.	$6.66 per 16 c.-p. eq.
Edison Co. (Fall River). 33	–	9650	$3.12 per 16 c.-p.	$17 per 16 c.-p.	$5.30 per 16 c.-p.

All the figures concerning the Edison Cos. in columns 3, 4, and 5 would be smaller if the power consumed by the 551 and the 33 power-customers could be taken into account. As already seen in the note to Table X, about $35 of the Chicago cost per lamp is attributable to the better treatment of labor.

In respect to a number of public plants the committee is in possession of partial data of considerable interest, but has not all the facts necessary for classification in the above groups. For example, C. A. Ballou, city engineer and superintendent of the gas and electric light departments, Danville, Va., sends the following items for 1894: Total disbursements of electric department, $3,803; receipts other than Danville taxes, $1,885; balance to be charged to Danville tax fund, $1,918, or $24 each for the 80 public arcs operated on the streets—a saving of $6,082 to the taxpayers, or $76 per lamp, since the private companies there charge $100 per lamp for the same service.

The new electric plant of Jacksonville, Fla., has begun operations since the second section of this report was printed. Under date of August 14, Superintendent Patterson gives the following figures for July, '95: Operating expenses $1,452; receipts from commercial lights, $882; balance $570, the cost to the city of its public electric lights, 117 full arcs, 300 incandescents of 30 c.-p. and 80 of 16 c.-p., nearly 200 arc-equivalents, for which, at the rates in force before the public plant was built, the city would have paid $2,000—a difference of about $1,500. Mr. Clarkson, of the Board of Public Works, estimates that interest, depreciation, and added cost by reason of expenses not felt in the first month will amount to $812 per month, which still leaves a clear saving of $620. The consumers' saving is still greater. Mr. Patterson gives:

58 commercial arcs at $6.50	$377
1,233 commercial incandescents	505
	$882

For the same service before the company reduced its rates to compete with the public plant, the private charge would have been:

58 commercial arcs	$725
1,233 commercial incandescents	1,849
	$2,574

Here is a saving of $1,692 to consumers, which, with the $620 margin on public lights, makes a total saving to the city of $2,312 from one month of public ownership of the electric-light service. And this is only the beginning; only about one-third of the lights the plant has to sell have as yet been taken. But applications are rapidly coming in, and it is thought that in a year or so the plant will be self-sustaining even with the very low rates at which light is sold (see §2), and that when the full capacity of the plant is in use there will be a surplus income of $10,000 or $12,000 a year after lighting the streets free. These and other cases of partial data are set forth in Table XXIII.

TABLE XXIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY GROUPS OF PUBLIC PLANTS.

NON-COMMERCIAL PLANTS.	STREET LAMPS.			With other works.	Power.	Cost of production per lamp.	Investment per lamp.
	No.	C. P.	Hours.				
Staunton, Va.	50	2000	10	–	–	$24	$340
Alexandria, Va. . . .	92	1500	all n.	Yes	c. $3.07	55	174
Gainesville, Ga. . . .	50	1200	all n.	Yes	w. 1.50	50	200
Aberdeen, Miss. . . .	35	–	8	–	c. 2.75	67	285
St. Joseph, Mo. . . .	253	2000	8	–	c. 1.65	52	245
Sherman, Tex.	43	–	7	–	c. 4.00	63	232
Galveston, Tex. . . .	191 360	2000 16	8	–	c. 4.00	70	170
Fort Worth, Tex. . . .	–	1200	8	–	–	57	–
Santa Cruz, Cal. . . .	75	1200	7½	Yes	w. 3.50	50	–
Alameda, Cal.	95	2000	5	–	–	120	470
Sleepy Eye Lake, Minn ,	60	1200	5	–	–	35	–
Pontiac, Mich.	–	2000	5	–	–	36	–
Lyons, Ia.	59	–	7	–	w. .90	58	290
Moline, Ill.	80	2000	all n.	–	–	53	270
Ottawa, Ill.	100	2000	all n.	–	–	33½	160
Huntington, Ind. . . .	53	2000	all n.	No	Gas $800 year	50	285
Blufftown, Ind.	85	2000	midn.	No	Nat. gas	60	123
Marion, Ind.	–	2000	all n.	–	–	37	–
Anderson, Ind.	150	2000	all n.	–	–	34½	180
Madison, Ind.	86	–	8	–	–	58	280
Xenia, O.	80	–	moon	–	c. 2.20	60	231
Ashtabula, O.	120	1000	3 a. m.	No	c. 2.20	54	130
Herkimer, N. Y. . . .	50	2000	1 a. m.	Yes	c. 2.68	50	280
Waterville, Me. . . .	–	2000	all n.	–	–	44	–
Chambersburg, Pa. . .	72	2000	6	Yes	c. 3.00	45	270
Emmaus, Pa.	12	2000	to 11 p. m.	No	c. 2.50	45	250
Sharpsburg, Pa. . . .	35	2000	8	–	gas	42	164
Meadville, Pa.	74	2000	8	–	gas	50	285
Titusville, Pa.	60	–	10	Yes	–	40	180

COMMERCIAL PLANTS.	No. commercial lamps 16 c-p. equiv.	STREET LAMPS.			Total full-arc equivalents in use.	Power.	Cash cost to city per street lamp per year.	Investment per full-arc equivalent.	With other works.
		Arc equivalents.	C. P.	Hours					
Danville, Va. . .	–	80	–	–	–	–	$24	–	–
Salem, Va. . . .	650	50	–	–	131	–	55	$200	–
Statesville, N. C. .	220	30	–	8	58	w. $3.60	40*	150	–
Jacksonville, Fla.,	1700	200	2000	–	412	–	40	180	–
Attalia, Ala. . .	150	25	2000	11	43	c. 1.65	80	232	Yes
Council Grove, Kan.	45	20	1200	–	26	–	0	300	–
Lyons, Kan. . . .	308	28	2000	6	66	–	0	85	–
Savannah, Mo. . .	450	25	1200	midn.	73	c. 1.50	0	165	No
Albany, Mo. . .	1000	30	1200	8	145	w. 2.00	0	80	No
Vancouver, Wash.,	540	35	–	12	103	–	50*	170	–
Arlington, Minn. .	120	4	–	5	19	w. –	40	165	Yes, Flour Mill
St. Peters, Minn. .	1000	45	2000	6	170	c. –	0	80 }	Yes, W. W.
Batavia, Ill. . . .	–	120	–	all n.	–	–	0	–	–
Decatur, Ill. . .	2500	120	2000	moon	432	–	50*	–	–
Metropolis, Ill. .	660	34	2000	7	116	c. 1.15	27.50	70 }	Yes, W. W.
Crawfordsville, Ind.	2100	141	2000	6	403 {	nat. gas $6 yr. per full arc eq.	} 25.50	175	No
Galion, O. . . .	600	72	2000	all n. moon	147	–	40	185	–
Miamisburg, O. .	800	46	2000	all n.	146	c. 1.75	52	90	No
Oxford, O. . . .	1300	36	–	–	198	–	0	118	–
Shelby, O. . . .	725	44	2000	8	135	c. $13 yr. per arc eq.	56	170	No
Middleton, Pa. .	500	51	2000	11	113	c. 1.95	0	220	No

* For Statesville, Vancouver, and Decatur the figures of the seventh column represent the cost of production without subtracting receipts, and not the net cost as in the other cases.

This table is not as satisfactory as the former tables. Many officers and investigators seem to think it is sufficient if they ascertain the cost per lamp per year, without going into details. This is a great mistake. One naturally has more confidence in a report which gives the elements of service and cost, and is more instructed by it. Still, these supplementary returns are interesting as tending to confirm the results emerging from previous tables and as indicating to the student a rich field for further research.

Let us see now how the operating cost is divided:

TABLE XXIV.

Distribution of Operating Cost.

The yearly cost per arc is given for each item. Labor includes superintendence, and materials cover waste, oil, carbons, etc. The item called "sundries" in many cases includes insurance, as in Braintree, Easton, Little Rock, Topeka, Peabody, etc.

Group A.—Pure Street Plants.

	Chicago, 1110 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., c.$ 2.50; with fire and telegraph.	Easton, 122 street arcs 2500 c. p., all n., c. $3; alone.	Wheeling, 411 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., c. $1.04; with gas works.	West Troy, 115 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., c. $3.15; alone.	Dunkirk, 75 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., c. $2; W. W.
Labor	$52.20	$28.00	$37.00	$25.00	$12.50
Coal	28.00	33.00	9.33⅓	20.00	16.50
Repairs	7.25	9.50	7.00	*	2.66⅔
Materials . . .	7.00	7.00	7.66⅔	10.00	7.00
Sundries . . .	2.20	7.66⅔	4.00	6.00	7.33⅓
	$96.50	$85.33⅓†	$65.00	$61.00	$46.00

* In the case of West Troy, repairs are included in other items.

† Since writing the second section of this report the committee has visited Easton and has ascertained that the high cost per arc is due, not to the inclusion of interest, but to the high candle power of the lamps (540 watts instead of 450 as is usual; the latter could be run for $76 in Easton, other things remaining the same) and to the fact that so few lamps are used. I made a detailed estimate in the presence and with the assistance of the superintendent, with the result that if 400 lamps were installed the labor cost per lamp would be only about $12 or $13, and the entire operating cost not more than $55 per 2,500 c.-p. lamp or $48 per lamp of 2,000 candle-power. The fixed charges would be about $9 per arc.

In Chicago, I believe the city plant could run 3,000 arcs with about one-half more labor, making the labor cost $29 per arc and the entire cost $75 per arc with eight-hour labor well paid. The fixed charges would then amount to about $16 an arc, and $1.50 should be added for water; the Chicago plant does not pay for the water it uses; the Easton plant pays $2 an arc for water. Chicago pays $3.50 for nut coal and $1.65 for screenings, making $2.50 per ton on the average. If the city should extend its electric system to commercial business, good construction and skilful management should obtain at least 150 watt hours per pound of coal (see Table XXIV), bringing the coal cost per arc per year down to $15; the labor cost with 3 shifts would be about $22 an arc-equivalent, so that the total running cost would probably not exceed $50 an arc with the men working 8 hours and no pay lower than $2 a day.

	Bangor, 150 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., water power and with water works.	Painesville, 70 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., c. $2.10; alone.	Goshen, 31 street arcs 2000 c. p., all n., oil.	Little Rock, 210 full street arcs, 8 hours, c. $3.15; alone.	Topeka, 184 full street arcs, 8 hours, c. $2.70; alone.
Labor	$24.00	$20.00	$31.00	$21.00	$34.00
Fuel	–	12.00	29.75	13.00	23.00
Repairs	*	*	3.25	*	8.00
Materials . . .	3.50	13.50	4.00	6.66⅔	7.00
Sundries . . .	7.00	7.00	–	1.33⅓	2.25
	$34.50	$52.50	$68.00	$42.00	$74.25

* Repairs included in other items.

Anderson, Ind., has a street plant with 150 full arcs run all night and natural gas for power; expenses per arc $23 for labor, $1.50 fuel, $10 supplies—$34.50 total.

	Bay City, 181 full street arcs, 7 hours, c. $1.95; alone.	Aurora, 200 full street arcs, 6$\frac{1}{4}$ hours, c. $1.60; W. W.	St. Joseph, 253 full street arcs, 8 hours, c. $1.65.	Fairfield, 16 full street arcs, 6$\frac{3}{4}$ hours, c. $2.30.	So. Norwalk, 98 street arcs, av. 1400 c. p., 7 hours, c. $3.65.
Labor	$24.00	$28.50	$27.50	$26.00	$24.50
Fuel	12.00	16.50	14.75	33.00	11.00
Repairs	7.00	*	1.14$\frac{2}{7}$	6.00	1.11$\frac{1}{9}$
Materials . . .	5.00	5.33$\frac{1}{3}$	4.25	2.00	5.00
Sundries . . .	2.00	3.25	4.50	3.00	.75
	$50.00	$53.50	52.14\frac{2}{7}$	$70.00	42.36\frac{1}{9}$

* Repairs included in labor and materials.

In South Norwalk the fuel is one part cinders to two parts coal—cinders 66 cents a ton, coal about $3.65 a ton.

Group B.—Mixed Plants, Arc and Incandescent.

	Braintree Commercial Plant. 118 street arc equivalent of 1200 c. p., 6$\frac{1}{2}$ hours, c. $3.05 2642 inc. 409 full-arc equivalents total.	Peabody Commercial Plant. 151 street arcs 1200 c. p., 9.8 hours, c. $3.30 1200 (est.) 16 c. p., 250 full-arc equivalents in use.	Swanton Commercial Plant. 21 full arcs, all n., moon, 3 arcs on pay and 1650 inc., 232 full-arc equivalents total; water power.	New York City Plants in 1890. 1880 single carbon lamps, 2039 double carbon lamps, 123,204 inc. 16 c. p. equivalents; c. av. $3.	New York State outside city, 1890. 6966 single carbon, 8949 double carbon, 163,731 incandescent 16 c. p. equivalents; c. av. $2.50.
Labor	$8.00	$20.00	4.33\frac{1}{3}$	$34.50	$19.50
Coal	5.75	10.50	–	8.75	9.50
Repairs . . .	2.75	2.25	1.50	2.50	3.00
Materials . . .	1.25	3.25	.33$\frac{1}{3}$	9.00	8.00
Sundries . . .	1.33$\frac{1}{3}$	2.80	2.00	20.00	5.00
	19.08\frac{1}{3}$	$38.80	8.16\frac{2}{3}$	$74.75	$45.00

The table gives the average cost of each item per full-arc equivalent in use. In Peabody the superintendent figures the cost of a 1,200-c.-p. arc to be $54, and $1.58 per year for one of their 16-c.-p. lamps, or $2.46 total cost, depreciation, interest and all. In Braintree the cost is $47.50 per arc and 75 cents per 16-c.-p. lamp, operating expenses, $69.55 and $1.29 respectively, for total cost, interest, depreciation, and all. The average time of burning the incandescents is very small.

The averages for New York are taken from the Foote Census. For the city the "materials" item includes 80 cents per arc-equivalent for water, 75 cents in the state outside the city, and the "sundries" includes $1.40 per arc-equivalent for insurance in the city, and 90 cents per arc-equivalent outside. One-ninth of the total income outside the city was received by water-power plants, and one-tenth of the total expense was theirs. If we suppose them to have had one-ninth of the lamps, the total cost per full-arc equivalent in the steam plants would be a little less than $45.50; that was in 1890—it should be lower now.

	Allegheny. 620 full street arcs, all n., c. 95 cts.; 3000 incandescent in service at all times, 995 full-arc equivalents total lampage in use.	Madison Commercial Plant. 411 street lamps, 30 c.p., 8 h., 2566 incandescent, total 3388 incd. 16 c.p. equivs. av. 3$\frac{1}{2}$ hours, (est.) c. $3.50.	Farmville. 25 full street arcs, 6 hours, and 1200 incandescent, 166 full arc equivalents in use; c. $3.40.	Galion. 72 full street arcs, all n., moon, 600 incandescent, 147 full-arc equivalents; c. ——	St. Clairsville. 30 full street arcs, 9 hours, 600 incandescent, 105 full-arc equivalents; c. 60cts.
Labor	$27.00	$1.30	$10.00	$11.25	$9.25
Fuel	10.50	.87	7.25	14.75	3.75
Repairs . . .	4.75	.13	2.00	.33$\frac{1}{3}$	–
Materials . . .	5.00	.19	4.75	1.75	4.00
Sundries . . .	3.00	.18	–	8.00	.75
	$50.25	$2.67	$24.00	$36.00	$17.75

The cost of each item is given for a full-arc equivalent, except in the Madison column, where the rates refer to a 16-c.-p. incandescent equivalent.

In order to understand electric production it is very necessary to study the efficiency of fuel as affected by the character of the fuel used, the volume of the output, the hours of run, etc. The following tables will throw some light on the subject:

TABLE XXV.

THE EFFICIENCY OF FUEL.

KIND OF COAL.	Total watt hours of station output.	Hours of Daily run.	Watt hours per pound of coal.
Hard Screenings	7,971,600	24	208
Hard Rice	2,431,680	24	152
Buckwheat	734,000	18	170
Buckwheat	1,248,000	15	192
Buckwheat	990,000	15	110
Buckwheat	377,000	14½	90
Buckwheat	552,550	13	92
Pea	284,600	8	143
Pea	110,880	6	110
Lehigh Pea	312,666	14	109
Lehigh Pea	91,368	6	65
Indiana Block	259,600	24	166
Indiana Block	2,090,000	9½	53
Soft Coal	2,280,900	24	186
Soft Coal	538,596	15	88
Soft Coal	135,000	9	56
Soft Coal	293,012	8	98
Soft Coal	59,500	7	30
Slack	1,609,070	24	150
Slack	386,385	14	103
Slack	315,360	14	46
Slack	152,000	8	108
Slack	401,249	6½	73
Slack	361,800	6	45
Slack	72,800	5	40

These data are taken from a report made by a committee of electricians to the National Electric Light Association, February 29, 1894. They show very clearly the powerful saving effect of density — the longer the run and the larger the output, the greater the power obtained from a pound of coal. Variations in the quality of machinery and construction sometimes obscure the relation between density and economy, but taking the table as a whole, it is abundantly clear that a large output and continuous load enable a station to get 2, 3, 4, and sometimes more than four times as much electric service from a pound of the same coal as can be secured in a station with a small output, and 6- or 7-hour run. In the case of soft coal, the range is from 30 watts per pound with small output and 7-hour run, to 186 watts per pound with large output and 24-hour run — a sixfold efficiency. It is possible that the coals designated as "soft" in the committee's report may not have been of exactly the same steam-producing power; but it is safe upon the entire report to say that a large commercial plant can get at least twice as much service out of its fuel as a street plant, running only at night, and at least three times as much as a small street plant, running only till midnight or on the moon schedule.

A very interesting account of investigations respecting the use of coal, by the Edison Company of Boston, was read before the Boston Society of Civil Engineers, a few months ago, by Mr. R. S. Hale. The experiments show that, in the selected station, the coal used = 500 pounds per hour + 7½ pounds per K. W. hour; that is, 500 pounds of coal is lost every hour — 400 pounds in the heat that goes up the chimney, and radiates from boilers, 33 pounds in radiation from steam pipes, and 67 pounds in steam leaks, and this loss is substantially constant during the run, whether the load be large or small. In another Edison station about three times as large as the former, the constant loss was found to be about 1750 pounds per hour, and the net rate about 6.8 pounds per K. W. hour. Seven and a half pounds of coal per kilowatt hour means 40 pounds to an all-night arc, or 6½ tons per all-night full-arc equivalent per year,— 4.4 tons per year for an 8-hour arc, and 3.85 tons for a 7-hour arc, and 3.3 tons for a 6-hour arc. To this must be added each arc's share of the constant loss, which would be as follows:

TABLE XXVI.

THE LOSS OF FUEL.

HOURS OF RUN.	Proportion of out-put to capacity.	Loss per K. W. hour in lbs. of coal.	Loss per full-arc hour in lbs. of coal.	Loss of coal per arc year in gross tons.	Tons transformed into work per arc year.	Total tons coal per arc year.
24	full cap.	½	¼–	.45	6.5	6.95
24	½	1	½–	.9	6.5	7.4
24	⅓	1½	.7+	1.35	6.5	7.85
24	¼	2	1.–	1.80	6.5	8.30
12	full	.63	.3	.6	6.5	7.1
12	½	1.25	.6	1.2	6.5	7.7
12	⅓	1.89	.9	1.8	6.5	8.3
12	¼	2.52	1.2	2.4	6.5	8.9
6	full	.75	.36	.35	3.3	3.65
6	½	1.50	.72	.7	3.3	4.00
6	⅓	2.25	1.08	1.05	3.3	4.35
6	¼	3.00	1.44	1.40	3.3	4.70

In estimating the loss for daily runs of 6, 8, and 12 hours, I have considered the loss between runs as equal to three hours loss during the run. The boiler fires have to be started on the up grade about two hours before turning on the lights in an ordinary street plant, and it takes about the same time to cool down to the day level after the lights are turned off. The average loss on each two-hour slope from the dead level to the running level is about equal to one-hour's loss when at the running level and another hour will cover the loss in the dead level, when the fires are banked for slumber.

The Easton plant runs 360 horse of boilers and a 200-horse engine all night. As 740 watts are the equivalent of one horse, and 1,000 watts make a kilowatt, the Easton plant may be regarded for the purposes of this calculation as about one-eighth the size of the Boston Edison station, which was the subject of the above-mentioned experiments. At the ratios indicated by those experiments, the loss in Easton is eight pounds per arc per day, or one and one-third tons gross a year. In Chicago, the loss is about six and three-quarters pounds per arc per day, or about one and one-tenth tons a year. Adding the coal turned into energy, at the Boston rate, would give 7.83 tons a year for Easton, and 7.43 tons for Chicago, if their plants were like the Boston stations. In fact, however, Easton and Chicago each use 11 tons gross per arc year. The difference of three and one-half tons is due partly to differences in the quality of coal, and partly to differences in the economic qualities of the plants. The Boston plants compel one pound of coal to evaporate ten pounds of water, while Chicago only gets seven pounds of steam to one pound of coal, and Easton seven and a half.

The reader is now in a position to appreciate the significance of the following data in further illustration of the efficiency of fuel. West Troy, Little Rock, and South Norwalk show fine results — the first two better those of the Boston stations. They run 12, 8, and 7 hours, respectively, with loads well up toward three-quarters of the steam-plant capacity. Chicago does not use half her steam capacity, and Easton less than a third. Fairfield, with a very diminative load, a fraction of the steam capacity, and a short run shows the largest use of fuel per arc.

Taking labor and all into account, the high-grade coals are the most economical. As to the fuel account, much depends on having boiler settings and grates adapted to the sort of coal used. If this is done, the cost of fuel is nearly the same with a low-grade coal as with a high-grade article — the lower the grade, the more coal is used (see Buckley, p. 12, and contrast South Evanston with La Salle, Peabody with Allegheny, etc.).

In South Norwalk, a considerable saving has been effected by the use of cinders, bought from the railways at 66 cents a ton, and mixed with good, soft coal, at $3.50 to $3.75 a ton. I quote from the town commissioners' report for 1894, p. 15: "The item of fuel is one of the heaviest expenses of a steam electric generating plant, and every possible method is employed to get the greatest amount of work from the smallest outlay in coal. The means which has been adopted, with this end in view, consists of mixing locomotive sparks with first-class bituminous coal, in quantities of one part sparks to two parts coal, which produces a fine composite fuel that burns readily in the furnace. These sparks, which heretofore were supposed to have no other function than to get in the eyes of unfortunate passengers, are particles of coke which are collected in the smoke arch of locomotives. They are bought from the railroads in car loads at very low rates ($6 a 9-ton car load), and by their use the cost of coal is greatly reduced."

TABLE XXVII.

THE EFFICIENCY OF FUEL (*continued*).

Group A.—Street Plants.

	Tons of coal used per lamp per year.	Cost per ton.	Fuel cost per lamp year.	Watt hours per lb. of coal.	Lampage.
Chicago	11+	$2.50	$28.00	80	1110 full arcs all n.
Easton	11	3.00	33.00	90	122 full arcs all n.
West Troy . . .	$6\frac{1}{3}$+	3.15	20.00	140	115 full arcs all n.
Dunkirk	$8\frac{1}{2}$	2.00	16.50	100	75 full arcs all n.
Little Rock . . .	$4\frac{1}{8}$	3.15	13.00	148	210 full arcs 8 h.
Topeka	$8\frac{1}{2}$	2.70	23.00	71	184 full arcs 8 h.
St. Joseph . . .	9	1.65	14.75	68	253 full arcs 8 h.
Bay City	$6\frac{1}{6}$	1.95	12.00	96	181 full arcs 7 h.
Aurora	$10\frac{1}{3}$	1.60	16.50	48	200 full arcs $6\frac{1}{4}$ h.
Fairfield	$14\frac{1}{3}$	2.30	33.00	38	16 full arcs $6\frac{3}{4}$ h.
S. Evanston . . .	$6\frac{9}{10}$	2.65	17.50	30	64 full arcs 6 h.
La Salle	19	.75 slack	14.25	$32\frac{1}{2}$	98 full arcs all n. moon
S. Norwalk . . .	3+	3.65	11.00	113	98 arcs 1400 c.-p. 7 h.

Group B.—Mixed Plants.

	Tons of coal used per year per full-arc equivalent of lampage.	Cost of coal per ton.	Yearly fuel cost per full-arc equivalent of lampage.	Lamps in use.
Braintree	$1\frac{9}{10}$	$3.05	$5.75	118 sub arcs $6\frac{1}{2}$ h.+2642 inc. 16 c. p.
Peabody	$3\frac{1}{5}$	3.30	10.50	151 sub arcs $9\frac{8}{10}$ h.+1200 inc. (est.)
Allegheny . . .	11	.95	10.50	620 full arcs all n.+3000 inc. 16 c. p., in service at all hours
Farmville . . .	$2\frac{1}{6}$	3.40	7.25	25 full arcs 6 h.+1200 inc. 16 c. p.
Westfield	$1\frac{9}{10}$	2.00	3.75	60 full arcs 8 h.+400 inc. 16 c. p.
Quakertown . . .	$2\frac{6}{10}$	2.50	6.50	40 sub arcs 6.3 h.+1200 inc. 16 c. p.
Indianola	$10\frac{4}{5}$	1.25	13.50	44 sub arcs 6 h.+600 inc. 16 c. p.
Wellston, O. . . .	5	1.00	5.00	58 sub arcs 6 h.+1000 inc. 16 c. p.
Madison, Ga. . .	$9\frac{1}{2}$	2.90	28.00	40 full arcs $8\frac{1}{3}$ h.+300 inc. 16 c. p.
Clyde, O.	$5\frac{1}{3}$	2.45	13.00	51 full arcs 5 h.+550 inc. 16 c. p.
	Tons per 16 c. p. eq.		Cost per 16 c. p. eq.	
Leon, Ia.	2	$1.85	$3.60	44 inc. 32 c. p. 6 h.+350 inc. 16 c. p.
Chariton, Ia. . .	1+	1.60	1.65	100 inc. 32 c. p. 7 h.+1150 inc. 16 c. p.
Atlantic, Ia. . .	$\frac{16}{30}$	1.50	.85	155 inc. 32 c. p. 5 h.+3000 inc. 16 c. p.

Group C.—Private Plants.

	Tons of coal used yearly per full-arc equivalent.	Cost per ton.	Fuel cost per year per full-arc equivalent of lampage.	Lampage.
Boston E. L. Co. .	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$3.60	$12.50	1590 full arcs all n., 1592 com. full arcs, and 25,000 inc. 16 c. p.
Cambridge . . .	$3\frac{1}{3}$	3.60	12.00	461 sub arcs all n., 47 com. sub arcs, and 8785 inc. 16 c. p.
Edison (Boston) .	$2\frac{1}{10}$	3.60	7.50	800 com. arcs+84331 inc. 16 c. p.

Group D.—Natural Gas. Public Plants.

	Lampage.	Yearly fuel cost per full-arc equivalent.	Remarks.
Marietta, O.	110 full street arcs 9⅔ h.	$8.25	Plant pays $75 mo. for gas.
Blufftown, Ind. .	85 full street arcs 6 h.	14.00	Plant pays $100 mo. for gas.
Anderson, Ind. .	150 full street arcs all n.	1.50	
Newcastle, Ind.	60 full street arcs 8 h., and 1000 inc.	1.60	Plant owns the gas wells—only cost is interest on investment and repairs.

It is interesting to note the cost of light per lamp-hour, because the companies frequently make a lamp-hour rate the basis of all their charges. Care must be exercised, however, in using the hour rates for purposes of comparison; it is not a uniform rate per hour—6 hours two-tenths of a cent, 12 hours four-tenths—it is more like 6 hours 10 cents, 12 hours 12 cents. The time of burning materially changes the rate per hour; so does many another difference between plant and plant, wherefore it will not do to draw conclusions by comparing the hourly cost until due allowance is made for all differences of condition. The question is not whether the cost per lamp-hour in B is the same or more or less than the hour-cost in W, but whether, considering all the factors of production in B, the lamp-hour rate is more than it should be.

TABLE XXVIII.

Operating Cost per Lamp Hour.

	Full arcs run.		Cost per lamp hour in cents.		Full arcs run.		Cost per lamp hour in cents.
Chicago	all night		2.44	Little Rock	8 hours		1.33
Easton	all night		2.15	Topeka	8 hours		2.98
Wheeling	all night		1.62	St. Joseph	8 hours		1.45
West Troy	all night		1.52	Bay City	7 hours		1.96
Dunkirk	all night		1.15	Aurora	6¼ hours		2.75
Painesville	all night		1.55	Marshalltown . . .	5 hours		.96
	Lamps.	Hours.			Lamps.	Hours.	
S. Norwalk .	1400 c.p.	7	2	Madison, N. J.	16 c. p.	3½	.2
Danvers . .	1200	5.7	2.38	Hope, Ark. .	16 c. p.	–	.23
Hudson . . .	1200	6	1.36	Falls City, Neb.	16 c. p.	–	.23

With water power Bangor runs full arcs all night for .95 of a cent per lamp hour. Anderson with natural gas runs all night arcs for .85 of a cent per lamp hour; and if Rosewater's statement of the hours of service in Chariton is accurate, the cost of a 16 c. p. lamp in that place is below .1 of a cent per hour (see Table XX, Group D).

The important relation between length of run and cost per hour is obscured in the above data by the perturbations due to differences in cost and quality of fuel, character of construction, etc.; the said relation appears more clearly in the following statement from Buckley's "Electric Lighting Plants":

TABLE XXVIII A.

Lamps.	Hours burned per day.	Cost per lamp hour in cents.	Cost per night in cents.	Cost per month.	Cost per lamp year.	Page of Buckley.
2000 c.-p. . .	12	1.68	20+	$6.05	$73.50	114
	10	2	20	6.00	72.00	84
	8	2.35	18.75	5.60	67.00	84
	6	2.75	16.5	5.00	60.00	84
	4	3.5	14	4.20	50.50	84
	1	8.5	8.5	2.55	30.50	84
	½	16	8	2.40	28.75	84
1200 c.-p. . .	12	1.48	17.9	5.37	64.50	*
	10	1.75	17.5	5.25	63.00	84
	6	2.25	13.5	4.05	48.50	84
	5	2.5	12.5	3.75	45.00	84
	1	7.25	7.25	2.22	26.50	84
	½	14	7	2.10	25.50	84
16 c.-p. . . .	12	.19	2.3	.70	8.40	*
	10	.22	2.2	.66	8.00	84
	6	.28	1.68	.50	6.00	84
	3½	.35	1.23	.37	4.44	114
	1	1.12	1.12	.33+	4.00	84
	½	2	1	.30	3.65	84

* Not stated by Buckley but carefully estimated from his data.

The items taken from p. 114 relate to a 3,000-light incandescent plant, operating an average of 12 hours a day. In such a plant Mr. Buckley says the cost of a 16-c.-p. lamp burning three and one-half hours a day is .35 of a cent, per hour, and for a 2,000 c.-p. lamp 1.68 cents an hour. The data of p. 84 are averages covering the results of many stations. The figure for 12-hour 2,000-c.-p. service corresponding to the averages from p. 84 for 6, 8, and 10 hours would be $75.50 instead of the $73.50 rate belonging to the large plant described on p. 114.

These rates of Buckley's are above the present cost in any but the least economical plants, as a reference to our data at the beginning of this table will show, and electrical experts with whom I have discussed the Buckley data say that they are several years old and represent the cost reported by private companies and are altogether too high; nevertheless they show with clearness and illustrate with substantial accuracy the important ratio between hours of operation and cost per hour. To run a lamp 10 hours does not cost 10 times as much as to run it one hour, but only twice as much in the case of incandescents and two and one-half times as much in the case of arcs. The standard all-night 2,000-c.-p. lamp does not cost twice as much as the midnight service, but only about one-fifth more according to Buckley's data, less than one-fifth more according to the experience of Painesville, O., which ran 5-hour arcs for $44.25 a year and now runs all night arcs at an additional cost of $8.25; about one-sixth more according to the rates made by some of the Massachusetts companies—for example, Worcester charges $1.75 per month for an incandescent lamp to midnight and $2 for an all-night lamp, one-sixth more for all night. The same company charges for an arc 40 cents a night to 9 P. M., 50 cents to 11, and 60 cents all night, indicating about one-sixth addition from midnight to all night. Northampton charges $13 to midnight and $15 all night for the same lamp—an addition of less than one-sixth. Station experts tell me that adding one-sixth to the cost of midnight service in a good-sized plant will give substantially the cost of all-night service in the same plant; one-fifth will be nearer right for a small plant, and special circumstances may raise the necessary addition somewhat higher yet.

The most important conclusions the committee has derived from the data of Tables XX to XXVII, and the studies suggested by them, are as follows:

1. With anthracite, pea, high-grade bituminous, or other coal of equivalent steam power, at $3 a ton, labor at ordinary rates and one shift, fair management and materials at present prices, a good steam street plant, running at or near full capacity, can operate all-night arcs of 2,000 c.-p. for

16½ cents a night, or $60 a year, which, with the limit rate of fixed charges in a plant of good construction and reasonable size, gives a total cost of production not exceeding $75 a year.

The whole body of data sustain this statement, and indicate that $60 is a liberal figure, under the specified conditions, for the operating cost, including water and all items not covered by the fixed charges as we have defined them. Take West Troy, for example, 115 full arcs, 12 to 15 hours daily, coal $3.15, no combination with other works, cost per arc $61 a year. Little Rock, eight hour arcs, coal $3.15, cost per arc $42 a year. Adding one-ninth to get the cost of all-night service in the Little Rock plant (see Table XXVIII and comments) we have $47 per all-night arc per year. Chicago, corrected to the ordinary conditions as to labor, gives $61 a year per arc (see note to Table X). Painesville, all-night arcs $52.50, coal $2.10; adding $5 (see §1, note to page 124 June ARENA) we have $57.50 for operating all-night arcs, with coal at $3. Take North East, Pa., and add one-fith for time as per Table XXVIII A, and we have $60 for all-night arcs, coal at $3. Take Fredonia, N. Y., add one-seventh for time, as per table, and $5 for coal, and we have $61 for an all-night arc, with coal at $3. See also Elgin, Bowling Green, Martinsville, Columbus, and many other places, which point to the same conclusion, when corrected to the specified conditions.

It is true that some plants show a higher cost. Topeka, for example, gives $74 for 8-hour arcs. The reason, as I am informed by experts of the highest authority who have visited the city, is that Topeka was swindled in the construction of her electric system, and has a very poor, uneconomical plant. Easton is another place that shows a high rate, but, as we have shown, it is due to the facts that the lamps are much above 2000 c. p. and that the plant is run far short of its capacity.

We have seen in this section and the last, that there is reason to believe that the returns of operating cost, in many cases, include new values, sufficient to offset depreciation, but, waiving this in order to be perfectly sure of not coming too low in our calculations, we will take the $75 total indicated by our data, when taken without allowance for the new values they include.

2. All-night arcs on the moon schedule, or 8-hour lamps, can be operated under the conditions above specified, at a yearly cost not exceeding $53 per arc, or about one-ninth less than the all-night arc (see the ratios of Table XXVIII A and the direct proofs afforded by Little Rock, North East, Elgin, etc.).

3. The midnight arc costs about $50 a year, under ordinary conditions, or about one-sixth less than the all-night arc (see Fredonia, Bay City, Painesville, Chambersburg, etc.).

4. The sub-arc, or 1,200 c.-p. lamp, can be operated for $52 all night, $47 moonlight, and $43 till midnight, or about one-seventh less than the full arc of 2,000 c.-p. under similar conditions (see Table XX, Group C, etc., and ratios of Table XXVIII).

5. An incandescent 16 c.-p. can be operated at a cost of about $6 to $6⅔ a year all night, $5⅓ to $6 for moonlight, and $5 to $5.50 for midnight, or about one-tenth to one-ninth the cost of a full arc (see Fulda, Group D, Table XX, and the ratios of Table XXVIII).

Repairs on an all-night arc, and carbons, cost from $3 to $6 a year, while a 16 c.-p., good for 600 hours, costs but 20 cents, or less than $1.50 an all-night year, and even this does not enter the expense account of the plant, when the lamps are commercial, because the consumer must pay for renewals. Moreover, in practice, the lamps do not get always 480 and 60 watts, respectively. For example, the dynamo that runs the "Auditorium Circuit" at Ocean Grove, is a 60-kilowatt machine, but actually lights 1,100 lamps, so that each one gets but 55 watts at most. Sometimes the lamps receive 450 and 50 watts respectively, a proportion of 1 to 9, instead of 1 to 8 as in theory, and even when the theoretic relation is maintained, the cost is more than proportionally greater for the higher candle power.

6. If the electric plant is run in connection with the city water-works, a considerable saving may be effected. In Dunkirk a saving of $10 per arc is thus secured. (Compare Dunkirk and West Troy in Table XXIV, allowing for the difference in cost of coal.) In this case the same engineers, firemen, and superintendent operate both plants. The same is true of Madison, Paris, La Salle, and many other places.

7. If the plant is commercial, and has a good day-load as well as a night-load, a further saving in the cost of production is obtained, and in fuel economy (see Tables XXV to XXVII), in economy of labor through the greater density of business, and in the smaller amount of repairs and depreciation per kilowatt of business. In a well-built commercial plant of good output, it is clear on principle that the cost of operating one all-night arc should fall considerably below the normal rate ($60 a year) that obtains in non-commercial plants. Unlike the statistics of most of the street plants, the tables of commercial plants are not sufficiently complete for definite concrete proof. The hours of burning the commercial lamps are not reported, nor the watt hours of output; in many plants no record is kept of the output. This is a great mistake. The kilowatt hours of work, public and commercial, should be carefully noted in every station, and stated in public reports, and in the returns of private companies to state commissioners. The few cases in which the committee has succeeded in obtaining reliable data concerning the total output of commercial plants, confirm the deductions derived from the street plants.

In Westfield, N. Y., the public output for 1894 was 111,720 kilowatt hours, and the commercial 113,000 K. W. hours; 224,720 K. W. hours total, equivalent to about 110 all night 2,000-c.-p. arcs. The total running expenses were $5,000, or $45 per standard arc, with coal at $2 = $50 per standard arc, with coal at $3. The total expenses, interest (four per cent on five-sixths of the investment), depreciation, taxes, and all, figured $6,000 or $54+ per standard arc.

In Allegheny, Penn., the arc output was 1,183,123 K. W. hours, and the incandescent, 444,500 K. W. hours, a total of 1,627,623 K. W. hours, giving $60 running expenses per standard arc equivalent of output, and $72 total cost, depreciation, taxes, and all.* The cost is higher in Allegheny because labor is treated more generously there than in most places; ordinary labor gets one-fourth to one-half more than is paid for the same service by the Boston companies.

In Braintree, Mass., the public output is 94,880 K. W. hours, and the commercial 31,337, a total of 126,137 a year. A 1,200-c.p. arc, running an average of 6½ hours a day, as in Braintree, takes about 800 K. W. hours a year, so the Braintree output is equivalent to 157 sub-arcs (1,200 c.-p.) on 6½-hour schedule. This gives $48 running expense per arc equivalent and $77 total cost, interest, depreciation, and all.

Quakertown, Penn., records a public output of 34,048 K. W. hours, commercial 33,385, and total 67,433; or $43 operating cost per sub-arc (1,200 c.-p.) on 7-hour time, and $63 total cost, interest, depreciation, taxes, and all.

On the whole, the indications are that good management in a commercial plant of reasonable output should reduce the operating cost per standard arc to about $50, and the total cost without interest to $60 or $65, with incandescent service at about $5 operating expense, and $6 or $7 total cost per 16 c.-p. With a *large* output, the figures should fall still lower, if labor remains at its usual level.

Some things about the private commercial plants in Table XXI are sorrowfully clear, and one of them fills the committee with such sadness that it cannot refrain from expressing its grief. The Boston Electric Company says that the production of each full-arc equivalent costs it $60 a year, and that its total income is $86 per said equivalent. Now, it claims $405 investment for each full-arc unit, and Mr. H. A. Foster, a very high authority in the ranks of competitive electricians, says that 13½ per cent on the investment (6 per cent for interest, and 7½ per cent for depreciation) must be added to the operating expense, to get the actual cost of production. Very well, 13½ per cent of $405 is $54.67; adding this to $60 operating expenses, we have $114.67, so that the Boston Electric Light Co. is losing $28.67 on every 480 watts of lampage it operates, or $180,620 a year, all told; and, all the time, the poor deluded company is declaring dividends under the impression that it is making money, instead of losing a fortune every year. And this is not the worst of it; the committee might possibly endure this in silent sorrow, but, when it turns out that every single Massachusetts company in Table XXI, except Chicopee, is losing money, and one company at the rate of $460 a year on each arc equivalent, it becomes impossible to conceal the awful truth, or forbear to express the mingled grief and admiration felt by the committee for these down-trodden private companies, and their heroic nobility in continuing the business under such terrific losses.

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* The superintendent's separate estimate of the cost of the street arcs gives $64 per arc for the operating cost, as we saw in §2. There is no real disagreement; the $60 here found is the cost per standard-arc *equivalent* for the whole output, and the cost of a standard-arc equivalent in incandescent light does not equal the actual standard-arc service.

8. The exclusive use of water power saves about one-sixth of the operating cost. Such is Buckley's statement, p. 17, and such is the result of the New York statistics, p. 264 of the Foote Census. Our data in Group F of Table XX point to about the same conclusion. Lewiston is almost exactly one-sixth lower than the rate ascertained above for a full arc on an all-night moon schedule; and the extra savings of $6 in Ypsilanti, and $10 in Bangor beyond the one-sixth reduction for water power are probably due to the economies of working the electric system in conjunction with the water works.

9. The conditions of production in Philadelphia are the same as those specified in the first conclusion, except that anthracite pea coal costs but $2.75 delivered at the works, and that a street plant operating the city's 5,300 arcs would be a very large one, instead of merely moderate size. Both these differences are in the direction of economy, and there is not the slightest doubt that a public street plant could be operated at a cost not exceeding $55 per arc year, with an investment not exceeding $300 an arc, and a total cost of production (depreciation, taxes, insurance, and all) not exceeding $70 an arc, thus saving to the taxpayers $90 on every arc, $477,000 a year, or $1,300 a day, on their electric lighting bill.

Philadelphia is peculiarly fortunate in having corroborative evidence of the highest character. The subject was investigated last year by the city government. Mayor Stuart asked councils to make an appropriation for the purpose. Councils did not wish to do so, but they could not afford to ignore entirely a request behind which there was so much force of reason and public opinion, so they called for estimates of cost. Abram M. Beitler, director of public safety, referred the matter to Chief Walker of the Electric Bureau, who, after carefully inspecting a number of good electric lighting plants, supplied the director and councils with detailed estimates for a 2,000-arc overhead plant, and a 400-arc underground plant. Councils appointed a committee of investigation, loaded with men interested in and acting for the private electric companies, so that even the chairman, instead of conducting the investigation in a judicial manner, personally instituted a determined attack upon Chief Walker and Director Beitler, and their recommendations, endeavored in every way to magnify the cost, and gave the closing discussion to Mr. Cowling, manager of a company a large part of whose business would be gone if he could not keep the city from making its own light, and who therefore testified that the cost of an arc light per year was $146. The councils refused to make an appropriation, as of course they intended to do when they packed the committee with the enemies of the measure; and to justify their refusal, the ridiculous figures of Mr. Cowling and the chairman's nonsense were printed in pamphlet form and spread broadcast. *The chief's estimates were not put into this pamphlet*, but appear only in the Journal of Select Council already referred to. The chief's estimate of running cost for a 2,000-arc overhead plant is especially noteworthy, because of the high character of its source, and because of the fact that during the whole bombardment in committee, the agents and attorneys of the private companies were unable to find fault with any item given by the chief in this estimate. The fact is that like all the chief's estimates, it is above the truth. Figuring carbons and repairs at the Chicago rates, the estimate is as follows:

TABLE XXIX.

MAINTENANCE OF AN ELECTRIC LIGHT PLANT OF 2,000 FULL ARCS, OVERHEAD SYSTEM.

1 Superintendent	$3,000.00
1 Engineer, $4 a day	1,460.00
1 " 3 "	1,095.00
2 dynamo men, $2 each a day	1,460.00
3 firemen $2 " " "	2,190.00
2 oilers $2 " " "	1,460.00
2 helpers $1.50 " " "	1,095.00
1 foreman	1,200.00
8 inspectors at $840 a year	6,720.00
10 linemen at $720 " "	7,200.00
40 trimmers at $2 a day	29,200.00
2 drivers at $600 a year	1,200.00
30 tons of pea coal per day at $2.75=$82.50 a day	30,112.50
Carbons	6,000.00
Oil waste and other mats at $8.50 a day	2,920.00
Maintenance of 2 horses and 2 wagons	600.00
Repairs	14,500.00
Removal of ashes	1,000.00
Incidentals	5,000.00
Total	$117,000.00

Yearly cost per arc, $58.50

The chief figured the cost of this plant at $318 an arc, and told the committee of councils that three per cent on three-fourths of the value of a good electric lighting plant would cover depreciation; adding this, and two per cent on the whole investment for taxes and insurance gives $72 for the total cost of production in a Philadelphia street plant.*

If the city would absorb the whole electric lighting business, the data given in this report show that the cost of production could easily be reduced to $60, commercial light could be furnished at one-half the present rates, and the streets lighted free of expense to the taxpayers, saving to the people the whole $850,000 that comes out of their pockets each year for electric street lights, and benefiting consumers at the same time (see §2 of this report). And if, in addition to this, the wires were put underground, and the labor fund were more evenly divided, not quite so much for the superintendent, and more for the firemen, oilers, linemen, etc., the city would begin to deserve its beautiful name, the "City of Brotherly Love," at least so far as its electric lighting affairs were concerned.

10. In Boston and vicinity the conditions of production are no less favorable than in Philadelphia, except about 90 cents a ton in the cost of coal, which would not make a difference of more than $5 an arc, so that the operating cost in a Boston street plant of 2,000 arcs would certainly not exceed $63 per arc year, and with the whole city lighting welded into one system, and coördinated with other city services, the running cost would in all probability fall to $55 a year, with a total cost of $65 to $70, in place of the $139 paid to the private companies now.

Other cities are in the same boat. Here is a very suggestive and instructive list:

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* During the Philadelphia investigation Director Beitler told the committee that for the sake of cumulative evidence, he had taken the chief's figures to several gentlemen whom he knew to be trustworthy, and to whom he would go if he were embarking his own money in electric business, and they said the figures were substantially correct. The director added: "There is not a city, town, or village in this state that is paying over 35 cents per lamp per night, and Philadelphia pays 45." Mr. Robert Lerch, the experienced and wide-awake superintendent of the Easton plant, said to this committee: "If Philadelphia is not swindled on electric light, I don't know what swindling is — she pays double and more. With a good commercial public plant in Philadelphia, I would guarantee that the street lamps shouldn't cost the people a single cent of taxes."

TABLE XXX.

Private Service.			*Public Service.*		
	No. lamps.	Cost per year.		No. lamps.	Cost per year.
Boston	1850	$139.00	Braintree. . . .	118	$67.00
New York . . .	2625	146 to 182	Dunkirk	75	59.25
Brooklyn	1528	146.00	Westfield	60	50.00
Philadelphia . .	5300	160 00	Easton	122	92.00
Washington . . .	338	138.00	Alexandria, Va. .	92	72.00
Harrisburg . . .	348	85.00	Allegheny . . .	620	74.00
Detroit	1279	133.75	Bay City	181	66.00
Louisville, Ky. . .	1074	87.50	Bowling Green . .	72	66.00
Indianapolis . . .	750	85.00	Kendallville . . .	43	36.00
St. Louis	2200	75.00	Little Rock . . .	210	55.00

The committee is not sure of the number of arcs in Brooklyn. They are 1,200 c.-p. and cost $146 each per year, according to the letter sent me. The number as above is taken from the Senate Mis. Doc. 56, and relates to the year 1890—the lights are probably more numerous now. In all other cases, the lamps are 2,000 c.-p. or the rate has been reduced to that basis, so that, with the exception of Brooklyn, the prices represent the entire cost per full arc in all-night service the year round. The St. Louis Company has a total of more than 5,000 arcs, but only 2,200 are paid for by the city.[*]

Two thoughts protrude from Table XXX: First, The more lamps the higher the charge, instead of the other way, as it ought to be. Second, The public plants do better than even the best contracts with private companies. Little Rock, with a little plant, and coal over $1 more per ton, nevertheless cuts $20 off the St. Louis contract, taking depreciation and all into account. If Little Rock had a big commercial plant like that of the St. Louis Company, with 5,000 arcs and 30,000 incandescents, there can be no doubt that it would subtract at least another ten-dollar bill from the cost per arc year, and cut the St. Louis rate about in two.

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[*] No attention has been given in this report to the term of years covered by city contracts with private companies. Anyone who will examine Foote's Census of New York State or Senate Mis. Doc. 56, 2d Sess. 51st Cong., or the reports of the Massachusetts Light Commissioners will discover that the term of contract does not bear any definite relation to the price of light. For example, from Foote pp. 261–2, we have Syracuse, 309 standard arcs five-year contract $144 per arc, c. $2; New York, 488 same arcs, one-year contract $127, c. $3; Buffalo, 404 same arcs, one-year contract $146, c. $2; Albany, 519 standard arcs, five-year contract $182.50, c. $3.40, etc. The companies get as high a rate as they can whether the time is long or short. Even when spirited public officers try to put them in the press of competition by advertising for bids for long terms they have an understanding among themselves and make very little reduction of rates. In Washington, where this plan was put to vigorous test, only one of the companies made a difference of more than $1 to $2 a lamp even on a ten-year contract, and the company that made a larger difference had been receiving the enormous sum of 60 cents a night or $219 a year per arc light. If a company feels that it is master of the situation it will not let its rates fall very much for the sake of a term — it is pretty sure of the term without the reduction. A year at a time with power to get a renewal each fall is as good as 10 years in a lump, and the company must keep its political power anyway or it may lose the whole cream of its business.

If a company is not quite sure of its hold on the future, it may be willing to make considerable discount to the city in consideration of being left free to squeeze its private customers. And a new company not yet enfranchised may consent to light the city streets at a really reasonable rate in consideration of gaining a foothold and receiving a charter right to put its claws into the pockets of the people — that was the way St. Louis got her fine contract. In reality a company should make a little reduction on a long contract because the cost of producing light is continually diminishing, and because they are guaranteed against loss of labor and materials in fitting lamps soon discontinued.. The fact is, however, that there is no danger of discontinuance if the work is done properly and at reasonable rates; the only danger is a transfer to public ownership, which would be with full compensation for all real values. As a rule a city is not wise to make long contracts for electric light. Even the most public-spirited officers cannot persuade the companies to take less than the present cost plus a moderate profit, for the economies of the future are only expectations that may not be realized, and once the contract is made the present cost rules throughout the term. Whereas if a city makes a contract every year it can take advantage of any cheapening of production that may occur, so soon as its officers are able and willing to ascertain the fact; and if it takes the production into its own hands, all the benefits of increasing cheapness together with all the profits of the business will flow into its coffers.

It must be kept in mind that the street lamps are only a part and the smaller part of the electric question, and that the charges of private companies for commercial lights are frequently even more extortionate than their charges for public light. There are private companies that so far forget themselves and their privileges as to make very moderate rates, but in general they pay no attention to the cost of production or reasonable profits thereon, but mould their tariffs on that agreeable rule, which is fundamental in the political economy of monopoly—the rule that requires a corporation to charge all that the people will endure. Acting on this benevolent principle—charity begins at home, you know—the companies have fixed their rates by simply multiplying the cost of light by as large a digit as they dared. When we remember that the record of excessive charges for street lamps runs from 1.1 to 6 times, or 10 to 500 per cent excess, we may appreciate the significance of the fact that the companies are in the habit of fleecing private consumers more mercilessly even than their public patrons. Street lamps generally burn about twice as many hours in a year as private lamps, yet the companies reported in Brown's Directory make an average price to private consumers $8 higher per arc than the average rate they make for street arcs. Not infrequently the difference is much greater: The Boston Electric Light Company, for example, asks the city $135 for an all-night 2,000-candle-power arc, but requires its private customers to pay $182 to $328 per arc, and this in spite of the fact that few of these customers burn their lamps all night or even half of it. The public charge is oppressive—the private charge is oppression emphasized. The total cost of a street arc in Boston is not over $70, and the cost of a commercial arc used on an average three hours a day is only about $40 a year (see the ratios of Table XXVIII A, showing that the cost of three-hour service is a trifle more than half the cost of all-night service).

Boston is not alone in squeezing the private consumer of light; electric companies in all our cities have learned the art. In Worcester the company charges the city $127 a year for an all-night arc, and private parties have to pay $182.50 for the same lamp till 11 P. M. Springfield has reduced the company to $75 per sub-arc all night, but the citizens are still compelled to pay $146 per lamp though it may be burned but a few hours a night. Philadelphia pays $160 a year for an arc, and many of her citizens pay more than that; 45 cents a night is the Brush Company's charge, whether the lamp be burned one hour or 12 in the twenty-four. Over half the receipts clear profits—no wonder Allen R. Foote says "The electric light business is the safest and best investment in the United States to-day."

If Philadelphia established a public commercial plant her people would save at least $90 on every street arc, or $1,300 a day on the public lighting bill, and more than $100 on each private arc, of which there are many thousands, how many I do not know. In Chicago there are nearly 18,000 arcs aside from the city works, and 500,000 incandescents—a chance to save the people two millions and a half a year at a very conservative estimate on Chicago rates and conditions of production. In New York the Edison Company alone reports $1,400,000 receipts, and $789,000 profits. We have already seen in §2 that public ownership would save the people of Boston and vicinity at least $800,000 a year, or half what they pay the electric light companies now, and the facts of this section indicate that the saving would be considerably more than half, as much more as the average of actual rates (running from $135 to $328 an arc) is above the $40 to $70 which represents the total cost of production of commercial arcs and street arcs in Boston under present conditions.

This section cannot be more fittingly closed than by quoting the words of the mayor and board of public works, in their report already referred to. As before remarked, they examined 120 cities, and secured careful estimates from electrical engineers. The conclusions of the committee on the facts before them, and the estimates of the electricians were as follows:

"1. That our city is now paying over 60 per cent more for her street lighting than she ought to do.*

"2. The 55 cities doing their own lighting pronounced the same a complete success, and we have ascertained the average cost thereof per light per annum to be $57.88.

"3. That cities lighted by private contract are paying on an average per light per annum $114.58.†

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*The city was paying $158.30 per lamp.

† As before remarked, averages are to be received with caution until their component parts have been examined. See note 3 at the end of this report.

"4. The entire cost of building an electric plant for our city, with 350 lights, would not exceed $75,000 ($215 per arc) and the annual cost of maintaining such a plant in this city would not exceed $50 per lamp per annum.

"In calculating the average cost per light, we have not taken into account the cost in cities where the plant is operated in connection with the waterworks, nor where the cities furnish commercial lights. Should the plant be operated in conjunction with the waterworks, we are informed by expert electricians that the cost of lighting would be greatly reduced. And should commercial lighting be added, the revenues therefrom would still further reduce expenses. A number of the cities have written letters to your committee, claiming that their street lighting costs practically nothing for the reason that the commercial lights more than pay the running expenses of the plant.

"The claim has been made to your committee by those interested in private lighting that it is only small cities and towns that are engaged in doing their own lighting. This statement we found to be incorrect. It is quite apparent that this argument is used for the sole purpose of discouraging this city from building her own lighting plant.

"Another objection raised by these persons is that politics dominate municipal governments, and therefore it would not be possible for a city the size of Evansville to do her own lighting as cheaply as it can be done by a private company.

"The experience of cities owning their own electric and gas plants is that the same can be maintained and operated far cheaper than it is done by private companies.

"Your committee has also ascertained that all plants, such as waterworks, street railways, lighting, and others necessarily requiring franchises from the public, should, in the opinion of the best thinkers of the age, who have studied municipal government, be owned by the public instead of by private corporations.

"One of the most serious mistakes now chargeable against all American cities of the present century is the reckless 'giving away' of valuable franchises of every description to private corporations and companies. Evansville, along with the balance of her sister cities, is now suffering from this kind of folly committed in the past.

"Your committee is of the opinion that a new contract for our street lighting could now be let for a much lower price than the present contract calls for, but we do not believe it to be for the best interest of the citizens of this city that her lighting should be done by private contract."

(To be continued.)

HELL NO PART OF DIVINE REVELATION.

BY W. E. MANLEY.

שְׁאוֹל ᾅδης, τάρταρος, γέεννα.

sheol, hades, tartaros, gehenna.

I. That the word *hell* is one of the strong pillars of the dogma of eternal punishment, no one can doubt. Is there good and substantial reason for the discussion of this dogma in the ARENA, showing its unreasonable and unscriptural character? This question will be answered differently by different persons, according as they have or have not experienced the baleful influence of the dogma in question, or witnessed its blighting effects on others near and dear to them. There will be no difference of opinion as to the slight hold this dogma has at the present time on the minds of Christian people, as compared with the past. But that thousands of good people still believe it, with faith enough to render them uneasy and unhappy, does not admit of doubt. Nor are these people so obscure or worthless as to be beyond the range of our sympathy or unworthy of our assistance. Though the dogma of endless woe seems to many people unreasonable, and as a foul blot on the character of God, there are many passages of Scripture that seem to teach the doctrine; and it is impossible, with their education and traditional reverence for the Bible, to settle down in a more comfortable belief, till these passages have been explained so as not to favor the unsavory dogma which they are supposed to teach.

Prominent among these passages are those that speak of hell. For some years after we had come to see the unreasonableness of the doctrine of never-ending punishment, the passages that had been urged in its favor stood in the way of a complete change of our opinion on this subject. Nor did we find entire satisfaction in respect to some of these texts, till, by a study of the original languages of the Bible, we settled the matter for ourself. Since that time not a doubt on this subject has obtruded itself on our mind for a single moment. The strongest desire we now have is to convince others, and lift a load from their minds which they ought no longer to carry.

If it be said that well-informed people, especially learned ministers, have now but little faith in this doctrine, and therefore there is no use in discussing and refuting it, we reply that thousands of good respectable people are *not* well informed on this subject; and the ministers who probably do not believe it are generally quite unwilling to say so to their people. And there never was a time when the mass of the people were so willing to read on this subject as at present; and therefore it is all-important that we give them the opportunity. Even now these people, on account of long cherished prejudices, will not read books and papers devoted to the discussion of this and kindred subjects. But when they meet with a paper in such a popular magazine as the ARENA, they will read it with delight, having no fears of any intention to deceive them.

We feel deeply on this subject, not only because the doctrine in question was once the occasion of much unhappiness to ourself, casting a blight over the best years of our youth, unfitting us for both study and work, and seriously threatening life; but sadder still, when in our childhood a beloved mother was brought to the grave in the most shocking manner by her faith in this dreadful doctrine. After five long and wretched years of wild insanity, she imagined herself in hell, and expressed great surprise that we did not see the flames about her! *She refused to eat;* and all the nourishment she took during the fifty days of her sickness, before death came to her relief, was four spoonfuls of liquid food. Any attempt to conceal the food by mixing it with the water she craved was in vain, as she utterly refused all such. Her screams at times were heart-rending. Her apparent suffering was indescribable; though she may have suffered less than she appeared to. These things occurred nearly seventy years ago; but they are as fresh in our memory as if they were of recent date. They have furnished us a strong motive to make all possible effort to remove from the church and the world the cause of all this misery. Awful as this case was, it was only one of a thousand, or rather of many thousands, that have been very similar.

In the early days of our ministry of sixty years, we were accustomed to deliver courses of lectures—sometimes ten and sometimes only five or six—on the word hell, tracing the word through the whole Bible; and if there is any one subject we understand better than all others, this is the one. If we shall deceive the reader, it will be intentional and not a mistake.

II. In discussing the subject of this paper, we begin by laying down the following proposition: *There is no term in the Hebrew or Greek Scriptures, which has the meaning of the English word hell.*

The uninformed reader will probably say that this is a bold proposition. He may think it as rash as it is bold. Of this he will be better able to judge after he has read what we have written on the subject. There have been times in the history of the Christian church, not many centuries in the past, when any one avowing his belief in such a proposition would have been delivered to the misnamed "holy inquisition," to pay for his temerity with his life. Let us rejoice that these times of superstition and barbarity are past, never to return.

When our late revision of the Bible was in progress, Canon Farrar (now Archdeacon and Dr. Farrar) said in substance as follows: "If the revisers do their whole duty, when their work is done our Bible will not contain the word *hell*, nor *damnation*, nor *everlasting punishment*." This covers the whole ground of our proposition, and something more. The revisers, it seems, have not done their whole duty, though they have gone a good way in that direction. *Damnation* is no longer seen; and *hell* does not so often greet the eye of the reader as it once did. *Everlasting punishment* has stepped out, and eternal punishment is found in its place—no great improvement. In view of the momentous importance of the subject, may we not expect the close attention of the reader from beginning to end. It is not possible to do justice to so vast a subject in a short article; and our paper must not be so long as to find a lodgment in the waste basket. This limitation makes it all the more necessary that what is written be read with care. We will do the best we can, and if we prove the proposition before us, as we expect to do to the satisfaction of all candid and intelligent minds, it will be an achievement at which all good men will rejoice.

There are four words in the Bible that are translated hell, though not uniformly so translated. One of these is a Hebrew word, *sheol*, and is found in the Old Testament sixty-five times. In the old version it is rendered thirty-one times *hell*, thirty-one times *grave*, and three times *pit*. In the revision it is rendered *hell* fifteen times, *grave* fifteen times, *pit* five times, and left untranslated thirty times. The revisers admit that the word does not mean *hell*, but say it is a place of departed spirits, good and bad, and must therefore embrace a hell and a paradise, though these places, and the separation between them, are nowhere mentioned or alluded to in that part of the Bible. With the views the revisers had of sheol, it was manifestly improper to render the word either hell or grave. There was but one consistent course to take, and that was to give the original in every instance, as they have done in nearly half of them, and as the New Testament revisers have done with the corresponding word *hades*.

In passing we may remark that *Sheol* was the proper name of the first king of the Hebrew nation, and of him who became the apostle to the Gentiles, with some difference of pronunciation—a pretty good evidence that their respective parents did not attach to the word the meaning of hell, unless it had to them a more musical sound than it has to some of us.

The true meaning of sheol is *grave*; and the translators of the old version have given their sanction to this view, by so rendering the word in nearly half the instances in the ancient Scriptures; and if we add the three times it is rendered *pit*, often the synonym of grave, the rendering grave will be in the majority. Professor Stuart says the word should have been translated grave more times than it is; and only in five instances does he suppose that it denotes a place of future punishment. Is it likely that this term denotes a place of future suffering five times out of sixty-five, and in all the other places has some other meaning, generally grave? The idea is preposterous. The truth is that the translators, finding no word in the Hebrew Bible having the meaning of hell, gave this meaning to a word to which it did not belong, retaining its true meaning in most of the places where it is found. That the word ever denotes a place of departed spirits, as supposed by our late revisers, and still held by Dr. Briggs and others, probably never entered the minds of the old translators. And if it had, it would have been summarily set aside, from its supposed resemblance to the Roman Catholic purgatory.

That we may not extend this paper to an unreasonable length, instead of quoting each passage in full where sheol occurs, unless it is quite brief we will give the substance of each, with the chapter and verse, and such comments as will make the matter plain to the reader, presuming that the latter has a reasonable share of common sense.

1. *Sheol occurs seven times in the Pentateuch.* It is found four times in Genesis. Jacob says he will go down to sheol to his son Joseph, mourning. Three times it is said with reference to the same thing, that his gray hairs will be

brought down to sheol. This kind of language requires that sheol should mean the grave (see Gen. xxxvii: 35, xlii: 38, xliv: 29, 31). Again, Korah and his company were swallowed by the earth; and they, with their tents and goods, went down into sheol, the word being twice rendered *pit* (see Num. xvi: 30, 33). In a highly poetic passage, the anger of God is said to burn to the lowest sheol (or sheol below), and "consume the earth and her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the mountains" (Deut. xxxii: 22). In the mountain-side the Hebrews had their places of burial. The reference is wholly to this earth.

2. *Sheol occurs four times in Samuel and Kings.* "The Lord bringeth down to sheol and bringeth up," 1 Sam. ii: 6. There will be passages before long, which will show how the Lord bringeth up from sheol. In the next passage we have the "sorrows of sheol," which are such sorrows as would bring one to sheol or grave (2 Sam. xxii: 6). David is speaking of the snares his enemies laid for him, from which he barely escaped. David, being about to die, enjoins on Solomon not to let Joab go to sheol in peace, but to bring him to sheol with blood (1 Kings ii: 6, 9). Of course sheol is the grave.

3. *Sheol occurs eight times in Job.* People vanish away in sheol (vii: 9). The divine presence is high as heaven and deeper than sheol (xi: 18). Job prayed that God would hide him in sheol (xiv: 13). If he waited he would go there at last (xvii: 13). Sheol is in the dust (xvii: 16). It is here rendered *pit.* Wealthy men are liable to go down in a moment to sheol (xxi: 13). Sheol consumes its inmates (xxiv: 19). Sheol is the limit of our vision, but not of God's (xxvi: 6). The passage is obscure.

4. *Sheol occurs sixteen times in the Psalms.* There is no one to give God thanks in sheol (vi: 5). If this be true then sheol is not a place of spirits, good and bad, as Dr. Briggs and others suppose. Good spirits surely would give God thanks. "The wicked shall be turned into sheol" (ix: 17). This is the way a victorious army treats its fallen enemies; it turns them into the grave. Some of the Psalms of David are plainly war songs—such is the psalm that has the foregoing passage; they were sung or recited when the army was going into battle. These psalms were read with much enthusiasm on both sides in our civil war. Again, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in sheol; neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption" (xvi: 10). *Soul* is the rendering of a word that quite as often has the sense of *life.* It has this meaning in the passage before us. Peter quotes

it on the day of Pentecost, and applies it to the resurrection of Christ from the tomb. God did not leave His life in the grave nor allow His body to see corruption. His resurrection was too soon for putrefaction to set in. The sorrows of sheol (xviii: 5) we have had before (2 Sam. xxii: 6), and the meaning was then given. To bring up the soul or life from sheol (xxx: 3) is to restore one from a dangerous illness or some other exposure to death. Again, sheol is a place of silence (xxxi: 17). Sometimes men are buried in sheol with as little feeling as we would bury a sheep. Death feeds on men (xlix: 14). Here sheol is found twice in one verse. God redeems the soul (life) from the power of sheol (xlix: 15). We have had two or three such passages.

David prayed that his enemies might go down quick (alive) into sheol (lv: 15)—into no worse place, probably, than the grave. The sense is expressed in the context, "God shall bring them down into the pit of destruction." David was delivered from the lowest sheol (lxxxvi: 13). Not the lowest sheol, but sheol below. He says, "Violent men have sought after my soul." No, not his soul, it was his life they were after, but they failed to get it. Again, David says, "My life draweth nigh unto sheol"—the same original word rendered about equally life and soul. No man can deliver his soul from sheol (lxxxix: 48). If this place is hell, all must go there. Often "his soul" means "himself."

The pains of sheol (cxvi: 3) and sorrows of sheol are the same. Such pains or sorrows got hold of David while he was on the earth. The same David said, "If I make my bed in sheol, thou [God] art there" (cxxxix: 8). Such a place was one of rest and sleep—of "sleep that knows no waking." David was too wise to think of making his bed where sleep was impossible. "Our bones are scattered at the mouth of sheol" (cxli: 7). This was often verified in the East, where graves are not protected against the ravages of wild beasts.

5. *Sheol occurs nine times in Proverbs.* "Let us swallow them up alive as sheol" (i: 12). This is the language of a robber, trying to persuade others to join him. As sheol swallows the dead, is the meaning probably. Of a bad woman we read, "Her feet go down to death; her steps take hold on sheol" (v: 5). This is an example of parallelism in Hebrew poetry, wherein *death* and *grave* are convertible terms. To give sheol the meaning of "hell," or "place of spirits," is to change sense into nonsense. "Her house is the way to sheol, going down to the chambers of death" (vii: 27), the same as the preceding. "He knoweth not that the

dead are there, and that her guests are in the depths of sheol" (ix: 18), another example like the two preceding ones. By a figure of speech, prolepsis, these devotees of sensuality are regarded as being already, where they soon would be—dead and in the grave as the result of their evil practices.

God can look beyond death and sheol; how much more into the hearts of men? (xv: 11). "The way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from sheol beneath" (xv: 24). By a wise practice one may long keep himself from death and the grave. The parent, by a judicious use of the rod, may save his son from premature death (xxiii: 14). "Sheol is never satisfied" (xxvii: 20, xxx: 16). Very true of the grave; and why need we go further?

6. *Sheol occurs twice in Ecclesiastes and Canticles.* "There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in sheol" (Eccl. ix: 10). This is plain enough; sheol is not a place of suffering, nor a place of spirits. "Love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel as sheol" (Cant. viii: 6). We know the grave is cruel; for it takes away our dear ones without our consent, and much against our will.

7. *Sheol occurs nine times in Isaiah.* In the poetic language of the prophet, sheol enlarges itself and opens its mouth to receive the rebellious people of Israel (v: 14). The word is rendered *hell*, but the revisers have put *grave* in the margin. The prophet addressing the king of Babylon says: "Sheol is moved to meet thee at thy coming. It stirreth up *the dead* for thee," etc. (xiv: 9, 11, 15). Verse 11 shows the meaning. "The worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee." Here sheol is twice *hell* and once *grave*. The people are said to have made a covenant with death and sheol, so that when the overflowing scourge should come, they would be safe. But they are admonished that their covenant with sheol shall be disannulled; and when the overflowing scourge should come, they would be trodden down by it (xxviii: 15, 18). Comment is unnecessary. "I shall go to the gates of sheol" (xxxviii: 10). These are the words of Hezekiah expecting soon to die. Sheol cannot praise thee (xxxviii: 18). Thou didst debase thyself even unto sheol (lvii: 9). Jesus compared the scribes and Pharisees to sepulchres full of all uncleanness; the foregoing is similar.

8. *Sheol occurs five times in Ezekiel.* Sheol is once rendered *grave* and twice *hell*, in the same passage (xxxi: 15–17). The inmates of sheol are those that were *slain with the sword*. They *lie there*. In xxxii: 22, 27, the slain had with

them their *weapons of war, with their swords under their heads.* This must satisfy the most sceptical.

9. *Sheol occurs five times in four different books.* "I will ransom them from the power of sheol. . . . O sheol, I will be thy destruction" (Hos. xiii: 14). Whatever may be the meaning of the word, the place cannot be of endless duration. The wicked dig into sheol to escape punishment (Amos ix: 2). It is a literal fact that oriental tombs are resorted to by criminals, to conceal themselves from the officers of the law. But do men ever hide in hell, or a place of spirits, to escape punishment? Jonah says, "Out of the belly of sheol cried I unto the Lord" (Jon. ii: 2). Is sheol, then, the name of a great fish? No, but the fish was the grave of Jonah for the time being; such at least is the "story." The avaricious man enlarges his desires as sheol, and cannot be satisfied (Hab. ii: 5).

The foregoing are all the places where sheol occurs.

III. We will now bring before the reader the Greek word *hades*, having the same meaning as sheol in the Hebrew. That this term *has* the same meaning as sheol, is proved by the fact that, in the Greek version of the Old Testament, then in common use among Jews and Christians, hades is the rendering of sheol in almost every instance of its occurrence. The term *hades* is found ten times in the revised New Testament and eleven times in the old version.

10. *Hades occurs four times in the Gospels.* In two passages Capernaum is threatened with being brought down to hades (Matt. xi: 23, Luke x: 15). With the idea of hades now being adopted by the liberal portion of the orthodox church, that hades is a place of spirits good and bad, each in an appropriate department, Capernaum is as much threatened with paradise as with tartaros. But if hades has the meaning of grave, the destruction of Capernaum is all that is intended; and this is the actual fate that befell that city. It was so effectually blotted out that for ages even the site was unknown. Evidently this is what our Lord foretold. Again, Jesus says the gates of hades shall not prevail against the church (Matt. xvi: 18). This is the opposite of the fate of Capernaum—the church should not be destroyed, or become extinct. As a place of spirits, good as well as bad, how could hades be considered hostile to the church, as the words of Jesus imply? With the view that hades is a place of spirits, the passage reveals one circumstance which we should all be glad to believe. As hades is not to prevail against the church, it is a fair inference that the larger number are good spirits, notwithstanding the

poet's "narrow path, with here and there a traveller," on his way to paradise.

The rich man was buried in hades (Luke xvi: 22). This is the reading of the Vulgate, the Latin version; and if correct, hades has the sense of grave, like the other instances that have been quoted. At the same time the parable is based on the heathen views of hades, which were the same essentially as those of our late revisers and other liberal orthodox Christians. The Jews obtained them of their Gentile neighbors. *Not a single idea of this kind* did they get from revelation. For this reason the passage has nothing to do with our subject. Our discussion is concerning the Bible usage and not the heathen. That Jesus constructed a parable out of heathen ideas, then held by the Jews, or at least some of them, is no proof of the truth of those ideas, nor that He meant to give them His approval. Parables are employed to illustrate and enforce truth; but they need not themselves be true. Parables are made of fiction as well as of fact. A parable is generally made up for the occasion. The character of the parable of Dives and Lazarus does not permit us to use it as proof of future rewards and punishments; for these constitute the parable itself. Such a parable must represent something else—something having a resemblance to the parable, to be sure, but never the same. The context must show what the parable really means.

11. *Hades occurs twice in the Acts.* Peter on the day of Pentecost quoted from Ps. xvi: 10, and applied the passage to the resurrection of Christ. Nor does he hint that this resurrection was anything more than the restoration of His body to life, and His coming out of the tomb. The soul (life) of Christ was not left in hades, nor did His flesh see corruption (ii: 27, 31). The life of Jesus was not left in the grave, for He had it with Him when He came out. Nor did His body experience decay, for He was in the tomb only about thirty-six hours. That Jesus "descended into hades" is the reading of the prayer-book. So far as this differs from the record, we must follow the example of Peter and John, and believe God rather than men.

12. *Hades occurs four times in the Revelation.* Jesus has the keys of hades and of death (i: 18). Jesus raised the dead, and He raised Lazarus after he had been buried. The reference may be to His own resurrection. He had power to lay down His life, and He had power to take it again. The revelator saw in a vision a pale horse, and the rider thereon was Death, and Hades followed *with* him (vi: 8).

The pale horse represents a pestilence; and when a pestilence prevails, deaths occur in rapid succession, and so does the burial of the dead. Hence the Grave follows, not *after* Death, but *with* it. The revelator describes a great judgment, when death and hades delivered up the dead which were in them; and were then cast into the lake of fire (xx: 13, 14. This was seen in vision, but doubtless it had an important meaning.. It is of moment in the present discussion only as it relates to hades. One thing seems clear. It is that death and hades are cast into the lake of fire; and this is the last thing affirmed of them. The passage recalls the words of the prophet, "O sheol, I will be thy destruction."

IV. 13. Tartaros occurs once in the New Testament (2 Pet. ii: 4); and it is implied in the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. The rich man was tormented in that part of hades called by the Greeks tartaros. But the Jews avoided the use of heathen terms, with the view of concealing the fact that they obtained their opinions from a heathen source. Jesus accommodated His words to their feelings on this subject. In 2 Pet. ii: 4, the word is *tartarosas*, and is rendered *cast down to hell*. There is a reference to the Book of Enoch, an apocalyptic work, extant in the time of the apostles, and a book that exerted considerable influence on both Jews and Christians. Peter quotes from it in a hypothetical way, that does not commit him to the belief of what he quotes. A passage occurring but once, and in the manner here stated, need not occupy our time longer.

V. Leaving the word *gehenna* for another paper we will close the present discussion with some general observations, from which it will appear that hell is no part of divine revelation, unless the doctrine is contained in the word gehenna, yet to be considered.

1. It should be borne in mind that the translators of the old or authorized version, had but one word for the two renderings, *grave* and *hell*, and that the former was the sense of the term more often than the latter. It is as plain to us as anything well can be, that in the whole Hebrew Bible they could not find a word for the idea of hell. It is often affirmed by learned Hebrews that there is no such word in the Hebrew language, in the Bible or in any other book. This is confirmed by the revisers, who confess that sheol has no such meaning; and they name no other word in the Hebrew language to fill the place. Finding no word for hell, they made use of the word sheol, grave, and attached to that the desired meaning when the connection would not betray the fraud. The meaning of hell was not

in the word; but they could inject it, and then it would be there; and the Old Testament would not be obliged to bear the disgrace of having no hell. Th people, having no knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, and not doubting that the translators, of high standing in the church, were pious, good men, accepted the new version as an inestimable boon to the English people, as no doubt on the whole it is.

2. The revisers confess that hell is a wrong translation; but they have not altogether rejected this rendering, on the ground, we suppose, that sheol has a hell, as well as a paradise; though there is nothing to support this idea but their conjecture. When our friends die they go to sheol, but whether to paradise or to tartaros is all a matter of uncertainty. Evidently we shall need another revision. "It is only a question of time."

3. In more than half the places in which sheol occurs, it is said to be *down*, meaning in the earth. This no one believes of hell or a place of spirits. If the Bible is of any authority on a matter of this kind, why not accept its teachings concerning the location of sheol, as well as its existence? The New Testament is decisive in making the future residence of the soul *above*, and not *below*. Therefore sheol is not a place of spirits. (See John xiv: 1–3, xvii: 24, Acts i: 9, vii: 55, 59, 2 Cor. v: 1, xii: 2, 1 Thess. iv: 16, 17).

4. In a large number of instances, death and sheol are parallel terms in poetic language. Death and the grave are near enough alike to answer the purpose of the Hebrew poet, but neither of the other definitions of sheol comes within the rules of the art.

5. Many learned men, like Dr. George Campbell of Scotland, affirm confidently that the state of souls after death is not revealed in the Old Testament. The language of Dr. Campbell is that "The most profound silence is observed in respect to the state of the dead, their joys or sorrows, their happiness or misery." This is consistent with the meaning of sheol as the grave, but not with the other meanings.

6. It is proper to mention a peculiarity of the word under consideration. It denotes the grave in general, as the final resting-place of our mortal bodies; but never any particular burial place, where bodies are interred. As we have separate names for such localities, "burying ground," "cemetery," etc., so had the Hebrews. Jacob speaks in a general way of going down to sheol; but the grave in which his mortal remains were deposited, in the family vault at Hebron, is called *geber*.

7. The word sheol never has the term *everlasting*, or any other expressive of duration. An everlasting or eternal hell is found only in sermons or theological books.

8. Rev. Walter Balfour, a learned man from Scotland, came to this country many years ago as a missionary, to convert the heathen of New England. However, he became himself converted to a more liberal faith, and was the author of a number of valuable books, of which one of the most valuable was on the word *hell*. He found sheol in the Old Testament sixty-four times; and for more than fifty years that was given as the correct number. A few years ago, we ascertained that this number was not quite accurate. The true reckoning is sixty-five. Taking the figures as we have given them the true number will be seen, thus: 7 + 4 + 8 + 16 + 9 + 2 + 9 + 5 + 5 = 65.

Hades: 4 + 2 + 4 = 10. In the old version hades was found also in 1 Cor. xv: 55, "O hades, where is thy victory?" here rendered *grave*, but in every other passage, *hell*. The translators did not relish the idea that hell was to have no victory. The revisers have disposed of the difficulty more effectually, by dropping out the word, and putting *death* in its place. But, as the revelator speaks of a time when *there shall be no more death*, this must include the second death. It may be added that neither sheol nor hades is referred to a future state; and whenever the sorrows or pains of sheol are alluded to, the reference is to the present life. The parable, constructed of the heathen hades, is not to the point, as we have shown. The parable was fulfilled by temporal events.

We will conclude this paper with a brief anecdote, concerning Mr. Balfour and the matter we have had under consideration. After hearing a sermon on the horrors of hell, and being invited to add some remarks, all he said was, in his native brogue, "If ony mon wants to be domned, let him be domned."

THE UNRIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOVERNMENT, AS VIEWED BY A PHILOSOPHICAL ANARCHIST.

BY CHARLES CLARK RODOLF, M. D.

Whoever applies to himself the term anarchist should add a definition, if he does not wish to be misjudged, for no word in the English language is more misused and misunderstood. Some of this misuse is viciously intentional, but most of it is the result of pure ignorance. It is less than half a dozen years since the public began to learn that anarchist, nihilist, and socialist are not synonymous; and even now the three words are more or less confounded in popular usage, though they agree in but one thing, namely, disapproval of present-day social institutions.

Few people have an accurate understanding of any of these words; and the ignorance of the public is scarcely more profound than that of many who include themselves in one or another of these classes. Many who call themselves anarchists are not anarchists at all. Some of them are really socialists, others nihilists; while numerous malcontents, who seem to have no definite purpose or plan, and who lack the brute courage of nihilists, the patient hopefulness of socialists, and the discriminating intelligence of anarchists, think they belong to any or all classes. Such mistakes, however, are not confined to anarchists, nihilists, and socialists, and do not change nor determine the meaning of the words. In the United States thousands of autocrats, aristocrats, and plutocrats call themselves democrats; but this does not make them such, and does not change the meaning of the word democrat.

Nihilist and socialist are diametrically opposite in meaning, and both are distinct from anarchist. The nihilist is the gloomiest sort of pessimist. He thinks present conditions very bad. He does not think they will become better through evolution. He is not at all sure they will become better under any circumstances. He has little faith in humanity. He is firmly convinced that present institutions are a bar to progress, and that society has all to gain and nothing to lose by wiping them out completely and building from the foundation, regardless of what has been. He wishes, therefore, to annihilate the existing government, and cares little what measures are employed so long as they are prompt and effective. The nihilist is always destructive.

The socialist, on the contrary, is an optimist. He wishes to improve, not to destroy, the present social organization. He believes that human institutions are a reflex of human thought, and can be changed only by changing the individuals who make up society. His plan, therefore, is to reform present institutions by judicious pruning and cultivation. The socialist is always constructive.

The anarchist is distinct from both nihilist and socialist, though he may be either or neither; just as he may be a Jew or a gentile, a Christian or an infidel. Anarchist is derived from the Greek word *anarchia*, which in turn is made from *arche* with the negative prefix *an* (equivalent to English un). The following definitions are taken from Liddell and Scott's Greek lexicon:

Anarchia—Lack of a leader.

2. The state of a people without lawful government; lawlessness; anarchy.

Arche—Beginning; origin; first cause.

2. The first place or power; sovereignty; dominion.

It is easy to infer how the second meaning of arche grew out of the first. The earliest human rulers, all of whom were usurpers, sought to justify their usurpation by claiming that their authority was of divine origin, themselves the earthly deputies of the arche of the universe, their words the expression of his will. Just as among ignorant and superstitious people idols are always looked upon as the gods they are intended to represent, so the word arche came to be applied to the unscrupulous usurpers, and the original meaning was lost sight of.

This blasphemous assumption of divine authority, usually referred to as the "divine right of kings," has been vigorously asserted right down to the present time; and for thousands of years a reverence for human government has been so carefully impressed on the minds of people by those who think they profit from its continuance, that, while many reject the literal meaning of "divine right of kings," the spirit is retained, and the impression is almost universal that the Creator did so imperfect and incomplete a job when He made and peopled the earth that, if mortal man had not come to the rescue with his profound wisdom, God's creation would have proved a dismal failure —"utopian," "wouldn't work," because of the "imperfections of human nature"; while those who approve God's work and think His laws sufficient without any supplementary man-made contrivances, are called anarchists (a word whose derivation would suggest haters of God rather than lovers), and are looked upon as dangerous people who need constant watching. All of which is but another way of saying that a portion of God's imperfectly constructed creatures know more than He does, and should either show Him how to manage the remainder of humanity or manage them for Him; and that any who dare question the superior wisdom of these advisers and administrators of Deity should be sharply disciplined till they learn to be "content with the lot wherein it has pleased Almighty God to place them."

The true anarchist, who may be styled the philosophical anarchist, believes that all human government is usurpation, tyranny, essentially wrong, an unjustifiable interference with individual liberty; that in the ideal society every person may freely do whatsoever he will, right or wrong, his own conscience and his desire for the love of others being the only restraining influences. A man's opinions, not his acts, are the basis of his title to the name anarchist. The methods he advocates and employs to promote his ideal neither weaken nor strengthen his title. He may believe in popular education, and may favor and practise agitation through speaking and writing. He may advocate the immediate forcible overthrow of existing government, and may join the nihilists in a dynamite campaign. He may feel that time only can accomplish the work, and all effort on his part would avail little, and he may do nothing to bring about what he considers the ideal state of society. Any of the foregoing he may do and remain a true anarchist. The test of the philosophical anarchist is a belief that all human government is adverse to the peace and happiness of mankind, utterly incompatible with a high degree of individual and social development, an assumption of authority for which there is no basis of right.

Philosophical anarchists are the only persons justly entitled to the name anarchist; but popular usage extends the term to a very different class of individuals. Most people are deeply in love with the superstition called government; very sure that God did not finish His work, and that the human monstrosities blasphemously called laws are indispensable supplements and supports to the divine code; serenely confident that the same sinful human beings who (they charge) will not be and do good if they can help it, will nevertheless display intense zeal in providing laws to compel themselves to be and do good. Indeed, they seem to consider human government the cause of all the progress the race has made, and indispensable to prevent a relapse into barbarism. Hence, popular opinion holds anarchy synonymous with confusion and strife, and the word anarchist is made to include all persons who, in contempt of existing laws, promote contention and disorder. With these persons, who may not inaptly be styled criminal anarchists, philosophical anarchists deem it no honor to be counted.

A man's acts determine whether or not he is entitled to be ranked with criminal anarchists. His opinions are of no consequence. A criminal anarchist is a person who boldly, openly, and flagrantly sets at defiance existing laws or encourages others to do so. It is immaterial whether the law is good or bad. Law is law; and whoever persistently sets at defiance a law promulgated by the supreme power of a state or municipality is a criminal anarchist. This by no means implies that every murderer and thief is a criminal anarchist. It is not enough that the act is unlawful and persistent. There must be an autocratic display of contempt and disregard for authority and public opinion calculated to promote in others a like contempt and disregard and to result, if continued, in a chaotic state of society. A few examples may serve to make the distinction clearer than any amount of explanation: The man who sells whiskey in a prohibition state, and the lawyer who aids him to escape the legal penalty provided for the offence; the banker or money-loaner who takes more than legal interest; the railroad manager who ignores the interstate commerce law; the mob which lynches a murderer; the president of the United States and the secretary of the treasury, when they ignored the law requiring the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion per month; the managers of the great trusts, and the attorney-general when he failed to prosecute them as commanded by the law he had sworn to uphold—all these are examples of criminal anarchists.

It will thus be seen that the criminal anarchist is the logical opposite of the philosophical anarchist. For while ready to trample under foot every law which might prevent the accomplishment of his personal ends, the criminal anarchist is the first man to resort to law when it will serve his purpose. His contempt is not for law, but for his fellow-men; and he does not mean that law or public opinion shall defeat his selfish schemes. This is in striking contrast with the declaration of the philosophical anarchist that all law, good or bad, is equally an unrighteous interference with personal liberty.

A prevalent error nowadays is to apply the word anarchist indiscriminately as a term of reproach to anyone who is considered bad. This is a radical wrong against which even the whiskey-sellers and lawyers have good reason to protest. The test is legal, not moral. The man who upholds vicious laws with all his might may be a villain, but he is not an anarchist. The man who steals in strict conformity with a law framed for his special use may be a consummate scoundrel, but he is not an anarchist. He who boldly defies and resists bad laws may be a criminal anarchist, though brave, noble, and patriotic. John Hancock, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, George Washington, Samuel Adams, and all those illustrious heroes of revolutionary days may have been anarchists. If they were, the American people are not likely on that account to disown them.

Some months ago the press was regaling us almost daily with accounts of deeds of violence committed in the leading cities of Europe by men who both by themselves and others were styled anarchists. The accounts, however, showed that, while they may have been nihilists, they certainly were not philosophical anarchists. They seemed to be a lot of desperadoes bent upon doing all the harm they could, their hearts filled with hatred for everyone whose position gave the slightest ground for supposing that he was in part responsible for the real or fancied wrongs from which these wretches thought they were suffering. There was nothing in their actions to suggest that they were opposed to governments in general. The only reform they seemed to desire was that they should become the oppressors; or possibly they hoped, by intimidating those in authority, to secure certain desired legislation. Some, however, seemed to be impelled by even baser motives than those just given. Santo, the murderer of President Carnot, was no more an anarchist than Guiteau, who shot President Garfield. Personal hatred, revenge, and disappointed ambition were the forces which impelled these two murderers.

Having thus at some length stated what anarchists are and what they are not, it is now in order to show the grounds for the assertion that human governments have no right to exist. It would be proper first to reply to the arguments of the other side; but if any such arguments have ever been presented, they have certainly escaped my attention. The fact is that men find government in force when they come into the world, accept it as a matter of course, and most of them are content to dismiss the subject with, "Governments always have been and always will be." To be sure, countless efforts have been made to show the superiority of certain forms of government; but all these discussions assume the propriety and necessity of human government of some sort. So there are no arguments to answer. My task would be easier if there were; there is nothing so hard to contend against as blind, unreasoning belief.

It would be superfluous to deny that kings have a divine right to rule. In this land of boasted freedom, no one believes in the "divine right of kings," and few (if any) would claim a divine source for the authority of presidents, congresses, legislatures, and courts. Americans have been too well drilled in the Declaration of Independence to forget that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." They will not undertake to defend the tyrants of the old world, but will say that in our glorious republic the rulers are chosen by the people and derive their authority directly from them.

What a beautiful thought! what a grand thought! That is, it would be but for one defect: it is not true. Our rulers are not chosen by the people, though some of our rulers are chosen by some of the people. The president, United States senators, federal judges, and a host of other officers go into office by appointment, a process quite distinct from our elections. Nor are our elected officers chosen by the people, not even by a majority of the people. In the first place, a majority of the people are minors; then, of the adults, a majority are women; further, of the men, quite a considerable number are disqualified or sick or busy or away from home or deliberately stay away from the polls; and, finally, there are often so many candidates that no one receives a majority of the votes cast. So, to summarize, the best we can say of our grand popular government is that a portion of the rulers are chosen by a plurality of a majority of a minority of a minority—the successful candidates usually receiving the votes of from one-tenth to one-twentieth of their constituents.

It may be urged that the above criticisms are aimed at the methods rather than the principles of government; that it would be folly to allow a voice in the government to those who have not reached years of discretion; that we are extending the suffrage to women in many places and will ere long wipe out that relic of barbarism which denies them equal rights with men; that persons of unsound mind could not vote intelligently; that it would be possible to so revise the method of casting and collecting the ballots as to permit every sick and busy man to vote; that certain safeguards are indispensable to a pure ballot; that those who deliberately stay away from the polls give tacit consent and approval; that a government by the majority we already have in theory and soon shall have in fact.

Let us briefly consider some of the foregoing points: If children, from lack of discretion, are not entitled to a voice in the selection of those who are to enact and enforce the laws, by what sort of logic are they held legally or morally responsible for the violation of those laws? and how do we harmonize the punishment of minors for violating laws in the making of which they had no voice with the principle that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"? In our treatment of insane and feeble-minded persons we are logical. We do not hold them responsible for their acts, and never punish them. Our sole thought is to protect them from harm through the acts of themselves or others. When our government shall deal as kindly and liberally with the dear children as it now does with persons of unsound mind, it will have an excuse for depriving them of a voice in the making of laws. The careless voter deserves more censure than sympathy; but it requires a large stretch of imagination to say that all who wilfully refuse to vote thereby approve or consent to the wrongs of successful candidates. Silence is often the only available means of expressing disapproval of the actions of packed conventions.

But, to get nearer to the heart of the question, why should the majority control the minority? Whence comes their right to dictate? Are they less liable to err? Is it not a matter of history that questions remain in controversy only so long as the majority are wrong? and that when a majority are right the question is quickly settled and the controversy ended? Is not human progress simply the correction of the errors of the majority? There are times when both majority and minority are wrong. In such case the question, after a wearisome wrangle, often long drawn out, unable longer to attract popular attention, is dropped. *Vide* tariff. But does not experience justify the assumption that in nearly all controversies the majority are wrong, and rule by might instead of right?

However, suppose the majority are right. It is a basic principle with us that all are equal and free; and this is universally construed to mean that no individual, as an individual, has a right to dictate to another. Surely, no person can give to another that which he does not possess. Society is an aggregation of individuals, and its rights and powers cannot possibly exceed the sum total of the rights and powers of its individual members. Assuming that we have a population of seventy millions and a government that truly represents the sentiments of all but one lone individual, the right of the government to control that individual may be accurately expressed by the following equation:

0 × 69,999,999 = The right of the majority to rule the minority.

But it is possible to conceive of unanimous consent in the choice of rulers and the enactment of law, or unanimous consent to abide by the will of the majority; and this brings us to the real question, namely, the right of government to exist by consent, the right of men to consent to be governed. For one hundred and nineteen years that immortal document, the Declaration of Independence, has stood before the world, hated and feared by tyrants, admired by philosophers, and adored by the American people; but its sublime grandeur seems not to have been appreciated or even seen. Men boast of their inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and with the boast still on their lips begin disputing over which of two sets of men shall take charge of those rights for them.

An attempt to prove that the right to life and liberty is inalienable would be superfluous. For more than a century that truth has been declared self-evident, and the words have echoed from every rostrum and platform and pulpit in America. In all that time no one has arisen to dispute it. The simple statement, then, is enough: Life and liberty are inalienable. Glorious thought! Not only have we a right to life and a right to perfect liberty in the pursuit of happiness, but we cannot by our own act dispose of these rights, even for temporary purposes. He alone who gave them can take them from us. We can never shirk the responsibility of ourselves. We have ourselves always on our hands. In premeditating upon a course of action, we should feel and feel keenly that we alone are responsible for our acts. It should be our pleasure, as it is our right and duty, to burst away from every fetter, and never permit the opinions of others, even though bearing the imprint of legal authority, to swerve us from our manifest duty or excuse us for sins of omission or commission. We can never have a right to do wrong; but, except it be granted him by the Almighty, no other human being can by any possibility have a right to prevent us from doing as we will.

None but an anarchist can appreciate true Christianity, and no true anarchist can long deny the teachings of the meek and lowly Anarchist of Palestine. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself." That is, thou shalt, with all thy powers, seek to know God's law and obey it; for love is active as well as passive. Be guided not by the laws of man, but by the laws of God. "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." And in the doing of these good works, "fear not them which kill the body," even though clothed with all the dignity of man-made laws, for they "are not able to kill the soul." "Judge not, that ye be not judged." "Resist not evil." "Give to him that asketh thee." "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you." Grant to everyone the liberty you claim for yourself.

Oh, what an inspiration! We are free, and we could not help it, if we would! We owe no allegiance to any lord, prince, or potentate, except the Supreme Arche of the universe. Life and liberty are inalienable.

True philosophical anarchists are rare. It is one thing to criticise the government, quite another to deny utterly its right to exist. Nearly every individual in the United States who has reached years of discretion can point out defects in our government, and tell just how they should be remedied—by law. But these same persons are quite sure that a bad government is better than none. Most self-styled philosophical anarchists think wrong should be prohibited. So do czar, sultan, and emperor. No despot ever attempted to prevent anything but wrong, as he saw it; and monarchs have as much right to their opinions as have anarchists. Human prohibition of wrong calls for a human standard of right, and a human judgment to compare the act with the standard. This opens the door to every abuse.

Let no one suppose that philosophical anarchists advocate disorder and strife. No more peaceable, order-loving people can be found than the true philosophical anarchists of the United States. They have no respect for the authority of rulers, but the profoundest respect for the wishes of others. It is because of this respect for others that they are anarchists. No one who loves his fellow-man and believes in divine justice will wish to see any one deprived of liberty in the name of law.

Most philosophical anarchists are tireless agitators, and are trying to show that government is unnecessary. Few of them wish the government destroyed while public opinion is so generally in favor of it. They know that a high degree of intelligence and morality is essential to the existence of true anarchy, and that governments will exist so long as men think them necessary. Men will think them necessary so long as the accumulation of private property is the chief business of life. The accumulation of private property will be the chief business of life so long as the total production of wealth is insufficient to supply abundantly all the real and imaginary needs of everyone and still leave a surplus so great as to remove every fear of material want.

In the most bombastic manner we call this the "richest nation on earth," and boast of our "untold millions of surplus products"; while in fact we are always within a few months of starvation and nakedness. We consume each year nearly as much as we produce, accumulating only the beggarly pittance of less than one-twentieth of our annual product. And even this is possible only because a great majority of our people are without the means to supply many of their proper wants. Fully five-sixths of the inhabitants of the United States would eat better food, wear better clothes, live in larger and better houses, fill them with more and better furniture, adorn them with more and better pictures, read more and better books, and enjoy many other proper comforts and luxuries, if they could. But there is not enough for all, and no one can liberally supply the wants of himself and family unless he succeeds in getting more than an equal share. Hence, all are engaged in a grand scramble for what there is, and energy which should be applied to production is wasted in the fierce warfare of competition.

Those who desire the beautiful anarchy of Christianity, who wish to see God's will done on earth as it is in heaven, can in no better way show their sincerity than by helping to gain for everyone free access to the bounties of nature, and by promoting the establishment of an industrial brotherhood among men. When the present commercial cannibalism is replaced by a system of co-operative production and distribution, it will be possible, without great effort on the part of anyone, to fill the world with an abundance that shall laugh at want. When no one suffers from lack of means to supply his material wants, no one will care for laws to assist him to rob his neighbor or to prevent his neighbor from robbing him. Then none will be cursed by their own avarice, and frugality will not be esteemed a virtue. When there is no temptation to lay up treasures on earth, it will be easy to teach men to seek to lay up treasures in heaven.

All hail, the anarchy of Christianity! the government of Truth and Love!

PRACTICAL OCCULTISM.

THE WILL AND ITS TRAINING.

BY MARGARET B. PEEKE.

In previous articles on "Practical Occultism," it has been stated that all visible results proceed from invisible causes, and to know the law regulating or controlling the *cause* is the aim of all occultists. Like the miracle-workers of all ages, the result has been produced by touching a law higher than is known to the ordinary mind. Whenever we see an effect that differs from one generally observed, we have but to look for a law that must have worked to modify the cause. The forces to be recognized and understood by a true occultist differ from those known to the scientific world, although both recognize unseen agents. The man of science uses that most subtle force, electricity, or a combination of invisible gases, and produces results that astonish the world; while the occultist penetrates a still higher realm, passing from electric currents and gaseous combinations to a world of causes, as yet but faintly recognized; and asserts that there is a law above known law, and mind is the ultimate cause. Instead of mind we will say spirit governs all things and operates through *thought force*, as electricity works along the wires of a telegraph.

In the world of humanity we find a condition of things that cannot be explained away by any known law. Heredity will not account for it, neither will environment nor physical conditions. Even mental power will not prove a sufficient cause for the result produced. It has frequently been seen that from an ancestry of inferior minds; from parents weakened by age or disease; in circumstances unfavorable to all development, a genius has been born, who has left an impress upon all succeeding ages. Who can account for this? If heredity is a law it must be unchanging. Who would dare predict what child can be expected from a certain ancestral line? If environment is the power so many would have us believe, why have we found the world's heroes among the obscure, and why from exactly the same environment do we find such a variety of natures? If vigor of parentage has aught to do with the problem, should we not find the geniuses born when parents were at their best? The facts are these, that frequently the most ordinary children are born under the most favorable conditions, and when age has enfeebled and disease weakened, a child of marvellous powers is brought forth. We must look elsewhere for the cause of all differences between one human being and another, and occultism asserts that this cause is to be found in *will*—its concentration, training, and direction. Between man and man it is *will*. Between race and race it is *will* and its development. Between era and era it is the *will* of the masses along certain lines that mark that time as different from other times. Ever and always we shall find *will* the secret cause working according to a fixed law toward certain assumed ends.

To define *will* is not easy. One writer calls it the "centrestance from which the rim of circumstance grows," meaning that, according to its centre in amount, will be the circle of its influence. Mystics have asserted that "God and *will* are synonymous terms," while the doctrine of the Rosy-Cross calls it, "the great motive power of the human ego," by which all the desires of the lower nature are held in check that the higher nature may find expression. In the history of mankind, whether we study it along secular or religious lines, it has ever been true, that whoever has come to the front in art, science, or literature has done so, not by any greater amount of talent, but by greater persistency and power of will. All conquerors, all achievers, all miracle-workers, have wrought through this same mighty agent. Jesus of Nazareth, the central figure of the ages asserted, "Whosoever *will* may enter the kingdom," and again, "Ye *will* not come unto me that ye might have light." A German writer speaking of this power says, "Will is a fluid like electricity, but far more subtle and powerful, and subject always to control by mind-action." Another writer calls it the "divine energos, white, pure, a miracle-working potentiality which only comes to the soul that is unshackled by the senses." "The will imparts any quality to the individual," says another. "The basic principle of all development is the will. It is all. Every faculty of the mind, every nerve of the body centres in it," echoes another; while the whole is summed up in the words of Jehovah, "*I am that I am*"—or, "*I will be what I will to be.*"

If there is a fluid more subtle and more powerful than electricity; if all achievement on all lines has been the result of this force; if men who have gained the heights and won the recognition of the world, have, either consciously or unconsciously, possessed a knowledge of this; can we imagine any pursuit more profitable than the study of *will*—its *law*, and the training necessary to possess and use it? Is not the next step of racial ascent to be in this direction, to the end that what has hitherto been a special gift, may become universal?

Recognizing this fluid, we find its manifestation on all three stages of man's existence. On the physical or sense plane, it trains the muscles, it governs appetites and passions, and regulates the desires. On the mental, it stimulates man to exertions and labors Herculean, and through these the events of time are materially affected. It is the power that drove Disraeli to accomplish the marvellous transformation from the obscure Hebrew lad of London streets to the prime minister of England and gave him the opportunity to say to the world, "Any man can be anything he *wills* to be." On the spiritual plane, this divine energos affects the forces of space, and becomes the magician that knows past, present, and future, and delivers the body from pain and disease.

Whenever an individual awakens from the sleep of habitude or animality, and reaches out for a higher plane of existence, he finds the *will* stands ready to do his bidding. It may be weak and fitful, but it can soon be made strong and persistent. But wherever an individual finds himself when awakened, right there must the work begin. No one can hope to rise to a higher plane until the lower is completely mastered by the will. To live in the animal nature and expect to be emancipated from it by some unseen power from without, is against every law of nature. As well might a man expect an angel to come to his relief, if sinking in a swamp. All progress must be made from within, by the law of *will*.

If it was necessary that Franklin's discovery should wait for utilization, until a man should be born who could apply it to practical purposes, and if it has taken many decades to place in man's hands the inventions of an Edison or a Tesla, is it not evident that the practical application of this more subtle force will require even a longer time? Must not the specialist first apply its law, before it can become universal? If so, have there been, during the progress of man's development, any who have mastered this force, and, either consciously or unconsciously, made it of practical value? The leaders of all ethnic religions have been just such specialists. They have reached out after a something only *felt*, but not perceived, and thus reaching have been lead into the solitudes and wildernesses until they have attained, and having attained, they have proved to the world that there is a *law above law*. This on the physical plane is illustrated by the swimmer. The natural law says, "All bodies heavier than water must sink," and the man who ventures out too far without a knowledge of swimming is lost; while he who knows the higher law rules the waves and is safe. This knowledge is the wisdom of the true occultist. It is something more than is possessed by a mere man of brains, and can only be obtained by long and serious self-discipline until it is a part of the individual. Mere knowledge of the mind is but a parrot-like imitation of the real, and the specialists of all ages, Moses, Daniel, Elijah, Paul, Jesus, and others of Bible-history, as well as Buddha, Zoroaster, and leaders of ethnic religions, and such as Apollonius of Tyanæ, Cornelius Agrippa, Jacob Boehme, Robert Flood and a host of others, are known and remembered because they had an experimental knowledge that others had not. This was based on *the power of concentration of the will*. One who was trained in Egypt and attained great power, wrote, "We hold that there are ætherial spacial centres of love, energy, and power, that might be reached by a vast number, who, lacking *will*, drone and doze away life, and die half-ripe, failing the power they might have attained."

Taking for granted that the German writer and others were right in asserting the existence of a universal force in nature more subtle and more powerful than electricity, we have next to decide upon its field of action and how we are to attain a control over it.

Will may be divided into two kinds, viz., universal and individual. Like the air, as long as it is not separated from the atmosphere around, it is general, but once inhaled, it becomes the breath of the individual, and as such its uses are at once turned into specific channels for the individual's health. The will, absorbed into an individual, has the power of working in two directions. As Jacob Boehme says, "Man's will can grow upward, and become a lily, or downward into the ground and become mere root. The one seeks light, the other darkness." Whenever a soul is born a spark of will is its heritage from God the Father of all will. This may be used solely on the lower or physical plane, or, stirred by ambition and inherent tendencies, may control mental activities; or it may reach out toward the Divine, and subordinate all else to this desire. As athletes show their purpose, by controlling desires for injurious articles of food or drink, and exercising a strong *will* in order that they may win a victory, so in the higher realms we may know each man's will by his life.

The duality of the will, or its power to be directed by the law of attraction in two directions, is plainly seen in the vegetable world. The seed has in itself the living principle. Placed in proper conditions, this principle begins to expand and develop, until we find it working upward toward the light and downward toward the darkness at the same time. If tending too much in one direction, it is always at the expense of symmetry and equilibrium. In the development of man's higher powers the same law is at work, differing only in the quantity and quality of will-force. Intelligent beings are slow to admit that a tree has in its essence intelligent action and purpose; but whoever has watched the roots of a thirsty tree and followed their direction toward the distant spring of water, cannot fail to have been impressed with the manifestation of a *something* similar to what we call intelligence. The roots make no mistake as to direction, and show no weakness of purpose by cessation of action, but on and on they travel toward the desired object, not halting at even a rock that opposes, but going straight forward. In man we should call this intelligence, directed by will; what shall we call it in a tree?

In the symbols and allegories of different religions there is always a temple—an outer court—and a holy of holies. To enter in at the door is never the first step taken by the devout soul. It is after a long journey through the wilderness; after devious wanderings and manifold climbings that the seventy steps of preparation have been taken and man stands ready to enter. On the charts of the true Rosicrucian the pilgrim stands between the two pillars of the door, waiting for admittance. *Will* opens the door, but desire and imagination have strengthened will and brought the pilgrim thus far on his way. These allegories have had a common origin in universal wisdom; the wisdom spoken of by Solomon when he said, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars." Paul, who was an initiate of a high order, writes all his epistles with an esoteric meaning, and while a child may read the words, the illuminated only may know what he would teach by the spirit. He also begins and ends in *will*. If the epistles of this truly wonderful man are read as letters from an initiate to his followers they assume an interest not usually recognized. He was a master—or as he styled himself, a master builder; and he urged his followers to build upon the Christ-foundation, not "wood, hay, stubble, but gold, silver, and precious stones."

A living principle is always one that has the power of self-reproduction. The will is such an one. From the original germ it can multiply itself again and again, until it is like the tree of life, and fills the entire being; and the sources of its strength are to be found in *temperance* and fortitude. The former will not permit the soul (or ego) to be led captive or diverted by the things that appeal to the senses and are pleasurable; while the latter holds it steady under all adversity, and does not permit fear to enter the citadel and undermine and weaken its foundations.

When self-consciousness has been exchanged for the universal consciousness, and the individual has awakened to a knowledge that a higher evolution is possible, the soul has reached a stage which, if compared to a plant, would be where the first ray of sunlight fell upon the little shoot as it crept from its underground world into a realm of light and air, and stimulated it to its highest possible unfoldment. All the germinating processes that went before were necessary to its development, yet were only a basis for its future growth. So with the human plant; so with the race. It has been necessary that it should have the preliminary stages of its unfoldment, but once having attained a realizing sense of greater and higher possibilities, it will never return to the root-life, the animal plane, the groping after God that it has hitherto known. The conflict produced by this awakening is referred to by Paul as the warfare between the old man and the new, the carnal nature and the heavenly. Hitherto all the *will* or force was downward toward individualization and separateness; from henceforth there is a divergence, and part of the will is attracted upward to produce a flowering, and in this effort strives to take the entire will and subjugate it. But the sense attractions have not lost their power, hence comes the conflict. As the ancient mystics expressed it, there is a major and a minor limbus. The former is from above and is the seed producing all things, while the latter is the thing produced. The major limbus is the creative faculty, and has its seat in the subjective mind (or as some might say *is* the subjective mind), while the minor limbus is the thing or being produced. This shows us that the lower self is but a reflection or product of the higher, and enables us to know every man's will by his life. It is from the union of the two that the immortality of the ego is born, as the spark of fire is born from the union of flint and steel. Ancient mysteries taught this truth, and on the island of Samos every Cabir was initiated only after he had experienced this inner marriage.

From that time he felt and knew himself to be a link in a never-ending magnetic chain connecting the highest and lowest worlds in its circle. The lesser links represented the unconscious entities, and the greater represented the conscious. According to the realization of this unity, and of the divine spirit flowing through all, was the measure of power in the individual. Power is born of consciousness and will—and in those far-off times, spiritual power was the aim of all training among mystics, and nothing shows so plainly the great gulf separating a Paul from the modern preacher as the difference between the aim then and now. All fame, all worldly ambition, was buried in the desire to *be*, and to achieve through being. All desire of the present age is to seem or to have, irrespective of *being*.

According to the degree of *will* is the amount of power. In all the realm of literature there are no names more conspicuous for having attained the knowledge of occult laws, than Moses and Daniel. They not only were wiser than all the magicians of their time, but they brought about the recognition of the *One* the true God, in a heathen land. How was their power gained? By the power of *will*. Moses fled from the luxuries of Egypt's court and spent years in solitude to achieve the desired result. "He endured as seeing Him who is invisible," says the Book. Daniel, in one of earth's most powerful courts, denied himself the luxuries of the king's table, lived a most abstemious life, and ended by being recognized as the most wonderful prophet of the world, and the master of all who possessed occult knowledge. *Will* did the work—*will*, that could say to the senses, "Thus far shall you be satisfied but no farther"; *will*, that could say to the animal desires, "Die, that the soul may live"; *will*, that could give up fame and ambition, riches and worldly honors, for *wisdom*.

Will grows by use, as muscles grow strong by effort. Every struggle made toward purification, toward the union of the higher and lower self, not only increases the will, but severs the cords that bind the soul to the world of sense. Every cord severed sends added will in an opposite direction, and freedom is the result. We may not be able to escape the destiny that belongs to us, but we can choose the path in which we shall travel to meet it. "Who are these in white garments?" asked John in the wondrous vision of the Apocalypse. "These are they who have overcome," was the reply, and in that reply we have the secret of occult power. To overcome the temptations of the lower plane, that the riches of a higher may be gained, is an absolute requirement of him who enters the path of life.

Will cannot be trained by another. Self must discipline self. No teacher, no books, no secret can take the place of self-training. Growth is ever from a hidden centre. The selfhood must be awakened to higher possibilities and reach out for a light that will guide it upward. No outward light can do this, for the real self does not belong to the outer but the inner world, hence the light must be within. How can it be found? By intense desire that *wills* to give up all, till the treasure is found, and in this initial step the true *will* begins its work. To be fixed in determination, to be single-eyed, to be persistent, is the secret of progress. "If thine eye be single thy whole body shall be full of light; but if the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness," said Jesus. And again, "Whosoever *will* may come" to the light, thus making will and light inseparable.

Personal *will* is not the true will. Born of time and personality, it must perish as do all that belong to these. Personal will may be held in check and dominated by another's will, while true will is divine in its very nature and can only be guided and controlled by its source. The one belongs to the objective world and rules or is ruled by the objects of sense. The other stands back of this and is king, because it belongs to the subjective mind and is a part of the *All*. It is the creator, bringing forth day by day a new world, producing order out of chaos, and subduing all things unto itself, by separating the things which are above from the things which are below. It is the greatest power man possesses, and according to its recognition it will work all things according to his pleasure. All lesser things must be subjugated by it, and from before it sickness and pain must flee away.

IN FORO CONSCIENTIAE.

BY WILLIS MILLS, M. D.

Again had begun the mighty roar of a great city. The heavy drays thundered. The street cars rumbled. The newsboys screamed. And the steady tramp of thousands of people added to the din.

Some hurried along with steps eager and hearts buoyant; others walked slowly with minds saddened and depressed. The faces of some were bright with hope, the countenances of others showed a wrestling with silent agony. Light and shadow, joy and sorrow, laughter and pathos—always present as there slowly passes before us life's endless panorama.

In one of the private parlors of a prominent down-town hotel in Chicago, a man and woman had just finished a late breakfast and were still sitting at the table. Perhaps we should say boy and girl, for she could not have been more than seventeen and he was about three years older.

The man seemed nervous and evidently had something on his mind of which he dreaded to speak.

"Mary," he said suddenly, "I saw my father again yesterday. He refuses absolutely to give me another cent or have anything more to do with me unless I immediately go back home."

It was a white, startled face that confronted him in a momentary silence that followed.

"Why—what," she began, in a bewildered way,—

"It is a bad business all around," he interrupted, "I fully intended to marry you as I promised. But my father will not listen to it. Like too many millionaires' sons I have reached the age of twenty without knowing how to turn my hand to a single thing. The poverty and distress that would follow if we tried living together would make us both utterly wretched. It is best that—"

He hesitated as he raised his eyes and saw the agony in her face.

"Joe," said the girl in a low, hoarse whisper, "do—you—mean—that you are going to leave me?"

"We must face things just as they are, Mary," he continued, uneasily. "You must see that to a man of my luxurious habits, life as we would have to live if I married you would be unbearable. Instead of making you happy I should make you miserable. You have money enough to carry you to your Wisconsin home and it will be best to go back at once."

She rose from the table, walked to the window and for a long time looked out in silence. Then going back to where he was sitting, she stood behind his chair and timidly placed a hand upon each shoulder as she bent over him.

"Joe," she began in a broken, tremulous voice, "you said you would make me your wife as soon as we arrived in the city. You know I never would have come but for that promise. Father and mother distrusted you — I thought they were wrong—I trusted you fully. I did not mean to be a bad woman, Joe," she added, "I did not indeed. You know I am not vicious. I now see my awful mistake, but it was because I loved you so. And as I looked at it we were just as truly married when we became engaged as though we had stood before a minister. But the world requires something more.

"I beg of you to make me an honest woman, Joe. For four months I have almost daily asked you to do this. Then let us go away to some place where we are not known. I would not care how poor the surroundings as long as you were with me. We can get along someway. I would try so hard to make you happy. And—and," she whispered something in his ear that made him start. "O, my God," she pleaded, "you will not leave me alone now! I never can go back to the farm and meet my friends. Tell me, Joe, that you will never—never leave me!" And almost frantic with terror she threw herself on her knees at his feet.

There was a pathetic eloquence in the plea of this simple country actress that was not stimulated by a desire to win the applause of men; far more was at stake—a woman's most sacred treasure. She was not brilliant, not particularly gifted in any line, but she was frank, honest, whole-souled, generous, and before women possessing such qualities men should always bow in admiration and extend a silent loyalty. She had seen nothing ere now but the bright side of life. All the world had seemed to her a fair landscape where flowers bloom and birds sing; she did not know there were dark jungles in life where upas growths flourish and where serpents crawl and hiss. All her life she had been singing pæans; she had never heard a threnody. Romantic, trustful, guileless, from her angle of vision all men had appeared generous and brave; she had not known that behind a pleasing exterior may lurk a selfish and cowardly soul. However we may be astonished and appalled at the ignorance of the ways of the world on the part of young girls living in thousands of quiet country homes, that simple fact confronts us, and no one knows it better than the hunters of human prey.

As she knelt before him in her appeal the man's face twitched nervously. He was not so hardened as to be completely unmoved. Fine inherent qualities in his nature were permitted in childhood only to germinate, and in an artificial atmosphere had been nearly smothered. His mother was weak, his father cold and heartless. In the society in which he was wont to mingle such affairs as this did not debar the man from bidding for the best and purest women. If he had money, fathers did not object to selling their daughters, and upon the transaction mothers smiled with approval. And so with Joe Rivers' education there could be but a natural sequence—one more was added to the large list of those amorphous anthropoid specimens that everywhere inflict their presence upon society.

"Mary," he said rising and turning his face away as he spoke, "there is positively no use of your saying anything more. I repeat, it is best for you to go back home where you will be well provided for. What you say about our being married and going away somewhere is wholly impracticable. Poverty would make our home a hell on earth."

She did not say anything more as she proceeded to pack his trunk. It did not occur to her to upbraid. She had given him a strong, pure affection, and could not imagine herself using harsh words.

As he was buttoning up his overcoat she said, "You have forgotten your neckscarf, Joe, and the morning is chilly. Here—let me fix it for you."

His face crimsoned with shame as he allowed her carefully to arrange it. Then she drew his head down to hers, and a moment later a still, unconscious form lay on the sofa.

"God!" he said to himself,—"her treatment of me—my treatment of her!"

He watched her for awhile. She was very beautiful—in her dainty morning wrapper and with the ribbon in her hair which he had often told her made her look so well. Almost in the struggle within him that followed, Ormuzd conquered Ahriman!

But as the girl showed signs of returning consciousness the evil spirit obtained the ascendant and he hurried from the room.

During the remainder of the day in a vague, dazed manner she tried to think. She knew that however pure a life she might lead hereafter, the world would never accord to her the title and privileges of an honest woman.

Victor Hugo was right. "What a mournful minute is that in which society withdraws and consummates the irreparable abandonment of a human being!"

In instances like the one presented, above all things should be considered motive. A sad mistake should not be ranked as an unpardonable offence. A woman without the slightest taint of viciousness, who errs through her affectional nature, should not be placed on a level with her who sins from innate depravity. When under a promise of marriage a mere child is indiscreet and the lover plays false, the world has no right to place its foot upon her prostrate form and say, "Lie there forever!" relegating to lifelong misery for a single error, which at the time was comprehended with no appreciable mental grasp! People should be too manly, too womanly to make no discrimination, and blindly following traditional custom, perpetuate a monstrous injustice.

Late in the afternoon she had evidently come to some conclusion, for she began placing her few effects in her trunk and valise. She did not cry now. She could not.

While arranging her things she came across his picture. "How handsome he is!" she thought.

She picked up a bracelet he had given her. "Joe was always very kind to me—"

Then she noticed he had left his ring. "And he prized it so highly," she said. "I must send it to him." And putting it in a package she carefully directed it to his father's house.

As night settles over the city a woman hurries along the streets of Chicago. And—God help her—men will not—her face is turned toward Fourth Avenue!

In the afternoon of a cold winter day, four hundred medical students had gathered in the autopsy amphitheatre connected with a large hospital in Chicago. As they waited for the professor there was the usual noisy uproar, and to while away the time several of the boys were unceremoniously "passed up" from the lowest tiers of seats to the highest. This is one of those interesting experiments often resorted to for relieving the tension occasioned by the daily outlook upon the dark side of life, and is intensely amusing —for the spectators. This amusement is greatly enhanced if they notice, in the flight upward of the unfortunate victim that besides getting very angry he receives numerous contusions and his clothes are torn into shreds.

Sitting among the seniors on the lowest row of seats was a man whom we last saw seven years ago. His father's wealth had been entirely swept away in a financial speculation, both parents had died, and Joe Rivers, finding himself obliged to do something for a living, had chosen the study of medicine. He had not entirely renounced his old dissipated life, but being thrown on his own resources, he had so applied himself that he was considered to rank among the first of his class.

The uproar continued until the professor appeared and then quiet was quickly restored. Professor Smith was the most popular among the boys of all the college faculty. In the delivery of his lectures there was nothing of the routine. He was always clear, comprehensive, incisive. Being a young man he had especial advantages in coming into contact with the students and held the respect and confidence of every one of them.

A table was rolled into the room upon which lay the body of a woman. Rivers looked at it a moment with careless glance,—and then it seemed as though his heart would stop beating! That dark hair uncoiled, hanging below her waist; that brow, that nose, that mouth—surely he could not mistake—

Ay, man, it is Mary.

Lost is the old rounded contour of the face; sharply drawn and haggard are the features; no soft light shines now from the gray eyes—but it is Mary!

The nurse in attendance read the history of the case, and then the professor before commencing his talk, stood by the body for awhile and thoughtfully looked at the face.

"Gentlemen," he began, "I have conducted autopsies in this room for over ten years. During this time I have come into contact in the hospital with nearly every phase of human suffering. More and more as the years go by am I angered and oppressed at the exhibition in the world of a vast amount of needless misery. In this building at three o'clock this morning was finished the last act of one more tragedy. Sitting by this girl's bedside as she passed away, I resolved that this afternoon I should talk to you in plain, blunt words."

As Rivers listened his face became almost as white as that of the dead girl. The boys saw that something was coming and the room was very quiet.

"Gentlemen," the lecturer continued, "you and I know that there is one vice, which in the moral degradation and misery that it produces, transcends every other vice as the sun surpasses the stars in brightness. It is the custom in these days, when men and women actuated by the purest motives attempt to arouse people to a clearer moral percipience of this evil, for the non-agitation class to denounce them in tones most severe. The literature they put forth is termed 'erotic'; they are said to belong to the 'coarse school of Zola', and many other expressions are heard of a like amiable nature. No one can strike a blow at a great wrong without having his motives impugned. So it ever has been; so it ever will be.

"There are four hundred young men before me," he said, sweeping his eyes around the amphitheatre, "I make this deliberate statement, weighing well my words: I believe that over eighty per cent of you are men of degraded manhood."

They turned toward one another with looks of consternation.

"You think I am severe," he added sternly. "Gentlemen, I mean to be severe. There is need of severity. You set yourselves up as custodians of health, and at the same time are engaged in its destruction. What a paradox! *Quis custodiet, ipsos custodes?*

"O men weak and purblind! Do you not know that between the origin and insertion of the muscles of the face fine fibres are dropped into the skin, and that the constant recurrence of good or evil thoughts produces lines that are a clear index to character? Many of you have the foreheads of kings, but on your faces is the expression of slaves! Are you willing to carry through life those cruel and selfish lines which class you among such psychical atavists as Danton, Marat and Robespierre? Hardly less now than in the time of the French Revolution are we justified in exclaiming, *O tempora! O mores!*

"It is quite the fashion among sexual perverts to claim that man by reason of sex is entitled to especial prerogatives. Men!—be honest with yourselves, and acknowledge that this is a contemptible excuse for vicious habits and is absolutely false.

"If this argument is true, then it logically follows, that the recruiters of brothels are engaged in a legitimate business, and the miserable existence passed by a large portion of mankind is in the highest degree laudable!"

He paused for a moment, and then in tones deep, measured, staccato, repeated those pathetic lines:

> We have done with hope and honor, we are lost to love and truth;
> We are dropping down the ladder, rung by rung.

"Gentlemen, she who lies before you so white and still belonged to that class to whom the lines quoted especially apply. Last night she told me somewhat of her history. It is the old, old story—a woman's trustfulness, a man's perfidy, and then that life where human beings are corralled like cattle, insulted with impunity, spoken of with contempt, and crushed, humiliated, degraded until there is hardly left a semblance of womanhood!

"It is said that in the olden time, the mother of Sisera looked out of a window and cried through the lattice, 'Why is his chariot so long in coming? Why tarry the wheels of his chariots?' I fancy that far away in a home among the Wisconsin hills a mother often sadly looks out of the window and exclaims,—'This weary waiting! Will Mary never come back?' "

Nothing could be heard in the intense silence but a suppressed breathing as the lecturer slightly lowered his voice and proceeded.

"No, she will never go back. Never again will a mother's arm be thrown around her form or a mother's kiss be left upon her lips. Nevermore will the father gaze upon his child with pride, or the brothers and sisters turn to her for sympathy and help. Silent forever is the voice that once rang with laughter and gladdened the hearts of her friends. Motionless is the heart that once beat high with hope, and lustreless for all time the eyes that once sparkled joyously!

"Gentlemen," he went on, "in the autopsy that presently follows, our diagnosis of acute gastritis as the immediate cause of death will probable be confirmed, and thus will read the certificate; far more in consonance with facts would it be if the certificate read,—Died of man's selfishness!

"I am aware that such plain talk is rarely given to the students of a medical college and some of you will be inclined to censure. But the Supreme Court of the soul, than which there is no higher appeal—this tribunal presided over by the judges Reason, Justice, Purity and Conscience —tells us that we have no right to refrain from discussing freely a question that touches depths more profound than any other in the realm of sociology.

"Last night," he continued as he placed one hand gently upon the dead girl's brow, "speaking of him who had first led her astray she said, 'I have nothing but tender thoughts toward him.'

"Doctors!—Boys! Continue your present course and your life will end in tremendous fiasco. I beg of you to henceforth be kings! Your profession brings you into most intimate contact with men and women, and gives you especial opportunities for advocating the new thought. You who are before me can, if you will, bring about a social cataclysm. You can create a wave of public sentiment that in its mighty onward march will sweep away the mental *debris* inherited from times barbaric. Then with clear brain and vision unobscured shall we be able to give to woman that justice which now we fail to accord. Gentlemen, endeavor so to live that when baffled with life's problem you wearily give it up, you may be enabled to look back and say: 'I have tried to be woman's friend.'"

Only by a powerful effort had Rivers so mastered his emotion as not to attract attention. He feigned sickness at the close of the lecture and quietly walked out. He sprang on a passing street-car not noticing or caring where it was bound, and sitting in the corner buried his face in his hands.

"My God!" he said to himself, "and that is the end of Mary!" To live such a life for seven years—to have no friends—brought to a hospital and dying among strangers—and then her lifeless form taken before those wild medical students to be coolly criticised and discussed! Horrible!

It was a fearful object lesson. The dead girl and the professor's stern arraignment caused the blackness of his life so to stand out that it made him aghast. The shame, the meanness, the despicable nature of his conduct! It was far into the night when, weak and trembling from the horror through which he had passed, he went to his boarding place, took a heavy opiate and tried to sleep.

All kinds of frightful apparitions succeeded one another in his dreams. Finally a woman kneeled with clasped hands at his bedside. She touched his face with fingers icy cold. Then he noticed that his hands, the clothes—everything was covered with blood! The woman changed suddenly into a fearful-looking being that towered over him holding aloft a sword ready to strike. And then he awoke and found himself shaking with terror.

Late one night at the end of three awful days, he found himself in Lincoln Park. For a long time he stood absorbed in thought. His mind was now clear and he could think in a rational way. He could hear nothing but the sobbing of the wind mingled occasionally with the dull roar of the street-car. He could see nothing but the trees, the snow, and overhead the bright stars.

"I have nothing but tender thoughts toward him," kept ringing in his ears. If he could but kneel before her and touch her dress—he was not worthy to take her hand—and ask forgiveness! Did she know—now—how he felt? Could she see? Could she understand?

Before leaving the park he lifted his eyes to the dark vault above and said aloud, "Henceforth I shall be a man!"

And it gave him comfort to fancy that—she knew.

In one of the worst quarters of Chicago where the sunlight of hope rarely shines and the clouds of sorrow hang heavy and dark, a doctor's office is located. Eight years ago when a certain physician chose this locality in leaving school, people thought him crazy. They said that with his ability and a proper location he could obtain if he wished a clientèle from the best class in the city.

But those who know him say that he seems to care little for money. He lives very simply, and it has leaked out that all he can spare goes toward the help in various ways of men and women to whom life seems a never-ending night.

He has a wonderfully winning personality. He goes without fear into the very worst places. He is as free from harm and is looked upon with as much respect as a lassie from the Salvation Army. For the people have found out that he wants to do them good. He finds very many women in these resorts who wish to reform, but he is often perplexed to know what to do with them, for the "homes of refuge" are nearly always full, and society as a whole will not give them a chance.

People remark upon it as singular that he always treats the errant woman with respect. He never smiles when she is alluded to in sneering tone—they say he seldom smiles anyway.

One day while walking down State Street with a friend they met a sad-faced woman well-known to both, and as they passed he lifted his hat.

"Gad!" his companion remarked, "you took off your hat to that woman with the respect you would have given the finest lady in the city!"

"And why shouldn't I treat her with respect?" he replied hotly. "See here, Blanchard, we happen to know something of the history of that woman. We know that she was deceived in the first place by one of our 'set' and absolutely driven to the life she now leads. Let us be frank. You and I are no saints. We have been engaged in the same damnable business. I consider that we have both been in depths as far below those into which that woman has descended as Chicago is below heaven. There was a time when, a happy, innocent girl, we were both glad to call her our friend. You remember that a week before her expected marriage with young Brown—he skipped. Good God!—As though you and I with our records were lowering ourselves by taking off our hats!"

"By the way, how did that neurectomy case come out?" said his friend, changing the subject.

One night he was called to see one of his patients who had been sick some time. He saw at once as he entered the room that the end was near. He shuddered as he glanced around and thought of a person dying in such a place. She was a mere child, and very fair.

"Well, Maggie?" he said gently as he took her hand.

"I guess you—you won't have to come any—any more!" she whispered.

The doctor was silent. She was failing rapidly and spoke with difficulty.

"I want to ask a—a question doctor. You have tried to—to help me and—I—can trust you. I did not choose—to lead—this life. I just had to! Do you think it—will go hard with me—over—over there?"

And she eagerly fastened her large eyes upon his face. He choked up for a moment and could not speak.

"Maggie," he said presently, and there was that fine sympathetic intonation in his voice which always gave people confidence, "you have an implicit belief that I would be honest with you?"

"Yes."

"No one knows anything about 'over there', Maggie, but I feel sure that you have nothing to fear. You have suffered much here. You won't be called upon to suffer any more. Don't worry."

"Thank you—oh—thank you for those words! You will not—leave me?"

"No," he said, "I will not leave you."

One of her friends had come into the room, and together they watched through the long hours of the night. Towards morning she was delirious, and from words that fell from her lips they saw that in fancy she was again a happy child in her old home, surrounded by the hills and streams and friends she so loved.

A long silence that followed was broken by her friend: "How quietly she sleeps!"

The doctor bent over her a moment and then straightened up. "Ay, she sleeps quietly," he said, "and our watch is over!"

And thus the child passed away—Maggie, with eyes so blue. They said nothing for a few minutes. Then he held out his hand to the girl: "Let me help you to get away from here."

There was a hard, icy despair in her answer: "Too late," she said, " it is too late!"

It is such scenes as this that come to him often, that cause Joe Rivers' hair to whiten rapidly. Thinking over the past gives to him at times torture almost intolerable, but it is some consolation that many times to those wandering through the night of despair, he is able to point out a star of hope.

So as the years go by, he is writing on the pages of Time, "Life's sad, exultant story." Sometimes he is very weary of living this kind of life. But if he ever falters he is given fresh incentive by a picture that comes before him,—a young girl with hands raised in supplication kneeling at a man's feet, and looking up into his face with sad, pleading eyes!

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

A SOUTHERN WOMAN OF GENIUS AND HER WORK.

One day in the summer of 1890 I received a manuscript entitled "Fiddling His Way to Fame," accompanied by a brief note. Both were signed Will Allen Dromgoole. I read the sketch, and at once remarked to Mrs. Flower that, in my judgment, this was a case of the hand of Esau and the voice of Jacob, or, in other words, though the name signed was that of a man, the sketch was certainly the work of a woman or had been recast by a woman. There were certain fine strokes and delicate touches, in a word, a general atmosphere evincing a fine interior appreciation of the working of the human heart which characterizes woman's thought at its best and which stamped this as the work of a woman. I know this view does not accord with the opinion held by many of my friends in regard to mental differentiation, but my experience thoroughly convinces me that there is a subtle quality and intuitional power which is distinctly characteristic of woman, though there are men who possess this subtle something in a more or less marked degree.

I immediately accepted the sketch, as it was something I wanted to lighten the pages of our review, and because it possessed a certain charm which is rare among modern writers, being humorous and pathetic by turns, wonderfully true to life, and yet free from the repulsive elements so often present in realistic sketches.

Since that day the brilliant little Tennessee authoress, who bears a man's name, but who is one of the most womanly of women, has contributed more fiction to the ARENA than any other writer. Her sketches have proved extremely popular, owing to her artistic skill in bringing out the pathos and humor of the situations depicted, no less than the fidelity with which she draws her characters and her intense sympathy with humble life. She constantly reminds the reader of Charles Dickens, although her writings are free from the tendency to caricature and overdraw which always seems to me to be present in the works of the great English author.

Miss Dromgoole is nothing if not a southerner, and her love of the South is only surpassed by the affection she feels for the mountains and valleys of her dear old Tennessee. She is a woman of conviction and possesses the spirit of our era in a large degree. No one familiar with her work during the past four years can fail to note how steadily her views have broadened and how rapidly popular prejudice has given place to that broad and justice-loving spirit which is so needed in modern life, and which enables its possessor to rise above petty prejudice or unreasoning conventionalism when conscience speaks to the soul.

Miss Dromgoole has had a hard life in more ways than one. It has been a constant struggle. It was not until after the death of her mother, who had ever encouraged and believed in her, that she began to write for the public. That was about nine years ago. With the death of her mother the home was broken up, and the loss of the dearest friend and counsellor to a nature so intense as hers, and the necessity of earning a living, led her to carry out her mother's oft-expressed wish and write for publication. Her first ambitious attempt won a prize offered by the *Youth's Companion*, and that journal and other publications accepted many of her stories. "But," to quote from her own words, "it was not until 'Fiddling His Way to Fame' appeared in the ARENA that I suddenly found myself famous, and since then I have had more orders for work than I have been able to fill."

As the personality of a famous writer is always interesting, I propose to give a brief descriptive sketch of the little woman of whom the South has just reason to be proud before noticing her new book. She is small of stature, fragile in appearance, intense in her nature, and of a highly strung nervous organism. I seldom care to dwell on the ancestry of an individual, as I think that sort of thing has been greatly overdone, and I believe with Bulwer that "not to the past but to the future looks true nobility, and finds its blazon in posterity." And yet the ancestry of an individual may sometimes prove a helpful and interesting study. I have frequently noticed in the writings of authors who exhibit great versatility, no less than in the lives of individuals who seem to present strikingly contradictory phases of character, the explanation of these phenomena in their ancestry. In the case of Miss Dromgoole we find an interesting illustration of this nature. Her greatgrandfather Edward Dromgoole emigrated from Sligo, Ireland, as he had accepted the tenets of Protestantism and his people were strong Catholics. It was unpleasant for him to longer remain in his native land. He became a prominent pioneer Methodist minister in Virginia. One of his sons, a well known orator, represented the Petersburg district in congress. Her maternal grandfather was of Danish extraction, while her great-grandmother on her father's side was an Englishwoman and her great-grandfather on the mother's side married a French lady. Here we have the mingling of Irish, Danish, English, and French blood, with some striking characteristics of each of these peoples appearing perceptibly in the person and works of Miss Dromgoole. Though she repudiates the English* in her blood, her sturdy loyalty to high principles and an ethical strength are wedded to a certain seriousness, almost sadness, which is continually suggestive of the Anglo-Saxon at its best. She has the Irish keen sense of humor, which is seen in her writings and lectures, no less than in her conversation. The energy and determination together with the persistency of the Dane, and some of the bright and versatile characteristics of the French, are evident in her life and work, although there is a strong tendency to dwell too much on the gloomy side of life which even the Irish humor and the cheerful qualities of the French blood have not overcome. This is due I think largely to the blow occasioned by the death of her mother and the terrible struggle which has marked her life, and which has been waged against adversity with much the same sense of loyalty to right as marked the Roundheads in their conflicts with King Charles I.

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* In a personal letter Miss Dromgoole says, speaking of this subject: "I do not know what I am. I claim the Irish and the French. I feel the Danish blood in my veins at times, but the cold blood of the English I repudiate."

Her parents, John E. Dromgoole and Rebecca Mildred Blanch, after marriage moved from Brunswick County, Virginia, to Tennessee. Miss Dromgoole was born in Murfreesboro in the last named state, and graduated from the Female Academy of Clarksville, Tennessee. For several years she was engrossing clerk for the senate of Tennessee. During recent years she has spent much of her time in Boston and New York, where she has been warmly welcomed and has many sincere admirers among those who appreciate genius and sterling worth.

Her new volume of short stories merits more than a passing word of notice. It illustrates the author's power and versatility in a forcible manner, and will prove a valuable addition to the literature of genuine merit from the pens of southern writers. The first two sketches, "The Heart of Old Hickory" and "Fiddling His Way to Fame," are semi-historical, and in each ex-Governor Taylor is a prominent character. The first of these sketches is, in my judgment, one of the finest short stories of the present generation. It has proved unusually popular and displays the wonderful power of its gifted author in blending humor and pathos, while investing with irresistible fascination a sketch which in the hands of any other than an artist would appear tame and insipid. It is a masterpiece in its way, and like all her writings deals largely with the hopes, sorrows, aspirations, and tragedies of the common life in Tennessee. "Fiddling His Way to Fame" is a unique and most delightful sketch, which will convince all readers that the author might have made a great success as an advocate before a jury had she chosen law instead of literature for her profession. "A Wonderful Experience Meeting" and "Who Broke Up de Meetin'?" are masterful sketches of present-day negro dialect work. Unlike many persons who assay this field of literature Miss Dromgoole never overdoes the dialect, and those familiar with the vernacular as spoken in Tennessee and Kentucky will recognize the absolute fidelity to the requirements which characterize these amusing and faithful sketches. They are in her happiest vein, and are extremely well written. "Rags" is a pathetic picture of the street gamin life, showing the strength of our author when she paints in sombre hues.

"The Heart of the Woods" is in many respects strikingly unlike the other stories. Through it flows a strain of supernormalism which is rarely found in the writings of our southern authors. In many ways it is one of Miss Dromgoole's best productions, and illustrates anew the versatility of the author. Perchance the manes of some of her Norse ancestors may have been about her when she penned the sombre but fascinating creation "The Heart of the Woods."

In "Old Logan's Courtship" we come out again into the sunshine, as here we find humor predominating. This sketch, like most of Miss Dromgoole's short stories, is taken from life. The bases of her best sketches have been actual occurrences, which, however, required the subtle power of the true artist to make others see and feel the life, with its sunshine and shadows, in the scenes depicted. The play of Hamlet it will be remembered existed before Shakespeare's time; but it was the immortal bard of the Avon who breathed into it the breath of life, such as comes only from the imagination of a genius, and lo, the mannikin was imbued with life.

"In Christmas Eve at the Corner Grocery" we are strongly reminded of the Dickens quality in the writings of our author, without the slightest indication of imitation. This sketch has proved unusually popular as a recitation at Christmas entertainments, and almost ranks with "The Heart of Old Hickory" in popularity with public readers. It is a charming story to be read at any time, but especially appropriate for the holidays.

This volume will take a high place among the meritorious works of modern southern authors. Tennessee has just reason to be proud of the little authoress who has depicted so many phases of humble life within her borders with such fidelity, such delicacy, and such rare pathos and humor.

B. O. FLOWER.

MAGNETISM.*

E. H. WILSON, A. M.

In Krummacher's beautiful parable, Der erste Sabbath, is given a vivid description of the wondering awe with which the "first-born son of creation" beheld the approach of the first night and the outcoming of the stars. From that day to this reverent minds have not ceased to view with awe the star-studded heavens. Though scholars of rare genius have studied the problem of the universe, the universe remains an unsolved problem. Since Sir Isaac Newton announced and set forth the so-called laws of gravitation and their application to all matter and more especially to all celestial bodies, astronomers have done much to elucidate "the facts concerning the stars, suns, planets, nebulæ, and other celestial bodies considered as things, as material bodies moving in space, their elements, motions, periods, their mass, volume, and weight, and their relations to and influence on each other"; but "the system under which the whole mass, the grand aggregation of the celestial bodies is arranged, their common centre if they have one, their present and future positions, the probable or possible changes to which they may be subjected, and the probable or possible periods of their existence, are still undetermined." But the difficulties inherent in the problem do not deter the author of the book under notice from considering the present state of our knowledge on the subject, from glancing at the different theories of the stellar cosmography, and after classifying and collating such truths and facts as observation, experiment, and experience have furnished, from considering "what further progress may be possible in our explorations of this most extensive and sublime field of human knowledge."

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* "Magnetism: Its Potency and Action; with Suggestions for a New Cosmography and a New Celestial Geography." By George W. Holley. Pp. 280; price, cloth $1.25, paper 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

To acquaint the reader more fully with the range and scope of his design, the author quotes the following suggestive paragraph from Professor Newcomb's "Popular Astronomy":

> The widest question which the study of the stars presents to us may be approached in this way: We have seen in our system of sun, planets, and satellites a very orderly and beautiful structure, every body being kept in its own orbit through endless revolutions by a constant balancing of gravitating and centrifugal forces. Do the millions of suns and clusters scattered through space and brought into view by the telescope, constitute a greater system of equally orderly structures? and if so, what is that structure? If we measure the importance of a question, not by its relations to our interests and our welfare, but by the intrinsic greatness of the subject to which it relates, then we must regard this question as one of the noblest with which the human mind has ever been occupied. In piercing the mystery of the solar system, and showing that the earth on which we dwell was only one of the smaller of eight planets which move around the sun, we made a great step in the way of enlarging our ideas of the immensity of creation and of the comparative insignificance of our sublunary interests. But when, on extending our view, we find our sun to be but one out of unnumbered millions, we see that our whole system is but an insignificant part of creation, and that we have an immensely greater fabric to study. When we have bound all the stars, nebulæ, and clusters which our telescopes reveal into a single system, and shown in what manner each stands related to all the others, we shall have solved the problem of the material universe considered, not in its details, but in its widest scope.

Although our author is profoundly impressed with the magnitude of his undertaking—an undertaking that might well appall a well-equipped man in the prime of life—yet he is impelled by a "sincere desire to somewhat enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge and manifest forth the Divine glory." This reverent spirit appears throughout the work, which is the result of long-continued and painstaking investigation into the deep problems of nature. However, the theory advanced and the conclusions reached by the author will not, probably, be accepted by most men of science; for he assumes that magnetism, not electricity, is the most efficient force in nature.

As the author finds no succinct, comprehensive, and satisfactory definition of the entities, space, matter, and time, he asserts that space is limitless, matter indestructible, and defines time as "the measure of motion and rest." And "the union of Space, Matter, and Time is direct, intimate, and perpetual, their correlation perfect and absolute." Reaching this conclusion, he proceeds to consider force and motion, and asserts that magnetic and electric lines of force are analogous. He believes that the experiments of Faraday and others corroborate his view that the magnet is the sustaining power and a source of electricity, and also that magnetism defines "the unity of what are called the forces of nature," a unity "of which all physicists are practically convinced, but what term shall define that unity is not settled." In the author's opinion it is magnetism; for the "magnet presents a system of forces perfect in itself and able, therefore, to exist by its own mutual relations, and there is no other force of which this can be said." He finds confirmation of this view in the fact that an electric discharge will not pass in a perfect vacuum; whereas a magnetic force will freely pass as has been demonstrated by Faraday and Hopkinson. On the authority of Plücker he is convinced that there is a reciprocity of action between the force that unites the molecules of matter and the magnetic force, and that "through the medium of the latter the correlation of the attraction of aggregation with the other modes of force may be established." Hence he concludes that gravity is a form or modification of magnetism. Having no longer a doubt that "there is but one force in nature acting constantly and freely and that is the magnetic force which is the all-sufficient agent to cause the constant action of gravity," he holds that light and heat are both forms of magnetic force, that the sun is a magnet, and that if the sun be a magnet and gravity a form of magnetic force, "we have at command an easy solution of all physical phenomena."

Magnetism in its transcendental relations is next considered and found to be "the connecting link between mind and matter, or rather the medium by and through which the Divine energy is imparted to all matter, and the primary exhibition of this energy was an exercise of God's will," the personal magnetism of Deity being the life principle of every living organism; for "Deity is the grand centre and positary of all forces—the omnipotent magnet."

Experiments in magnetism made by the author and others show the effects of cold on the magnet, the effect of magnetism on growing plants, on the sense of smell, on keenness of vision, and on the sense of touch. In the chapter on energy the author concludes that electricity is condensed magnetism, and that "electricity, light, heat, gravity, sound, chemical affinity, capillary attraction, repulsion, attraction, disruption, and explosion are modifications of it [magnetism] or are influenced by it." In a word the sphere of the activity of magnetism is "everywhere, in everything, in all conditions of life and in all forms of matter."

The author treats of animal magnetism, the brain — its structure, functions, and action, the heart—its function and action, and holds that the magnetic force is "the vis-viva of the brain and the body."

After making it clear to himself at least that the "magnetic force is the agent through which Deity creates new worlds from the infinite store of world-stuff that fills the infinity of the outer-stellar space," the author describes his new system. Those curious in such matters will read with interest the description of this new system which is composed of seven forms of space. These seven forms of space constitute the "universe" which is "enveloped by and permeated with the infinite magnesphere, whose currents of life and force, infinite in number, are forever coursing towards its vital centre." This centre is the asymptoid and is supposed to be the dwelling-place of God. Fitting into the asymptoid and radiating outward and filling all space are the six equal hyperboloids, in one of which near the centre is our solar system. Star-dust, drawn in from outer stellar space by the magnetic force, is forming new worlds in these hyperboloids, or increasing the size and intrinsic brightness of the existing suns.

In the chapters dealing with animal magnetism, psychic force, thought-transference, and hypnotism, the theory that the problem of all life may be solved with the aid of spiritism ("used in its diviner sense") and magnetism is illustrated and enforced by copious quotations from the author's personal experiences. Some of these experiences are remarkable. Not a few readers will doubt the actuality of their occurrence; but probably few will question the sincerity of the author. He undoubtedly is honest when he says that these experiences were real to him; and explain them how we will, we have no right to question his integrity. We may deny his premises, dissent from his conclusions, and prove his reasoning illogical if we can; but we must admit that he is an intelligent and enthusiastic searcher for truth, and that he is more interested in enlarging human knowledge than in winning fame by establishing the truth of his theory. Perhaps we cannot do the reader a better service than by ending this notice of the book with two brief quotations, of which one will show the style of argument and the other the motive of the writer:

"Since matter and force are held to be indestructible, and since force can be made manifest only through matter, it must follow that every organism, animal, plant, or vegetable, is a mechanical structure operated by *some* force. But these organisms are endowed with a force that enables them to perpetuate themselves indefinitely, each after its kind. Hence that force must be constant, pervasive, effective. As we have repeatedly noted, there is in nature but *one* force that invariably and perfectly fulfils these conditions, that is, the magnetic force. Hence if there be no error in our facts and no fault in our reasoning, the inexorable logic of the concept is that there can be no life without magnetism. . . .

"Finally we wish further to emphasize the fact that the supreme origin, centre, source, germ, and root of the new system is Deity. All spirit, power, energy, force; all life, matter, motion are the direct outcome of His will, the result of His laws. Ample material, ample ways and means are provided for the execution of those laws, with endless space and time for their perpetual development. And thus the grand processes of nature are forever carried forward, and thus with ever-increasing reason, ever-growing emphasis, the firmament showeth forth the handiwork and the heavens declare the glory of God."

E. H. WILSON.

SENATOR INTRIGUE AND INSPECTOR NOSEBY.*

Frances Campbell Sparhawk, whose story of "A Wedding Tangle," brought out by the Arena Publishing Company, received such commendation from the critics, has lately written another book, "Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby, a Tale of Spoils," now in its second edition. As Miss Sparhawk has been for years engaged in Indian work, she has gained an inside view of Indian affairs of which, in connection with what she knows of "spoils" in that branch of the government upon which she builds her story, or rather, in which she finds her story, she is prepared to write graphically. Its setting and some of its incidents are the fruit of a trip to Indian Territory in connection with her Indian work, where she gathered material at first hand.

But it is not here alone that she has been behind the scenes, for no person with the least knowledge of politics can fail to recognize the truth of the following scene, and no one who has Civil Service reform at heart can fail to resolve that his vote shall help to put an end to such politics. "Inspector Noseby" had arranged with "Senator Intrigue to find places for the latter's henchmen in the Indian service:

> The inspector had finished his tour of investigation which ended soon after his visit to this reservation, when one morning he presented himself at the door of Senator Intrigue's fine residence in Washington.
>
> "The senator's too busy to see anybody," announced his secretary. "He's preparing his great speech on 'Political Reform.' "

---

*"Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby," by Frances Campbell Sparhawk, pp. 162, cloth $1.00. Boston, Red-Letter Publishing Company. For sale by all booksellers. Or sent postpaid by the publishers on receipt of price.

A broad smile overspread Noseby's countenance. "Ah! indeed," he said. "That's good. But you'll do me the kindness to take him this at once." And he handed his card.

"He gave strict orders that he would see no one," responded the other positively.

"Young man, you'll take that card to him at once," returned the visitor with a threatening air. "And be quick; it's business of importance. It's his business, not the state's, blockhead."

"O, I see, sir. Excuse me."

And the secretary disappeared, to return again almost immediately. "Walk this way if you please, sir," he said deferentially.

* * * * *

Noseby's fair face glowed darkly with triumphant malice.

"Would you like to hear a few extracts from my report before it's given in?" he demanded.

The other nodded. The two men smiled at each other a moment, and Noseby drew forth his note book.

* * * * *

"You don't care to have me go through the list, I s'pose!"

"You can prove them all?" asked Intrigue. "That's to say, Noseby, prove them in your own way, you know."

"Prove 'em!" echoed the other with the very tone of injured innocence. "What do you take me for? Do you s'pose there's the least doubt of my being able to prove everything I've got here? And you may be sure I shan't throw in my asides to you by way of explanation," he laughed. "No, sir!" he went on warming with his subject, "there's no doubt, not a particle,—NOT EVEN IF I HAD TO PROVE 'EM. But that's out of our line, you see. We don't prove; we STATE. In this enlightened age, senator, we don't hang a fellow on one man's testimony. BUT WE CUT OFF HIS HEAD!"

The inspector's peal of laughter was echoed by the man whom his state had sent to guard the honor of her name.

"Pretty good!" he cried. "It's the one man affair that's our tower of strength, Noseby."

With the history of this political "deal," and depending for its sequence upon the results, runs the love story of Chekotoco and Wasu.

Altogether, the book is a worthy successor of "A Wedding Tangle," which gave us a charming love story set in the midst of the most heroic time in the early part of the eighteenth century, the time of the famous siege and capture of Louisburg. No one who likes a vivid and pathetic story of matters "up to date" should fail to read "Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby," and no one who wishes to have people wake up to the enormity of "spoils" should fail to urge its being read.

C. SELDEN SMART.

VISION OF THYRZA.*

E. H. WILSON, A. M.

This poem seems to be the utterance of one that has endured hardness as a good soldier of the Cross. The thought is expressed in dramatic form, and the *dramatis personae* are the nature deities of ancient Greece. The theme has had momentous significance for those who think ever since a conscience-stricken soul uttered the startling cry, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Theologians and philosophers have wrestled with the subject of individual responsibility, and yet we have no consensus of opinion that closes discussion. The last word has not been said. Whoever is convinced that he has a sane thought that may make the problem of life more clear, more understandable, ought to speak, for peradventure his word may prove a "word of life" to many a burdened soul. Whoso does aught to improve human life by diminishing its ills or by inspiring his fellowmen to a larger, a more hopeful, a diviner life, is so far forth a public benefactor and is doing somewhat to bring in the kingdom of God.

---

* "Vision of Thyrza: The Gift of the Hills," by Iris. Cloth; price 75 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

Those who believe that man is a free moral agent without limitations and that all the woes that make the earth a "vale of tears" are due to man's propensity to evil according to the dogma embalmed in the phrase "original sin," should welcome every honest endeavor to quicken, to enlighten, and to educate the human conscience. And those, on the other hand, who hold that the individual is very largely the product of heredity and of his environment will hail every sincere word whose aim is to inform men of their responsibility as shown by the laws of heredity and environment.

It seems clear to the writer that some such thoughts as these and a philanthropic motive have induced the author of the poem under review to publish it in the hope that thereby she might augment the sum of human happiness.

Bound are we ever to teach to men innocent pastoral joys,
Without which ne'er was true patriot born,
Soil of the Earth to protect from false usage of vice.

At whose summons to-day in glad service of men we come.

Many of the miseries of human existence are attributed to the fact that men do not duly honor agriculture. Before Apollo, who is speaking, arises "Earth" in human form and he exclaims:

Cybele! O Cybele! great mystic Mother, my loyal soul's dear love,
Whose glowing breast speaks to the desolate forever of Hope's new
 day,
Whose all-enduring power, whose treasured strength's thy children's
 benison,
A new song wilt still teach me?—who herein asks that, gracious, men
Shall in all their usage unto thee do honor.

Cybele replies:

Know ye I rise in passion supreme and proclaim *Earth* falsified sore.
Know ye that men the soil prostitute, and a continent make foul,
Nature, that's one with the spiritual world in all things corresponding,
Her true uses sacrificed, to evil they turn.

They the great uses of life, of health, and of peace despise,
The wholesome land tilling for falsehood and sin,
Of simplicity, the perfumed incense, perpetual and holy esteeming
not.

But the goddess closes with a promise for him

Who ever
With humble glad offering of his best the heavens by violence takes,
Compelling its powers to descend in benefit and blessing to men.

The author rightly refuses to accept a "strange Providence" as a sane explanation of the troubles men bring on themselves by their childlike greed and reckless self-indulgence. She believes that men cannot violate the laws of God with impunity, be it in the intellectual, the moral, or the physical world.

Strange honor we do a sane God, with logic that to "Deity" or
nowhere
Assigns that which through abuse of culture to mania and uselessness "predestines" mankind.

Man must learn not to question of

Justice eternal, if for some sequence strange he fall on an evil day.

Men close their eyes to the grand manifestations of God's power, goodness, and mercy and

The truth shirk, and, cowardly o'erreaching the pure uses of life,
Mould for themselves and their progeny an iron fate.

Nature is poetically conceived as mirroring in her casualties and phenomena the human soul.

When o'er all the land vice shall cease to be cultivate, nor esteemed
"Industry,"
The race from tyranny of impotent hereditary negations shall rise,
From spiritual and elemental Anarchy growing to pure and
Great apprehension of the divinity of man. Then shall
Material Nature cease to mirror his mania, drunkenness, and childlike greed
By Flood, Tornado, and Hurricane; Earth be visited by habitable
airs
And winds genial, a pacific and immortal clime of glorious youth.

The last quotation shows that the author augurs better things for the future, and with "prophetic mind" perceives that the time will come when man will live in harmony with Nature and yield himself to the guidance of "Divine Love."

When men the great principles of life's true usage and thought
reclaim,
Necessity asking before greed and cash values of filth,
'Tis then the great God in his might comes down; 'tis then that all
Hope
And all Love come down.

Yet cometh to homes of the Earth new friends and true,
And men to Vesta beloved of the Gods, a new song will lift up;
While pest and disease at the coming of Ceres to hide have no chance,
As beautiful and glorious forms of Earth's healthful new growths,
Create by life-culturing hands, take place of death and weeds destroyed,
Then, Plenty from the encouraged plow shall rise, to fill, enrich, adorn our happy land.

A noble simplicity and wholesomeness will characterize the life of men; there will be universal peace; and the whole world will rejoice in the return of the Golden Age. E. H. WILSON.

POVERTY'S FACTORY.*

In this little volume Mr. Krebs aims at being practic*al*, and confines his suggestions, as he himself signifies early in the work, to what seems to him to be practic*able*. All communism, Fourierism, Saint-Simonism, transcendentalism, and Nationalism, everything of the nature of a "dream" or a "towering air-castle," he plainly disavows (pp. 9, 10). To be sure the only *radical* cure for the multitudinous wrong of life, abnormal wealth and poverty included, he admits—nay, urges—lies in the establishment on earth by the Holy Spirit of the kingdom of God (p. 126). Still, while acknowledging this to be the final aim, its attainment, he thinks, is to be helped on and hastened, if not eventually brought about, by human action on comparatively low planes (p. 126). Taking men, then, as we find them, viz., before all things selfish; recognizing that it is the selfishness of the classes having power that has produced the present inequitable distribution of wealth (mainly by means of class-legislation in their favor), Mr. Krebs would remedy the injustice through the agency of the same quality that has caused it, to wit human selfishness;—in other words, by giving the *other* classes governmental representation, and so a chance to legislate, *for a while*, in their *own* favor. Hear Mr. Krebs himself:

> Comprehensive representation is, it seems perfectly clear to me, the practical and attainable goal towards which the middle and lower classes should patiently and unwaveringly push forward. In one word, comprehensive representation is the panacea I have to propose for the economic diseases of the day. Comprehensive representation would produce comprehensive legislation, and that is undoubtedly *the great need of the hour*. Let our representation in Congress be more truly representative. To effect this let the present geographical basis of representation be paralleled or supplemented by *an industrial and professional basis; i. e.*, instead of having merely electoral districts consisting of geographical sections embracing political parties com-

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* "Poverty's Factory; or the Curse, Cause, and Cure of Abnormal Wealth," by Stanley L. Krebs, M. A. A plain statement of the social and economic sins of the day, with the method of their minimization through a modified system of representation. Paper; 16mo; pp. 177; price, 25 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

> posed of a promiscuous medley of industries and professions, let every recognized profession, trade, and avocation existing within these geographical or electoral districts separately organize, and send its proportionate number of delegates to the convention of the next higher or larger district or section, and so on until the state and national legislatures are reached. If it is true, for example, that the farmers number three-fourths of our total population, then they ought to have, approximately at least, three-fourths of the total number of congressmen. Merchants, mechanics, laborers, manufacturers, publishers, ministers, lawyers, and so on to the end of the list, should be entitled and commanded to organize and send their ratio of representatives to Congress, to the state legislatures, and to municipal councils.
>
> This plan would not be as difficult to inaugurate and carry out as one might at first thought of it suspect. Nearly all kinds of tradesmen, laborers, manufacturers, and professional men, voters in the land, are already severally organized. There are the trades unions, state and national brotherhoods, leagues, manufacturers' clubs, medical societies, legal fraternities, and, among the clergy, synods, assemblies, and conferences. These existing organizations could easily be utilized as bases or nuclei and be severally perfected, and then be divided into state, congressional district, county, township, municipal, and ward divisions, and be empowered with electoral prerogatives and accorded representation in municipal, county, state, and national legislative bodies based on a fixed ratio to membership. . . . In the case of small interests, too small to have the number required to entitle them to even one representative, they could join together, or unite with a larger body industrially or professionally near of kin. (Pp. 130–134.)

Such a system of representation, its proposer holds, would possess the following advantages:

(1) *Every* avocation would have, what many avocations to-day lack, a fair *chance* of getting its needs attended to at the legislative centres. (2) Every avocation would be represented according to its *relative importance* or numbers. (3) "The best elements in our communities would appear at the primaries, for all would be sure of meeting there none but their own industrial or professional associates; and, moreover, the places for holding their respective primaries would be selected according to the tastes and wishes of each organization. Saloon men, for example, could continue to meet in saloons, but could not compel others to do so. (4) Better men would be sent to councils, to the state legislatures, and to Congress for the simple reason that each industrial and professional organization would be more familiarly acquainted with the men who are prominent and trustworthy in their respective lines of labor than with men in other lines." (5) "There would be more *real interest* taken in and more *earnest study* devoted to the business and requirements of sound government *by everybody*, for all would feel themselves directly needed and concerned. Government would be lifted out of the political sphere into the *business realm where we think it belongs. Statesmanship is not politics, but business*, and should so be considered by one and all." (6) "If injustice should be done to any interest we would all know just where to put the blame, viz., upon its own representatives on the floor, whose inactivity, lack of vigilance, wisdom, or tactics, laid them open to imposition or defeat." (7) "Vote-purchase, bribery, and the prostitution of the law-making power on the part of unscrupulous

trusts and selfish combines and corporations would be rendered so difficult, owing to the large number of electoral bodies sending their representatives to councils, state legislatures, and congress, that this subtle and satanic sin would be practically eliminated from the political and economic arena. It would require too much money, in the first place, to reach and influence the large number of organized industries and professions; and, in the second place, many of these would be morally far above the reach of bribes; and, thirdly, many more would be intellectually too sharp for the specious wool-pulling pretexts of golden-tongued combine presidents and silver-lined trust agents. . . . Industrial and professional representation would make *too many* heads for bribers to attend to. They simply could not get and keep this refractory medley of representative heads in line."

The method proposed, it is declared, would also "absolutely abolish gerrymandering and all possibility of it. It would render possible the enactment of laws for curbing stock inflation by corporations. It would strike a telling blow at the omnivorous greed and shameless bribery of trusts and combines. It would, in the most natural manner, provide for the adequate representation of minorities, which, says John Stuart Mill, 'is an essential part of democracy, for no real democracy, nothing but a false show of democracy, is possible without it.' . . . In short, industrial and professional representation would be a Nemesis to oppressors and the 'sword of the Lord and of Gideon' to the oppressed. The wronged, therefore, have it in their own power to right their wrongs, and their most effective weapon is not the strike, nor the bullet, but the ballot" (pp. 134–144).

It seems as if industrial and professional representation may, not impossibly, have suggested itself to its propounder on reading Mr. Bellamy. It appears to flow not unnaturally, *i. e.*, without any very great amount of straining, from Mr. Bellamy's idea of taking industrial divisions as bases, and organizing each trade, profession, *etc.*, into a sort of modified trust. In intimating this, it is by no means intended or desired to deny to Mr. Krebs originality. *All* original ideas are suggested by *something*.

"Poverty's Factory" is written in a style earnest and incisive, though occasionally marred by vulgarism. At least two distinct witticisms are to be credited to the book: "the Astors and the Astoroids" (p. 90); "Long ago it [viz., the rule in the United States senate forbidding the previous question to be called] ought to have been relegated to the category *and catafalque* of the obsolete and the useless" (p. 83—the italics are mine). Fairness to the book forbids further quotation or elucidation. For fuller acquaintance with a fresh suggestion in a field in which from present indications we shall need all the wisdom we can get, read "Poverty's Factory."

NEWELL DUNBAR.

INDEX TO THE FOURTEENTH VOLUME OF

THE ARENA.

After Sixty Years. 52.

Ashley. James M., Should the Supreme Court be Reorganized? 221. The Impending Political Advance. 419.

Battle for Sound Morality. A, (Second paper) 1. (Third paper. 205. (Fourth paper.) 401.

Bonaparte. Napoleon, (Part III.) 129. (Part IV.) 290.

Buchanan. Prof. J. R., Marvels of Electricity. 33.

Cheiro the Palmist. If We Only Knew. (Poem.) 302.

Chester-on-the Dee. 175.

Clark. James G., Prof. George Herron. (Symposium.) 124. The League of the Iroquois. (Book review.) 336.

Cooper, M. D. William C., Occult Manifestations. 239.

Cotton. F. W., The Labor Exchange. 141.

Davis. Hon. John, Napoleon Bonaparte. (Third paper.) 129. (Fourth paper.) 290.

Debs. Eugene V., The Significance of Labor Day. 303.

Dromgoole. Will Allen, A Humble Advocate. (Sketch.) 322.

Dunbar. Newell, Poverty's Factory. (Book review.) 517.

England of Sir Thomas More. The, 278.

Era of Fraud and Embezzlement. An, 196.

Evans. Rev. Walter Allen, Preacher and Plutocrat. 228.

Evolution Evolves. How, 67.

Examiner of Failed Banks. An Ex-government, An Era of Fraud and Embezzlement. 196.

Fancher. Fanny L., A Modern Pharisee's Prayer. (Poem.) 289.

Ferguson. Elder M. J., Prof. George D. Herron. (Symposium.) 119.

Flower. B. O., After Sixty Years. 52. Roland Graeme, Knight. (Book review.) 155. A Cottage Grey. (Book review.) 156. Christianity Reinterpreted, and Divine Indwelling. (Book reviews.) 161. The World Beautiful. (Book review.) 165. The Standard Dictionary. (Book review.) 168. Chester-on-the-Dee. 175. The England of Sir Thomas More. 278. Over the Old Trail. (Book review.) 334. Strolls beyond the Walls of Chester. 349. The Heart of Old Hickory. (Book review.) 506.

Foro Conscientiæ. In, (Story.) 495.

Gardener. Helen H., A Battle for Sound Morality. (Second paper.) 1. (Third paper.) 205. (Fourth paper.) 401.

Grieve. Robert, Why the Workers Want. 259.

Harte. W. B., The Gospel in Pagan Religions. (Book review.) 343.
Herron. Prof. George D., (Symposium.) Adeline Knapp. Rev. J. R. McLean. Rev. W. W. Scudder, Jr. Rev. J. Cummings Smith. Rev. J. E. Scott. Elder J. M. Ferguson. Rev. R. M. Webster. James G. Clark. 110.
Herron. Prof. George D. The Sociality of Jesus' Religion. 385.
Hell no Part of Divine Revelation. 464.
Humble Advocate. A, (Sketch.) 322.
If We Only Knew. (Poem.) 302.
Impending Political Advance. The, 419.
Industrial Reform. 317.
Jarvis. Stinson, How Evolution Evolves. 67.
Jones. Frederick T., Kerchiefs to Hunt Souls. (Book review.) 169. The Reign of Lust. (Book review.) 339. Edith, a Story of Chinatown. (Book review.) 342.
Kellogg. Julia A., Land and Money. (Vital Social Problems Symposium.) 268.
Knapp. Adeline, Prof. George D. Herron. (Symposium.) 110.
Labor Exchange. The, 141.
Manley, D. D. Rev. W. E., Hell no Part of Divine Revelation. 464.
Manual Training for Women. 308.
Marvels of Electricity. 33.
McLean. Rev. J. R., Prof. George D. Herron. (Symposium.) 111.
Milnes, M. A. Alfred, Vaccination an Error, its Compulsion a Wrong. (I.) 244. (Concluded.) 392.
Mills, M. D. Willis, In Foro Conscientiæ. (Story.) 495.
Modern Pharisee's Prayer. A, (Poem.) 289.
Morgan. U. S. Senator John T., Why the South Wants Free Silver. 364.
Occult Manifestations. 239.
Omnipresent Divinity. 77.
Parsons. Prof. Frank, The People's Lamps. (Third paper). 86. (Fourth paper.) 439.
Peeke. Margaret B., Practical Occultism. 487.
People's Lamps. The, (Third paper.) 86. (Fourth paper.) 439.
Post. Alice Thatcher, The Great Neighbor. (Vital Social Problems Symposium.) 274.
Practical Occultism. 487.
Progressive Changes in Universalist Thought. 144.
Representative Women on Vital Social Problems. (Symposium.) Julia A. Kellogg. Charlotte Perkins Stetson. Alice Thatcher Post. 268.
Rodolph, M. D. Charles, The Unrighteousness of Government as Viewed by a Philosophical Anarchist. 476.
Scott. Rev. J. E., Prof. George D. Herron. (Symposium.) 114.
Scudder, Jr. Rev. W. W., Prof. George D. Herron. (Symposium.) 117.
Should the Supreme Court be Reorganized? 221.
Shutter, D. D. Rev. Marion D., Progressive Changes in Universalist Thought. 144.
Significance of Labor Day. The, 303.
Smart. C. Selden, Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby. (Book review.) 513.
Smith. Rev. J. Cummings, Prof. George D. Herron. (Symposium.) 121.
Sociality of Jesus' Religion. 385.

South Wants Free Silver. Why the, 364.

Stetson. Charlotte Perkins, Solution of the Labor Question. (Vital Social Problems Symposium.) 272.

Stevenson. James G., Industrial Reform. 317.

Strolls beyond the Walls of Chester. 349.

Unrighteousness of Government as Viewed by a Philosophical Anarchist. The, 476.

Vaccination an Error. 244. (Concluded.) 392.

Vrooman. G., Manual Training for Women. 308.

Webster. Rev. R. M., George D. Herron. (Symposium.) 123.

Wilson, A. M. E. H., Magnetism. (Book review.) 509. Vision of Thyrza. (Book review.) 514.

Wood. Henry, Omnipresent Divinity. 77.

Workers Want. Why the, 259.

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS.

The Arraignment of the Chicago University by Professor Bemis.

Prof. Edward W. Bemis has at last spoken, refraining with rare good judgment until after President Harper of Chicago University placed him on the defensive. In his statement he shows clearly that the Standard Oil octopus and other capitalistic combinations, which are so rapidly destroying every vestige of free government in the broad sense in which our fathers comprehended it, have their tentacles around the Chicago University, and that no man who is true to his highest nature and fearless enough to speak out can expect to remain as an instructor in that institution.

Professor Bemis' words should be pondered well by all thoughtful Americans. They, taken together with the insolence exhibited by the trusts and monopolies of late, the action of the Supreme Court in the income-tax decision, the subserviency of Congress before the money power, the arrogance of the administration, and the terrible increase of the tenantry among the agrarian population of the United States, are facts which should awaken alarm in every patriotic breast. The present is no time for sleeping or for party subservience. The republic is as much imperilled as the cause of free government was in danger during the darkest days of the Revolution.

In Justice to Delaware.

The following has just been handed to me by Helen H. Gardener who has had the age-of-consent campaign in charge, and we gladly give place to it in justice to Delaware:

This additional information concerning the present law in Delaware came too late for the report in the body of the magazine. Up to that time the report which came to us had not been so full as this. Wherever in the report of Delaware the figure or word fifteen occurs it should read eighteen. This law is good so far as it goes, and particularly good because it protects boys under eighteen also, but the fact that it leaves the matter a misdemeanor which is finable and which fine has no minimum limit, and therefore might be one dollar or one day, impresses me as still leaving the matter in a defective condition, although no doubt the intention of Delaware was to remedy the matter fully and to place Delaware outside of the Black List, which no doubt will be done next time.

The following is the law as now submitted to us from Delaware:

Chap. 686, Vol. 18, Laws of Delaware. As amended in 1895.

An Act for the Protection of Female Children.

Sec. 1. Whoever takes, receives, employs, harbors, or uses, or procures to be taken, received, employed, harbored, or used a male or female under the age of eighteen years for the purpose of sexual intercourse, or whoever being proprietor or proprietress of any house of prostitution or assignation, house of ill fame or assignation, harbors or employs any male or female in any such house under the age of eighteen years, under any pretext whatever, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof in the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Jail Delivery of this State shall be fined not more than one thousand dollars or imprisoned for a term of not more than seven years or both at the discretion of the Court.

Sec. 2. The terms "house of prostitution," "reputed house of prostitution," "assignation house or house of ill fame," include all premises which by common fame or report are used for purposes of prostitution or assignation.

Note.—Original act passed March 29, 1889. Amended in 1895, by inserting the words "male or" and by striking out the word fifteen in the original act and inserting the word eighteen.

Alien Landlords.

Last month I called attention to the remarkable editorial in the Boston *Herald*, showing how we are rapidly becoming a nation of tenants. In this connection some figures which were compiled and published in the leading dailies a few months ago are interesting, as showing how rapidly alien landlords are acquiring the lands of our people since the Bank of England's gold policy has supplanted the American system of finance which prevailed during the Civil War and until the greenbacks were retired and silver was surreptitiously demonetized. Among these foreign landlords are the following: Viscount Scully, *3,000,000* acres; Marquis of Tweedale, *1,750,000* acres; the Duke of Sutherland, *125,000* acres; Lord Dunmore, *120,000* acres; Lord Dunraven, *60,000* acres; Lord Houghton, *60,000* acres.

Here are only six of a large number of foreign capitalists who hold immense tracts of land in this country, yet the holdings of the six aristocrats of the British Islands aggregate over 5,000,000 acres of land. It is stated that over 20,000,000 acres of our country are to-day owned by landholders in England and Scotland, to say nothing of some million more acres owned by capitalists on the European continent. Surely, we are rapidly becoming "a nation of tenants," and the birthright of freedom so dearly bought by our fathers is rapidly slipping away through the lethargy and dissension among the wealth-creators and the solidarity and cunning of the acquirers of wealth.

In this connection I would quote the remarks made by Hon. John Davis in the house of representatives in November, 1893, when the Republican and Democratic papers were crying in unison, "Repeal the silver clause of the Sherman act and general prosperity will follow!" Prosperity for the bond syndicates and the usurer class did follow. These are Mr. Davis' words:

> Our creditors claim that government money (which will buy more than the money we borrowed) is not good and should be destroyed; that the silver coin of the constitution is base metal, and should be discarded (except the light coins for small payments to labor). Our creditors claim that these billions of mortgage debts must be paid in gold coin only or we must surrender our homes! And we are surrendering them in the West as fast as time can move and the courts can grind. In the East the conditions are as bad. Hon. Joseph H. Walker, of Worcester, Mass., stated on the floor of the House in May, 1892, that the farms of New England are worth about half the cost of improvements. This means that the lands go for nothing and half the improvements thrown in.
>
> Sir, our farmers seem to be fast sinking into the condition said to have been recommended by a great eastern journal some years ago. The New York *Times* is credited with stating editorially some years ago as follows: "There seems to be but one remedy, and it must come—a change of ownership of the soil and a creation of a class of landowners on the one hand, and of tenant farmers on the other—something similar to what has long existed in the old countries of Europe."
>
> Now, sir, since that policy is being carried out precisely—since the people of the United States are being disinherited through the advice of the Wall-street papers and the masters they serve — since the people can only remain in their homes as tenants in competition with the incoming millions of the Old World, who are content to accept life on the hardest possible terms; or if, on the other hand, we must part from our homes, friends, and loved ones, and each take his or her chances for precarious existence as medicants in the great and growing army of the "overpowered"—is it not a little cruel for the robbers who seek to put us beneath their heels to brand us as "wild communists" and accuse us of being ourselves repudiators? Is not this adding insult to injury? Does it not remind one of the crack of the whip of the slave-driver who dried the tears of his victims by making their sufferings too severe to be mitigated by weeping?
>
> Mr. Speaker, I wonder how much safer our would-be masters feel than Lord North felt prior to 1775? How much safer do they feel than King Louis felt prior to 1789? How much safer than the slaveholders of this country felt prior to 1860? Do they believe that the most patient and long-suffering people on earth have lost every sentiment of patriotism since 1776?

* * *

Statesmanlike Words from Illinois' Much Maligned Governor.

It is to be regretted that some of our newspapers have displayed their own degradation by sneering at these noble, timely, and vitally true words of Governor Altgeld in closing his recent address at Chattanooga. These remarks are worthy of Jefferson. They are not the utterances of a politician, ever ready to face in any direction to gain votes or benefits, such as crowd to the front in the old political parties, which have degenerated until the chief end sought is office and the chief means reckless expenditure of money in deceiving the people:

> Instead of an armed foe that we can meet on the field there is to-day an enemy that is invisible, but everywhere at work destroying our institutions; that enemy is corruption. It seeks to control the press; it seeks to direct official action; it dictates and endeavors to control the construction of laws. It seeks to set the fashions and to shape public sentiment. It has emasculated American politics and placed it on the low plane of jugglery. The tendency now is for political parties to shirk principle and follow expediency, and their platforms are often drawn to evade or to straddle every live issue. The idea is to cajole, rather than convince, to ignore great wrongs and wink at abuses, to court the support of confiding interests though it involves the deception of one or both. We are substituting office-seeking and office-holding in place of real achievement, and instead of great careers in public life we are facing a harvest of slippery, blear-eyed and empty mediocrity, which glides into oblivion without the assistance of death. To be an eligible candidate now often means to stand for nothing in particular and to represent no definite principle, but be all things to all men, and in the end be contemptible.
>
> Thirty-four years ago the call was for men to fight an open enemy in the field; to-day our country is calling for men who will be true to republican institutions at home. Never before did this republic call so loudly as it does to-day for a good, sturdy manhood that will stand defiantly and dare to do right. For more than a decade the tendency in this country has been toward a colorless and negative dilettanteism, having the countenance of the Pharisee with the greed of the wolf, and drawing all its inspirations from the altar of concentrated and corrupting wealth. The flag has been praised with champagne dinners, while the very pole from which it floated was being eaten off by corruption, and republican institutions were being stabbed to the vitals. A new gospel has come among us, according to which it is mean to rob a henroost or steal a hen, but plundering thousands makes us gentlemen. My friends, the men of the past did their duty. Shall we do ours? They were asked to face death—you may have to face calumny and obloquy. No man ever served his country without being vilified, for all who make a profit out of injustice will be your enemies, but as sure as the heavens are high and justice is eternal, will you triumph in the end!

* * *

How the Wealth-Creator Fares under Present Conditions.

There is a great deal of cant at the present time about the easy condition of those who own their land, and we hear much about the improvidence of working men as the chief cause of their suffering. Hence I think that the following extract from a personal letter, in which the writer, who lives in one of the western states, enclosed three dollars on his subscription to the ARENA, will be interesting to our readers. This gentleman writes:

"I will give you the history of the enclosed three dollars. Mrs. R. employed a neighbor and his wife and team to gather fourteen bushels of peaches; the two women and man were six hours getting them into his wagon; he drove them to a distant town next day and returned the following day. The enclosed is the gross return for the two and a half days of man and team and the half day of the women to gather them.

"Mrs. R. saw a man deliver a full two-horse wagon load of melons in town for two cents each; the smallest of them weighed thirty-five pounds and the largest fifty-six pounds; the load brought fifty cents. He had hauled them several miles, hence the whole day was consumed besides the labor of raising them, and he loaded them the night before so as to get an early start.

"Now do you wonder that the people do not support liberal and progressive publications as we think they should? In the first place, they cannot get the money; and in the second place, they are in much the mental and physical condition that the blacks were in years past. Their gaze is fixed on the ground; their faces are turned downward; when they cease to toil the brain is passive or dormant; the body is exhausted as well as the brain. Thirdly, they were never trained from birth to 1895 to think for the purpose of mental improvement."

This same gentleman, later in the letter, in speaking of what might be done if the unfortunates were treated kindly, encouraged, uplifted, and educated, says: "To show what can be done I shall state what has been done here in this connection: We took in a poor girl last winter without clothes or shelter; within six months from the time we took her, having been clothed, fed and trained in the ways of labor and living in general, we put her into a good family at two dollars per week. A hundred more, men and women, with proper organization and effort could have been placed without that omnipresent god—money."

* * *

The Republic as It Should Be and as It Is.

In an address recently delivered in Boston, Rev. A. D. Mayo said:

> If Ambassador Bayard was really lifted into that realm of diplomatic obscurity, where he gravely informed the English people that "it required a remarkably great man to govern the American people, and that President Cleveland was that man," he should straightway be recalled and matriculated in the class in civics in the Boston English high-school for advanced study in the constitution of American society. Even George Washington, the most statuesque figure in American statesmanship, never dreamed that he "governed" that little contentious Union of thirfeen quarrelsome colonies of which he was elected the first president. And that man or that combination of men which is laboring under the fond delusion that it "governs this American people" is doomed to an awakening of large proportions.

These words set forth the condition as it should be, but let us frankly face the question and ask ourselves if the facts warrant such conclusions. Our president has during the past three years proved himself more Hamiltonian than any executive who has ever occupied the presidential chair. Our congress, despite the enormous pressure brought to bear by capitalism, forced through an income tax. A hearing was had on the constitutionality of the act in the supreme court, but as a full bench was wanting a second vote was taken and the absent justices voted for the law in conformity to the uniform rulings of the supreme court for a century. It was suddenly discovered, however, that during the six weeks which elapsed between the hearings one of the supreme judges had experienced a change of heart, and his vote killed the bill.

There is altogether too much rainbow-chasing among a certain class of well-meaning opportunists who do not, or will not, recognize the gravity of our present political situation. As patriotic Americans it is our duty to refuse to countenance the prophets who are crying, "All is well," at a crisis like the present. We are having altogether too much firing of sky-rockets and hurrahing and altogether too little teaching of the great *principles of human responsibility, of man's duty to man, of justice, and of equity;* too much of the tactics of the ancient patricians of Rome, who throttled the republic while the people were enjoying public shows and crying, "Long live the republic," and too little of the Sermon on the Mount. The time has come when all true friends of progress and humanity must awake, cast off the lethargy which party fealty has thrown over them, and act up to the highest and truest ideals of our age for love of the republic, for the happiness of humanity and the progress of the world.

* * *

The New York Herald on the Robbery of the People by the Beef Trust.

Below we give an admirable editorial from the New York *Herald* of September 22, which we commend to the serious attention of our readers:

One of the greatest principles of the

American republic is that it shall be a government not only "of the people" and "by the people," but "for the people." Therefore, when there grows up, under the protection of the law, a scheme by which the people are persistently robbed, they are forced to protect themselves by an appeal to the government. Such is the situation in relation to the trade in fresh meat—particularly in beef. A few millionnaire monopolists have so manipulated the markets of this country as to control absolutely the cost of meat, not only cutting down to the lowest figures the price paid to the producer, but exacting their own terms from the long suffering consumer. As indicated in other columns of to-day's *Herald*, criminal proceedings will soon be taken against all such members of the unlawful "combine" as can be convicted. That enough of them may be punished to deter others from attempting the same extortion is a "consummation devoutly to be wished." He who robs his neighbor under the forms of law, while freely using the privileges that society provides for the honest man, is the most dangerous type of villain, and the courts should take cognizance of his villainy whenever he can be reached.

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The Noble Work of the Chicago Anchorage Mission.

"Last year two hundred and forty-two different young women and men found help and situations through the Anchorage Mission of Chicago where two thousand lodgings were given," says the New York *Philanthropist;* and yet we are constantly informed that it is useless to attempt to redeem fallen women.

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How our Churches and Schools are Busily Engaged in Fostering the Savage in the Young.

I find, in a recent number of the excellent little paper entitled *Our Dumb Animals*, the following from the philanthropic editor, Mr. George T. Angell:

Armed Christian Endeavorers. — Why not? It it's a good thing for *Sunday schools* why not for *Christian Endeavorers?* Think of a *million of Christian Endeavorers — white* endeavors and *colored*—armed with rifles, bayonets, swords, cannon and gatling guns—and a great Christian Endeavor navy of ironclads, rams, and torpedoes. What a power they could bring to convert the heathen to a knowledge of Christianity! If it is a good thing for the Sunday schools, why not for the Christian Endeavorers?

Speaking of this subject reminds me of an article which appeared in the Chicago *Times*, a short time before it was purchased by Mr. Scott, from which we take the following quotations:

The United Boys' Brigade of America, composed of companies of youths organized under military discipline in the various Christian churches of the land, has just been incorporated, with headquarters in Chicago. The incorporators are the Rev. H. W. Bolton, D. D., representing the Methodists; the Rev. P. S. Henson, D. D., the Baptists; D. C. Milner, D. D., of Armour mission; John Rusk, Ph. D., of the Fullerton Avenue Presbyterian church; Rev. R. E. Morse; Frederick L. Chapman, the editor of Ram's Horn; Dr. Charles B. Morrell, formerly eastern secretary of the National Boys' brigade; O. L. Rickard, adjutant of the Baptist Boys' brigade, and Wiliam J. Robinson. This national organization will give added strength and purpose to the movement and will largely recruit, it is expected, the ranks of the juvenile Christian soldiers. The brigade movement has for its object the development of patriotism and piety in boys and its essential features are the drill, the study of the Bible, and missionary work. . . . It is estimated that there are now close to 1,000 companies in the United States all of which, it is hoped, will unite in this new movement, which bids fair to rival any organization of modern times in numbers and power, and it may and probably will exercise influence that cannot be ignored in the formation of the destinies of this nation.

In the Atlanta *Commercial*, August 2, 1895, I find an editorial making a protest against this fostering of the savage by holding military ideals before the minds of the young. The editor says: "Just now the public school boys as well as the Sunday school pupils are trained in the use of arms and military tactics. Why this is done does not appear. It seems to be more needful that a boy should know the number of stars upon the flag than that he should know the number of commandments in the decalogue." The friend who sent me the editorial accompanies the same by the following:

> A western clergyman reports: "Our Sunday school is prospering, the boys are doing well, but we *need* money to purchase muskets and side arms for the Boys' Brigade." He probably means we *want* instead of we need. The church if true to her divine mission, no more needs arms than the Master and His disciples needed the sword on that fatal night in Gethsemane. The ARENA is doing good work in preparing the minds of men for the day when civilized nations will no more engage in war. To this end all true reformers should look and there is much of gain in that direction. It is a crime to teach children the arts and practice of war.

* * *

Sisters of Charity as Wine Sellers — A Convent competing with Saloons.

I imagine the Catholic Total Abstinence Society, which has done such yeoman service in the cause of temperance, must have been amazed at the revelation given to the world by the New York daily papers on September 13. It will be remembered that last month we pointed out the contention between the temperance workers in the Roman church and the monks in Pennsylvania, who refused to cease to brew St. Vincent beer. But I think few of the members of that society imagined that one of their own convents was engaged in selling wine which was either raised on a vineyard owned by the order or obtained through begging as the sisters made their daily rounds; and yet such was the startling revelation which was brought to light in Brooklyn on the twelfth of September, as will be seen by the following from the New York *World* of September 13:

> For the first time in the history of Brooklyn an officer of the government yesterday paid a visit to a religious institution and demanded to know by what right the sale of liquor was conducted within its walls. And, in all probability, for the first time in the history of the city a religious institution showed a government license for the sale of such liquor.
>
> For some time past Revenue Collector John Kelley has received complaints from liquor dealers of the Sixteenth Ward that the Sisters of the Convent of St. Dominic, on Graham and Montrose avenues, were daily in the habit of retailing wine at a price far below what the liquor dealers could and that, as a result, they were being ruined by an institution they helped to support.
>
> They complained that any morning women and children could be seen leaving the Graham-avenue entrance, carrying demijohns filled with wine. The complaint was also made that clothing was being retailed.
>
> Yesterday morning Deputy Internal Revenue Inspector James Quinn called on the Sisters for explanation and was shown a revenue license, but no city license. The Sisters informed him that they had been in the habit of selling wine, but had not done so for several days. Inspector Quinn left, satisfied that, so far as the government was concerned, the Sisters were complying with the law. "If any action is to be taken now," he said, "it can only be by the city authorities."
>
> The convent was visited by a *World* reporter. Mother Surplice, who since the death of Mother Superior Barth has been in charge, could not be seen, but Sister Udocia spoke for her, frequenty leaving the room to take counsel from her absent superior.
>
> Sister Udocia admitted the selling of wine, and said that the custom had been stopped for a few days. The wine, she at first said, came from a vineyard owned by the order in California, and shortly afterwards made the statement that the wine was collected by the Sisters on the rounds of charity. She admitted the visit of the "man from the government," and said that he left perfectly satisfied. Asked concerning the fact that women and children left the institution carrying demijohns, a Sister answered, "A good deal of the wine is given away."
>
> Seven years ago, John Orr, a builder, then living at No. 355 Vernon avenue, constructed a wine cellar in the basement of the institution, 100 feet square. Golden weddings, silver weddings and receptions have been held in the large hall of the convent, and on these occasions wine has been sold.
>
> On July 4, 1894, the golden wedding of ex-Charity Commissioner John Raber was celebrated there by a big banquet, at which the orphan girls acted as waitresses, and wine was served. The bill was afterwards paid by Mr. Raber.
>
> During the lifetime of the late Mon-

signor May and Mother Superior Barth only grumblings were heard in the ward. Since their deaths, however, the grumblings have assumed the proportion of a storm, and the alleged violations of the excise law could no longer be overlooked.

In view of the warning of Mgr. Satolli and the action of the recent Roman Catholic Total Abstinence Convention on the brewing of beer and distilling of wine by monks, the merchants of the Sixteenth Ward, many of whom are members of the Church of the Most Holy Trinity, on Montrose avenue, adjoining the Convent and Home of St. Dominic, anxiously await whatever action may be taken by the city authorities.

* * *

How the Tories of To-day are Conquering our Sleeping Republic.

A striking illustration of the manner in which plutocracy seeks to enslave the people through manufacturing public opinion by means of great newspapers of the day exists in the fight now being waged between the capitalists who own the St. Louis *Post-Despatch* and Editor Jones of that paper. Mr. Jones, having proved himself one of the most successful and brilliant editors in America, was engaged by the St. Louis *Post-Despatch* under contract for five years. Being himself a strong believer in free silver, and knowing that the rank and file of the people of the country were opposed to the Bank-of-England and Wall-Street financial policy, he has stood out for honest money against the usurer class, and for this has been given his "walking ticket," says the Boston *Herald* of October 2; but the editor immediately obtained an injunction from the courts to prevent anybody from disturbing him, on the ground that he had contracted to run the paper for five years and could not be molested during that time. As plutocracy is so thoroughly "in the saddle" at the present time, it is doubtful whether Editor Jones will be able to hold his position and continue to preach the gospel of Jeffersonian Democracy in the battle against the Tories who are destroying the republic.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The December Arena.

The December ARENA will contain papers by:

- **Professor Richard T. Ely** *of the University of Wisconsin.*
- **Rev. M. J. Savage** *of Unity Church, Boston.*
- **Justice Walter Clark, LL. D.**, *of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina.*
- **Helen H. Gardener**, *the Brilliant Novelist, Essayist, and Lecturer.*
- **Professor Thomas E. Will, A. M.**
- **Dr. John Clark Ridpath**, *the Eminent Historian.*
- **Rev. John W. Chadwick, D. D.**

Among the Illustrations will be:

- Frontispiece, **Professor Richard T. Ely.**
- Entirely new portrait photogravures of **Longfellow, Emerson** and **Whittier**, executed in the finest style of the art and printed on heavy coated paper.

Another Interesting Feature

of the December ARENA will be the opening chapter of **Will Allen Dromgoole**'s powerful story of Tennessee life, entitled *The Valley Path.*

No pains, expense, or time will be spared in making the ARENA for 1896 stronger, abler, and more attractive than ever. *Beginning with the December issue the price will be reduced from* **$5.00** *to* **$3.00** *per year.* Single copies after this month will be **25** cents each.

The November Arena.

We desire to call the attention of our readers to a few features of this number which we believe will be of special interest.

Senator John T. Morgan, long recognized as one of the ablest Democratic statesmen in the Republic, discusses in this issue the *Silver Question in Its Relation to the South*, in a masterly manner. That Senator Morgan echoes the sentiments of a vast majority of the wealth-creators of the South I believe to be unquestionably true; and I believe those who are allowing themselves to be deluded by the pre-arranged chorus of the gold devotees will find a genuine surprise at the next presidential election in a union of the wealth-creating Southern and Western states despite the campaign being carried on so vigorously in the interests of Wall Street.

Prof. George D. Herron, of Iowa College, opens his series of forceful and truly religious papers in this number with *The Sociality of Jesus' Religion.* Probably no man among Orthodox ministers of our time, certainly no young man in the West, has done so much good work in awakening the conscience of sleeping churchmen and forcing them to realize the subserviency of the church to gold and conventionalism and its faithlessness to the *religion of life* as enunciated by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount as Professor Herron. He has thrilled tens of thousands who are still within the church with a new hope, much as did Savonarola, when the Roman Church in Florence, and indeed throughout Italy, seemed all but completely to have surrendered itself to the lust of the flesh, the greed for gain, and the pride of life. These papers of Professor Herron will be of incalculable value to our people at the present time and will be of great interest to all thoughtful Christians.

Prof. Frank Parsons. It is safe to say that no discussion of municipal electric lighting has ever appeared in any review as exhaustive, authoritative, or convincing in character as the series of papers which we are giving our readers from the pen of Professor Parsons, of the Boston University School of Law. The contribution this month is exceptionally valuable. Our readers will be pleased to learn that Professor Parsons will contribute a series of papers to the ARENA for 1896.

HELEN H. GARDENER closes her series of papers giving the history of one of the most notable, if not the most notable, campaign ever waged in the interests of higher morality. This month's contribution will be of great value to all persons interested in social purity. It is filled with thoughts of vital interest and it also is rendered still more valuable by the *map* made expressly for us, which shows at a glance the status of the different states, and, *with the explanatory notes* and the *codification of the laws* in the various states, gives in brief facts which represent great expense and patient and persistent work.

EX-GOVERNOR JAMES M. ASHLEY, an old-time Republican who as governor and congressman figured prominently during the stirring days when the Republican party stood for the great principles which called it into being, writes in this issue on *The Impending Political Advance.* He discusses some live problems which, considering the point of view of the author, are particularly interesting.

CHARLES RODOLF, M. D., discusses *The Unrighteousness of Government as Viewed by a Philosophical Anarchist.* This paper is dignified and thoughtful and presents the views of a man who does not believe in violence. It is unfortunate that the popular conceptions of anarchy and the ideals of men like Dr. Rodolf should be associated as one and the same in the public mind.

MARGARET B. PEEKE'S paper on *Practical Occultism* closes this series of discussions by the author of "Zenia the Vestal." During the ensuing year we shall publish many papers dealing with psychical phenomena, occult research, and metaphysical thought, of great interest and value to those interested in this realm of investigation.

Strolls Outside the Walls of Chester. In this paper I have aimed to give: (1) The views held by a large body of thinking men among the bread-winners of England by reproducing in substance the observations of the boatman who took us to Eaton Hall. I believe these views will be interesting to our readers, as they are so strikingly similar to the ideas held by hundreds of thousands if not millions of the wealth-creators of America. (2) A brief description of the country seat of the Duke of Westminster, and (3) a glimpse of the home of William E. Gladstone. The illustrations were secured in Chester and give the reader an admirable idea of the scenes described.

It is our intention to have one handsomely illustrated paper in each issue of the ARENA during the ensuing year. The January number will contain a magnificent series of illustrations on Mexico, accompanying Justice Walter Clark's first paper on our sister republic.

WILLIS MILLS, M. D., contributes to this issue a short story which should be read by every young man in the land. It is a powerful sketch dealing with the double standard of morals, by a physician.

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Man in His Relation to the Solar System as a Subject for Natural Research and Scientific Inquiry.

We have the promise of a series of papers by the scholarly physician, J. Heber Smith, on the above subject for the ARENA for 1896, which we believe will attract the attention of all men and women who dare to think. Dr. Smith, in spite of the large practice he has enjoyed for many years among the most cultured families of the Back Bay District of Boston and his exacting duties as an educator, has improved,—or perhaps I should say has *made* time to study extensively the above fascinating theme in a scientific and critical spirit, not forgetting, however, that bigotry, prejudice, and preconceived opinions are the children of night and that true science is open-eyed and eager for knowledge however counter it may run to conventional ideas. These papers will be scholarly and scientific discussions by one especially well fitted to examine the subject in an able and thoughtful manner.
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The New Therapeutic College in San Francisco.

We learn from Professor Buchanan that steps are being taken to establish a medical college in San Francisco in which will be taught the new electro-therapeutics and new physiology established by his demonstration of the functions of the brain. It will differ in almost all respects from any college the world has yet seen—not by the exclusion or rejection of any established science, but by its large addition of new resources and new philosophy. As its methods of healing will not be confined to drugs, it will be called, not a medical but a *therapeutic* college, as its friends contend that medicines are scarcely half of our therapeutic resources. The substitution of therapeutic for medical in the new movement shows that it is revolutionary.

* * *

The Eightieth Birthday of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Believing that the progress made by women in the last half century along philanthropic, intellectual, political, and industrial lines may be still further promoted by a more general acknowledgment of their efforts and successes, it has been decided to hold in New York City a gathering whose object shall be to give deserved recognition of past achievement and stimulation and encouragement to future endeavor. As the most appropriate occasion for such a celebration, the eightieth birthday of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton has been chosen. Her half century of pioneer work for the advancement of women makes her name the natural inspiration for such an occasion and her life the appropriate object of the congratulation and homage of the women of the world.

The celebration will take place under the auspices of the National Council of Women of the United States, every one of whose twenty societies, representing in all seven hundred thousand women, will rejoice to bring its tribute to the great woman who, in accord with the principle and practice of her life, will gladly share with other pioneers honors to which she, and her equally great co-worker, Susan B. Anthony, have unquestioned and preëminent claim.

From their supreme interest in the enfranchisement of women, Mrs. Stanton's and Miss Anthony's ideas and influence have permeated *all* fields of progress, until these women have become the natural centre of that group of pioneers in education and philanthropy, in the professions and the industries, whom we hope to gather on this occasion. It is hoped to show to the younger generation of women, not alone the work that has been wrought by and for woman, but the world's great women workers, who, by struggle and sacrifice, have made possible that new day of truer freedom and nobler development, the dawn of which these pioneers have lived to see.

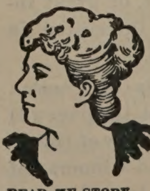
For the successful development of the plan for the reunion will be required the cordial coöperation and sympathy of individuals and organizations interested in every phase of woman's work. Not only the societies composing the Council of Women of the United States, but those fraternally affiliated, and even those quite outside, which may desire to participate in this celebration, are invited to send one or more delegates.

The celebration is to be held on Nov. 12, 1895, in the Metropolitan Opera House, in which, if it so desires, each organization can purchase a box or boxes for its own members and their friends. The names of delegates, all inquiries, correspondence, contributions, pledges for expenses, etc., should be sent to Mrs. M. L. Dickinson, 230 W. 59th Street, New York.

* * *

A Good Child

is usually healthy, and both conditions are developed by use of proper food. The Gail Borden Eagle Brand Condensed Milk is the best infant's food; so easily prepared that improper feeding is inexcusable and unnecessary.



READ MY STORY.

FREE TO SUFFERING WOMEN.

I suffered for years with uterine troubles, painful periods, leucorrhea, displacements, and other irregularities, and finally found a simple, safe home treatment, that cured me without the aid of medical attendance. This is no quack doctor's medicine; but nature's own remedy for women. It costs nothing to convince yourself of its merits, for I send it free with full instructions to every suffering woman. Address, MRS. L. HUDNUT, South Bend, Ind.

Price Reduced from $5.00 to $3.00 Per Annum.

PROSPECTUS OF THE ARENA FOR 1896.

> *The Arena is a magazine which no person can afford to ignore if we would keep up with the struggle of the progressive party in America.*—WILLIAM T. STEAD, in English "*Review of Reviews.*"

The Arena,

The People's Review.
Free, Frank, Fearless, Unmuzzled, and Unsubsidized.

Recognized as the Leading Progressive, Liberal, and Reformative Review in the English-Speaking World.

* * *

For 1896 will be stronger, brighter, abler, and more attractive than ever.

* * *

THIS Review, which one critic characterizes as "the leading literary, progressive and reformative Review published in the English-speaking world," will, during the ensuing year, be invaluable to all *people who think*, and especially indispensable to those who desire *to investigate root problems which affect civilization.*

We have perfected arrangements with leading thinkers of America and Europe which enable us to say that THE ARENA for 1896 will be absolutely indispensable to thoughtful people who love purity, who think below the surface, and who are interested in all the great fundamental

I. Social,
II. Ethical,
III. Economical,
IV. Political,
V. Educational,
VI. Scientific,
VII. Religious,
VIII. Psychical

problems which are challenging the attention of the most thoughtful minds of the world to-day. For obvious reasons, at present it is only wise or possible to make a preliminary announcement of the good things in store for our readers. We desire to state before mentioning a few of the strong attractions which will appear in early numbers, that we have arranged for many striking features which will greatly add to the intrinsic value and to the attractiveness of THE ARENA, and which will be announced from time to time.

SOME EMINENT WRITERS WHO WILL CONTRIBUTE TO EARLY ISSUES OF THE ARENA.

Below we give a partial list of some eminent thinkers who have prepared papers for early issues of THE ARENA, in order to let our readers see how rich in interest THE ARENA will be. A number of eminent thinkers are preparing special papers which will be duly announced; but the following are among the many brilliant writers whose contributions will appear within the next three months.

United States Senator John T. Morgan, of Alabama.
Rev. Minot J. Savage, of Unity Church, Boston, Mass.
Prof. Richard T. Ely, of University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Rev. Lyman Abbott, of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Prof. Frank Parsons, of Boston University School of Law, Boston.
Rev. Edward Everett Hale, of Boston.
Helen H. Gardener, of Boston.
Prof. George D. Herron, of Iowa College.
Hon. Walter Clark, LL. D., of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina.
Rev. John W. Chadwick, D. D., of Brooklyn, N. Y.
Postmaster General William L. Wilson.
Prof. Joseph Rodes Buchanan, M. D.
James G. Clark, the people's poet.
United States Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina.
J. Heber Smith, M. D., of Boston.

SOME SPECIAL FEATURES.

Among the important series of papers which will appear during the ensuing year, we mention the following:

I. The Relation of Jesus to Social Problems of To-day; by Prof. George D. Herron, of Iowa College.

A series of papers dealing with this problem, by the modern Savonarola of Protestantism.

II. Justice Walter Clark, LL. D., of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina, on Mexico and the Silver Question in Our Sister Republic.

A series of magnificently illustrated papers.

So many confusing statements have been made on this subject that we realize the importance of obtaining the absolute facts relating to the question, gathered by a gentleman who possesses the qualifications for weighing the pros and cons. judicially and calmly, and who enjoys the confidence of the people. We have made special arrangements with this leading American jurist to visit Mexico and give our readers the benefit of a careful survey of the question. It will be remembered that Justice Clark after honorable service on the Supreme Bench of his State so won the confidence of the people that he was reëlected by the combined vote of all parties in North Carolina at the last election. These important papers will be rendered doubly attractive by fine illustrations, and will be indispensable to thoughtful people interested in the money question.

III. Natural Monopolies and the People.

Should the Government own the Telegraph? will be ably discussed by a number of our leading thinkers in early issues of The Arena, including such thinkers as Prof. Richard T. Ely, Prof. Frank Parsons, Justice Walter Clark, Postmaster-General Wilson, and Rev. Lyman Abbott. This discussion will be followed by equally able and interesting discussions on other leading problems relating to the people and natural monopolies. In this connection we desire to state that Prof. Frank Parsons, of the Faculty of the Boston University School of Law, will contribute a series of papers to The Arena for 1896 on the Rights and Duties of the people in regard to Municipal, State, and Government ownership of natural monopolies, which will be of great value to all thoughtful people who desire to see the era of plunder and political debauchery superseded by a democracy in something more than an empty name.

IV. Exhaustive Bibliographies of Vital Social, Political, and Economic Problems.

Beginning with the December issue, we have arranged to publish monthly carefully compiled bibliographies which will give our readers a complete list of the most valua ble works and discussions on the great questions now uppermost in the minds of social reformers. Thus, for example, the opening paper will deal with the Land Question, and will be compiled for THE ARENA by Prof. Thomas E. Will, A. M. It will be followed by an equally exhaustive bibliography dealing with the literature relating to the Swiss innovations or ideal republican measures so successfully inaugurated by the little Alpine Republic. The third will deal with the literature of Socialism. Each issue will contain carefully prepared bibliographies which will be invaluable to all students of political, social, and economic problems, and which no thoughtful man or woman of the present time can afford to be without.

V. Why the Wealth-Producers are Opposed to the Worship of the Golden Calf.

A series of papers of great value from America's leading statesmen and thinkers, showing why the wealth-producers are irrevocably opposed to the policy of the Bank of England and the American Tories. The opening paper of this series has been prepared by United States Senator John T. Morgan, of Alabama, and is entitled Why the South Wants Free Silver.

This will be followed by a historical paper exposing the conspiracy of the Wall-Street gamblers and the usurer class of Europe and America against the prosperity of the wealth-producers of America, by the most eminent and popular living American historian, Dr. John Clark Ridpath, LL.D. Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina, and other representative statesmen who have refused to take their orders from the gamblers of Wall Street, will ably present the cause of sound and honest finance *versus* the selfish and essentially dishonest policy of the usurer class. These papers will be of great value to patriotic Americans during the momentous struggle now at hand between the Bank of England and her allies, and the home-makers and wealth-producers of the Republic.

VI. Thinking Women in the Arena.

THE ARENA for next year will contain papers each month from representative thinkers among our leading women on vital and fundamental issues which affect present-day life. The subject of women's enfranchisement will also be exhaustively discussed in a series of brilliant papers.

VII. Biographical, Historical, and Reminiscent Papers,

Dealing with great lives, thrilling passages in history, and memorable moments spent with the moulders of thought and builders of civilization by leading thinkers of America and Europe, will constitute a delightful and educational feature of THE ARENA for 1896. In this connection we desire to mention a series of striking PEN PICTURES OF THE GREAT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CRISES OF THE CENTURY IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD, BY RICHARD J. HINTON, WITH PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.

These papers will give graphic pictures of the great Corn Law agitation in England and the triumph of the people in a surprisingly short time after all seemed hopeless. Incidentally they will contain thumb-nail sketches of Gerald Massey, Charles Mackay, John Bright, and other shining lights of that great conflict. *The Boston of the Fifties* will be another subject discussed, with pen pictures of Emerson, Phillips, Sumner, Garrison, Parker, and other leading lights of the great moral crusade for abolition. Other papers dealing with conflicts scarcely less interesting will also be features of this series. These articles will be properly illustrated.

VIII. The New Psychology and Psychic Research.

The progress being made in the realm of psychical science by the demonstrations of recent years made by such leading scientists as Prof. Oliver Lodge of England and other thinkers no less eminent have corroborated in a large way the claims of Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, Prof. Crookes and other pioneer psychical scientists who blazed the way in the field of psychical research. As this realm, more than any other, promises to furnish proofs which will neutralize the soul-deadening materialism of the church and society of to-day, we have ever given space to psychical research, and in 1896 purpose to publish a series of papers of special value to thoughtful men and women. Metaphysical and occult studies by eminent thinkers will also be features of THE ARENA for the coming year. A SERIES OF PAPERS OF SPECIAL INTEREST and value has been promised by the scholarly physician, J. Heber Smith, M. D., of Boston, on Man and his relation to the Solar System as a subject for natural research and scientific inquiry.

IX. Papers by Mr. Flower.

On the conclusion of his series of papers on "Wellsprings and Feeders of Immorality," the Editor of THE ARENA will give a series of discussions under the general heading, "Wellsprings of Life," which it is believed will be inspiring and helpful at the present crisis. Among the first papers of this series will be: I. THE POWER OF THE IMAGINATION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF HIGH IDEALS. II. THE REDEMPTIVE POWER OF LOVE. III. TRUE EDUCATION AND WHAT IT CAN ACCOMPLISH. IV. CRIME AND OUR TREATMENT OF CRIMINAL~

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XI. Educational, Ethical, and Religious

Questions, using these terms in their broad and true sense as they relate to the development of the highest in man, the elevation of morals and the supremacy of the divine over the animal, will be presented in a masterly manner by broad-minded scholars of the new time.

XII. Fiction.

A brilliant Novel by WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

A novel of great interest and strength opens in the December ARENA and will run for the first half of the year. It is entitled A VALLEY PATH and is a story of Tennessee. There will also be charming short stories and sketches in each number which will interest all members of the families into which THE ARENA goes.

XIII. Illustrations.

The portraits of eminent thinkers with their autographs which have proved such a popular feature of this review in the past will be rendered especially attractive in the future, as our arrangements are such that the pictures will be executed with superior excellence and will prove a feature of great interest to all our readers. In addition to these portraits and autographs, we have arranged for one handsomely illustrated paper for each issue of THE ARENA.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The popular reviews of important works will continue a feature of THE ARENA for 1896, and in a word, no money, time, or care will be spared in making THE ARENA a review that every man and woman who desires to keep abreast of the live and vital problems of our age will find indispensable, and a magazine which all the friends of justice, morality, and progress will be proud of.

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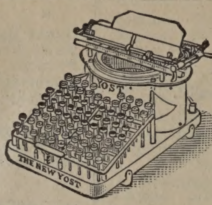

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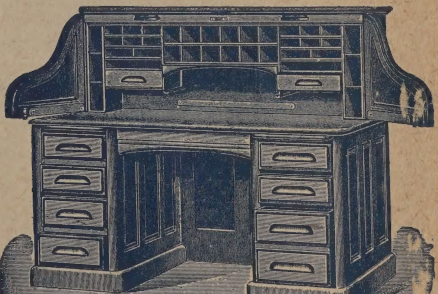

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN . . . . *FRONTISPIECE.* PAGE

B. O. FLOWER . . . *STROLLS BEYOND THE WALLS OF CHESTER* 349
(*With six full-page photogravures.*)

U. S. SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN, *WHY THE SOUTH WANTS FREE SILVER* 364

PROF. GEORGE D. HERRON, *THE SOCIALITY OF JESUS' RELIGION* 385

ALFRED MILNES, M. A. . . . *VACCINATION AN ERROR* (*concluded*) 392

HELEN H. GARDENER . . . . . *A BATTLE FOR SOUND MORALITY*
(*Final paper, with Map, revised Black List and Codification of Age-of-Consent Laws*) 401

EX-GOVERNOR JAMES M. ASHLEY, *THE IMPENDING POLITICAL ADVANCE* 419

PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS . . . . *THE PEOPLE'S LAMPS* 439

REV. W. E. MANLEY, D. D., *HELL NO PART OF DIVINE REVELATION* 464

CHARLES RODOLF, M. D., *THE UNRIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOVERNMENT AS VIEWED BY A PHILOSOPHICAL ANARCHIST* . . 476

MARGARET B. PEEKE . . . . *PRACTICAL OCCULTISM* 487

WILLIS MILLS, M. D. . . . . *IN FORO CONSCIENTIAE* (*story*) 495

BOOK REVIEWS. *A Southern Woman of Genius and Her Work, by B. O. Flower; "Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby," reviewed by C. Selden Smart; "Magnetism," and "Vision of Thyrza," reviewed by E. H. Wilson, A. M.; "Poverty's Factory," reviewed by Newell Dunbar* 506

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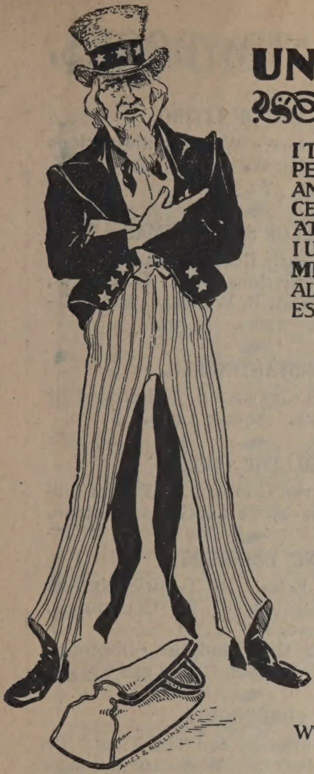
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BOOKS

From the press of the Arena Publishing Company.

THE ARENA PUBLISHING CO.'S LIST OF NEW AND FORTHCOMING BOOKS.

THE HEART OF OLD HICKORY, AND OTHER STORIES OF TENNESSEE.

Ready October 25.

By WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE. *Cloth,* $1.25; *paper,* 50 *cents.*

I take great pleasure in announcing that the *Arena Publishing Company* has in press a book of short stories by the popular Tennessee author, Will Allen Dromgoole, entitled "The Heart of Old Hickory, And Other Stories of Tennessee," embracing eight stories, as follows:

1. **The Heart of Old Hickory.**
2. **Fiddling His Way to Fame.**
3. **A Wonderful Experience Meeting.**
4. **Who Broke Up de Meetin'?**
5. **Rags.**
6. **The Heart of the Woods.**
7. **Old Logan's Courtship.**
8. **Christmas at the Corner Grocery.**

The work, which will be brought out in a handsome style, will contain a frontispiece of Miss Dromgoole from her latest photograph.

POLITICS AND PATRIOTISM.

Ready in November.

By F. W. SCHULTZ. *Cloth,* $1.25; *paper,* 50 *cents.*

This book should be read and pondered by all who desire to be well informed in the literature of the day that has for its aim a more intelligent grasp, on the part of the people, of the corruption in politics that thwarts the endeavors of reformers. The evils of the present system are set forth and remedies suggested. If people at large were possessed of the facts presented by the author, without doubt rings and bosses would be rapidly eliminated from our political system.

For sale by all booksellers. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price.

Copley Square. *Arena Publishing Co., Boston, Mass.*

THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

A Manuscript Story of the New South, Dealing with the Negro Problem, by a Southern Woman — Glimpses of Africa by an Afro-American — Samanthy among the Colored Folks — Ribot's Disease of Personality — Ethan Allen's Drama of the Revolution — The Laws of Social Evolution, by Rev. F. M. Sprague — The Essential Man, by George C. Cressey, Ph. D.— The Christian Consciousness: Its Relation to Evolution in Morals and in Doctrine, by J. S. Black — The Passing of Alix, by Mrs. Marjorie Paul — On the Point, by Nathan Haskell Dole — The Cultivators Hand-Book on Universal or Planetary Law, by L. Chadwick — Sexuality of Nature.

I have recently enjoyed the privilege of reading the manuscript of a story of southern life, dealing chiefly with the negro problem as seen by a broad-minded, fine-natured young woman of the New South. It is a work which when published will, I believe, accomplish much good by giving thinking men and women of the North, who are less slaves of prejudice than lovers of truth, a view of this momentous problem from an entirely new angle. The writer treats the subject with great breadth of spirit and in the manner of one who is at once just and thoughtful. Being a strong Southerner, the daughter of parents who owned slaves before the war, she deals with the question from the southern point of view. But her love of justice and her noble womanhood enable her to rise above partisanship and the bitterness which too often marks the works of writers of both sections who attempt to discuss the subject. I question, however, whether she has fully grasped the tremendous nature of the problem or the logical sequence of either the mistake of giving an ignorant and newly emancipated race the ballot or of forcing this race into practical disfranchisement. The vote of an ignorant people is a menace to any government. The denial of the franchise to those who are intelligent or morally and mentally developed is a crime against freedom and justice.

Only a few days after I had finished reading my young friend's story dealing with the negro question from the point of view of a broad-minded and scholarly Southern lady, I received Rev. C. C. Smith's new work, "Glimpses of Africa" (published by the A. M. E. Church Sunday School Union, of Nashville, Tenn., illustrated with over seventy photogravures taken by native artists and containing three maps; cloth, stamped in black and gold; price $1.25. This volume contains an introduction by Bishop Turner, and having been written by the secretary and treasurer of the Sunday School Union of the A. M. E. Church, is of particular interest, especially as coming from a colored gentleman who had personally visited the western coast of Africa, largely for the purpose of seeing if there was a favorable opening for the employment of the skill and energy of intelligent and industrious young Americans of African descent.

Mr. Smith went to Africa believing that there he would find a land where a great and glorious republic might be established for the Afro-Americans. But on this point he seems to have materially changed his mind. He reports that all along the coast the cities and towns are overrun with professional men and clerks; that there is a splendid field for industrious agriculturists, but not for educators or professional men in general, or for clerks or those doing work

BOOKS

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POLITICS FOR PRUDENT PEOPLE.

Ready in October.

By SLACK WORTHINGTON. *Cloth,* $1.00, *paper,* 50 *cents.*

This book is a revision and abridgment with important alterations of a work on Phonocracy which the author published several years ago. The author aims to establish the propositions that "mankind can be substantially benefited only by the increased production and conservation of wealth"; that "wealth is necessary to the progress of civilization"; and that "mankind is benefited by wealth, if it be reinvested and not consumed, whosoever owns it." The subjects of taxation, franchise, currency, and the powers of the Federal Government receive thoughtful treatment. The book is a substantial contribution to the literature that deals with legislative and governmental problems.

NICODEMUS.

An appropriate gift book.

By GRACE SHAW DUFF. *Extra cloth,* 75 *cents.*

A short poem in which Nicodemus describes the impression made upon him by Jesus on "that last great day of the feast; when the golden glory of a rising sun decked roof and dome, and edged with lustrous line the gently swaying palms." Of the effect of the words of Jesus he says:

"When He spoke, his words
And voice seemed fitted parts of some great psalm."

And of His look:

"But as He turned
I looked again into His eyes, and in
Their depths my soul met His — and then I knew
In very truth — He was the Son of God."

BEAUTY FOR ASHES.

Ready in October.

By KATE CLARK BROWN. *Cloth,* 75 *cents; paper* 25 *cents.*

"What becomes of the souls that do not pass through the 'pearly gates?'" This question is as old as religion. Human reason has not found a satisfactory answer, and probably most people think the question unanswerable by man; and yet men will speculate as they always have speculated upon this mystery. Our author offers a speculative solution of this profoundly mysterious problem in a story which contains passages of much pathos and dramatic power. And many a reader will be glad to be indebted to the author for an hour agreeably spent.

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other than agricultural. On the possibilities for the latter occupation, however, he observes that there is almost no limit to the demand for skilled agriculturists. Fruit farming conducted systematically at Freetown, Monrovia, Accra, Lagos, and a number of other places on the west and southwest coasts could be made highly profitable. Poultry and stock raising could also be made highly remunerative.

This work is exceedingly interesting not only as a book of travel but as illustrating the splendid possibilities inherent in the colored man. When one remembers that he is only from one to two centuries from savagery his achievements are truly remarkable. But one feels somewhat disappointed after reading the book to find that the author sees so little in Africa to encourage the aspiring Afro-American in the dream of founding on that new-old world a great republic, in which the colored man might demonstrate to the world what might be accomplished. This volume deserves wide reading. It is instructive and interesting.

Another view of this same problem is found in Marietta Holley's "Samanthy among the Colored Folks." Here, in her characteristic, quaint, homely and illiterate language, Samanthy gives the reader a vast amount of sound philosophy in her inimitable and humorous style. Perhaps the volume is too deeply shaded with the tragedies which so darkened the ill-starred reconstructive period, but on the whole the author takes a broad view. She seems to hold to the opinion that in the course of time the friction between the two races will become so great that each will desire to separate, and that a new republic will rise in Africa. In this, despite Mr. Smith's view, she may prove a prophet as well as a philosopher; for we cannot fairly judge what may be accomplished in this direction from the ill-considered and lame attempts which have hitherto been made toward civilization.

"Samanthy among the Colored Folks" deserves a wider reading than it has received. It is excellently illustrated, and those who enjoy the inimitable Josiah Allen's Wife's works should not fail to peruse this volume (cloth; pp. 388; Dodd, Mead & Co., New York).

"The Disease of Personality," by Prof. T. Ribot, is a work which all students of the new psychology and psychical science should read (pp. 162; cloth 75 cents; paper 25 cents; Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill.). The present publication is the authorized translation of the second revised edition. One may not agree with the author in many of his conclusions, and I am frank enough to say a number of his views I do not share; nevertheless the work is worthy of careful reading, although I think he often bases his conclusions on insufficient data.

The first volume of "Washington, or The Revolution," a drama written by Ethan Allen, a distant relative of the Revolutionary hero, has recently appeared (cloth $1.50, paper 50 cents. Vol. I, "From the Boston Massacre to the Surrender of Burgoyne." F. T. Neely, Chicago and New York). This work is written for reading rather than acting. It brings the leading figures of the Revolution vividly before the mind of the reader, and by closely adhering to history gives a striking and most interesting story of the Revolution. I have been most agreeably surprised in this volume, which marshals the facts of the founding of our government before the reader in such a way as to make them real, and being real in their imagery they will not be easily forgotten. But the chief charm of the work seems to me to lie in the clear manner in which the author emphasizes the great principles for which our fathers staked their all.

To-day we are surfeited with counterfeit patriotism and the hollow show without the breath of life. Our boys are being drilled for soldiers at a time when the sword should be beaten into the ploughshare—and we call this pa-

BOOKS

From the press of the Arena Publishing Company.

POEMS.

By EDWIN BALTZLEY. *Cloth.*

In this beautifully printed volume we are introduced to a new aspirant for the honor of being enrolled in the small but select band of the American poets. The author is a busy man of affairs rather than a poet by profession, and he here gives us the fruit of so much of his leisure as has been devoted to literary work. He has evidently been a keen and sympathetic observer of nature, animate and inanimate, and much of the best of his work is the outcome of the impressions produced on his mind by her varying aspects and moods — by mountain and river, sky and cloud, sunshine and storm, twilight and moonlight, forest and bird. The work is appropriately divided into four parts, corresponding to the seasons: 1. Springtime: Dreamtime; 2. Summer: Awakening; 3. Autumn: Strifetime; and 4. Winter: Meditation. The two longest and most important poems, "The Conquest" and "Lamonian Vale," are cast in a dramatic form, and the latter, in its smooth and sensuous rhythm, reminds us of Tennyson's "Lotus Eaters." In "Evalyn," the narrative form is adopted with such success as to give one a reminiscence of Parnell's "Hermit." This charming volume may be recommended to the attention of all who are interested in the future of American poetry.

OUT OF THE PAST.

IN PRESS.

By E. ANSON MORE, JR. *Cloth*, $1.25; *paper*, 50 *cents.*

This interesting and instructive book sets forth in the nature of an allegory, the unending conflict between good and evil. The story gives in outline the possible life of a Brahmin; his views of the conduct and duty of wives, the origin of "sute or suttee" — the burning of the wife with the corpse of her husband, and the reason for it. Thought-transference, also, is touched upon in a new and fascinating way. The story is full of incident, its descriptions are graphic, and its style is often masterly.

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triotism. The firecrackers and bunting are everywhere present on the Fourth of July; but how many boys and girls of to-day are weighing the great problems of human rights and justice and enlightenment of the soul which alone count for aught in the progress of civilization? As in politics, so in religion; vast organizations are formed, bands play, banners fly, badges decorate members, but when we urge resolutions for universal arbitration, when the plea is made to these bodies to denounce the fostering of the savage by military drills, when we urge them to oppose the brutalizing influence of vivisection, or make any other great, humane, and ennobling proposition in harmony with the Sermon on the Mount, we promptly receive the cold shoulder. Patriotism and religion to-day are too much lacking in the breath of life. Prejudice, policy, and a blind willingness to follow leaders are present where we should find principle and a deep, unflagging loyalty to justice and purity.

This history of the Revolution is valuable, as it brings home to the reader very clearly the stupendous fact that it was the broad principles of justice, freedom, and the right of humanity which made the frail little colonies invincible. This work should be in the hands of every boy and girl in the land. It should be read by parents during the long winter evenings to their children; for its elevating, aside from its instructive, character will awaken the conscience and manhood and womanhood of our people.

"The Laws of Social Evolution," by Rev. F. M. Sprague, is a criticism of Benjamin Kidd's famous "Social Evolution" (pp. 166; price $1; Lee & Shepard, Boston). Mr. Sprague, it will be remembered, is the author of "Socialism from Genesis to Revelation."

"Social Evolution," by Benjamin Kidd, is regarded by one eminent critic as the greatest book since Darwin's "Origin of Species," and by another as a "trap for clergymen"; by one as "thoroughly scientific," and by another as misapprehending the "fundamental laws" of science. Such a book is either difficult to understand, or occupies debatable ground. In either case a critical examination is required. This is made by Mr. Sprague, who endeavors to analyze that work which the author has found to be contrary to universally accepted principles and axiomatic truth. Mr. Sprague aims not merely to refute or explain, but also to construct, and to that end formulates a statement of the true principles which govern social progress. As the interest in this subject is increasing from day to day, this work will prove a timely addition to the controversy and be helpful to the student.

"The Essential Man: A Monograph on Personal Immortality in the Light of Reason," is the title of a new work by George C. Cressey, Ph. D. (cloth; price 75 cents; George H. Ellis, Boston). This small volume is a discussion on this subject of great value to all thoughtful investigators. Mr. Cressey observes that there is a large class of persons who in the light of modern research find it impossible to accept the claims of any assumed supernatural revelation, and who are also uninfluenced by the claims of modern spiritualism, but who are nevertheless deeply interested in the problem of immortality; and it is to such that he personally addresses his argument. Revelation and the claims of spiritualism are neither accepted nor rejected, his argument being based on reason and made to conform to the demands of modern scientific methods. The work is ably written and will challenge the attention of all thoughtful persons who are troubled with doubt as to a future existence, or who are seriously interested in the question, "If a man die shall he live again?" I am glad that so scholarly and temperate a reasoner as Mr. Cressey has discussed it.

"The Christian Consciousness: Its Relation to Evolution in Morals and in Doctrine," by J. S. Black (cloth; $1.25; Lee & Shepard, Boston), is a new work which has just appeared dealing with

· BOOKS ·

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HILL-CREST: A Novel.

By JULIA COLLITON FLEWELLYN. *Cloth*, $1.25; *paper*, 50 *cents.*

Hill-Crest is the homestead of an Irish-American family, consisting of father, four motherless daughters, poor but proud, and an old maiden sister-in-law. A beautiful and fashionable young lady cousin is a disturbing element. The principal hero is an ideal young clergyman. The interest of this well-written love story centres in three love affairs that end in happy marriages. The narrative is marked by fine feeling and pervaded by a strongly religious and moral tone.

HIS PERPETUAL ADORATION: The Captain's Old Diary.

By Rev. JOSEPH F. FLINT. *Cloth*, $1.25; *paper*, 50 *cents.*

This extremely interesting and realistic war story is told in the form of a diary left at his death by a veteran who had been a captain with Grant at Vicksburg and with Sherman on his march to the sea. Two or three of the great events of the war are told in stirring fashion, but the narrative deals mainly with the inside life of the soldier in war-time, and its physical and moral difficulties.

THE SNOWS OF YESTER-YEAR: A Novel.

By WILBERTINE TETERS. *Cloth*, $1.25; *paper*, 50 *cents.*

The interest of this realistic and powerful novel of character analysis centres mainly in "the Madame," as the heroine is called throughout the story, which is written with remarkable insight into character. The incidental discussions are so original and clever that the reader's interest is held enchained from the beginning to the very end.

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religious problems. The author, in the preface, says: "The study of Christian Consciousness is in its infancy, but the study of it is an aid to the development of it. It seems strange at this end of the nineteenth century of the Christian era, that there should be an undeveloped and unused function of the Christian life; a function which not only accounts for moral and dogmatic phenomena, but also makes God more real to men."

This book is an important contribution to the development of the subject. It comes at a time of need. It deals not only with the literature that has hitherto gathered round its central theme, "The Christian Consciousness," but it also has to do with Professor Drummond's "Ascent of Man," and with Benjamin Kidd's "Social Evolution."

The placing of the "Christian Consciousness" along with the Bible, the church, and the reason as a source of authority may seem revolutionary, but by many it will be regarded as being the formal statement of a position that has to some extent been already granted. The work is strong, scholarly, and very suggestive. It is certainly in the line of religious evolution and will receive attention from a very large number of intelligent Christians who are seeking to reconcile the experience they have attained in spiritual things, with the faith of their fathers.

"The Passing of Alix," by Miss Marjorie Paul (cloth $1.25, paper 50 cents; Arena Publishing Company, Boston), is a bright American society novel, written by one who is evidently familiar with the *beau monde* of New York and its mode of life. The heroine, *nee* Alix Bethune, is a beautiful young American girl born and brought up in Virginia. She is the daughter of a Frenchman of an old, wealthy, and noble family, who had married a young woman of Virginia and settled in that state. Alix is half an orphan, her mother having "died at the birth of her little daughter."

When Alix is seventeen her father takes her to France, and a year later, in accordance with the French custom, he makes for her a *marriage de convenance* with the Marquis de Morier, a distinguished but dissolute member of an old family, who is apparently about twice her own age. A grand wedding takes place in Notre Dame cathedral, of which a brilliant description is given. Like a good many other marriages which begin with a grand wedding, however, that of Alix and the marquis does not turn out happily. The honeymoon is scarcely over before Alix's father dies suddenly in Paris, leaving her a $4,000,000 heiress, and she discovers that her husband is an inveterate gambler, who has apparently married her to obtain money wherewith to pursue his favorite pastime. She accordingly at once separates from him, and returns to Virginia, where in due time an heir to her fortune and to the marquis' title is born, the marquis himself dying shortly after.

The young and beautiful widow resolves to devote the next ten years of her life to bringing up her young son, and she divides her time between her estate in Virginia and a luxurious apartment in New York; and there are pleasant descriptions of a Christmas fête in Virginia, visits to the grand opera in New York, and other incidents in the life of a young, beautiful, and immensely wealthy American widow.

She has, of course, a lover, a superb young man named Paul Volmar; and though she returns his love, she deems it her duty not to marry again till her son is ten years of age, when the wedding day is fixed. Before the marriage takes place, however, Alix is killed by a fall from her horse, and her lover is left desolate. The interest of the story is added to by certain thrilling spiritualistic experiences of the heroine, and also by some reincarnation reminiscences of herself and her lover.

This striking novel should have a wide sale among that numerous class of people who are interested in high life in New York and in the doings of society people, and also among believers in occultism, the number of whom seems to be increasing year by year.

BOOKS

From the press of the Arena Publishing Company.

SOME NEW SOCIAL BOOKS.

THE STRIKE OF A SEX.

By GEORGE N. MILLER. *Price, paper,* 25 *cents.*

This little book dealing with the rights of women in the marriage relation has created a profound sensation on both sides of the Atlantic. It is now in its thirty-fifth edition.

Interesting from beginning to end. Married readers will regret that the scientific discovery it refers to (Zugassent's Discovery) is not explained. — *N. Y. Journalist.*

I wish every thoughtful man and woman in this republic would read it. The author has looked into the heart of woman, and with unspeakable love for both sexes has written the truth. — *Kate Field's Washington.*

POVERTY'S FACTORY.

By Rev. STANLEY L. KREBS, M. A. *Cloth,* 75 *cents; paper,* 25 *cents.*

The book is devoid of anything like prejudice against any class whatever. The author does not seem to possess an atom of that element in his being. He speaks to capitalists, laborers, citizens and clergy with uniform directness and deference. His discussion of the burning questions involved is fair and fearless, candid and courteous. He believes that reasonable and manly men are never afraid to hear the truth, however unpalatable that truth may be. He spares none; he loves all. This striking little volume should be carefully read by every clergyman, laborer, business and professional man in the country.

THE DOUBLE MAN.

By F. B. DOWD. *Cloth,* $1.25; *paper,* 50 *cents.*

This is a story of spiritualistic phenomena and hypnotism. It is a study in the complexities of the moral nature of man and presents two startling types in contrast — the spiritually aspiring mind and the carnal and selfish mind. It shows that intellect alone cannot fill the demands of the soul. The mind and life must be spiritualized. The hero's journeyings in the spiritual world, which follow the drama as it is played out on earth, will be interesting to all who are adherents of spiritualism or students of theosophy and other occult theories.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

By A LAWYER. *Cloth,* 75 *cents; paper,* 25 *cents.*

This is a study of the various aspects of the movement for a larger social and political freedom for women, from the point of view of a lawyer, an orthodox Presbyterian of uncompromising literalism, and a sincere believer in the plenary inspiration of the scriptures as the word and law of God. It deals with the whole question largely from the religious and scriptural standpoint. He considers that the woman's movement reaches down to the foundations of Christianity and civilization, and opposes it on every ground. He deals successively with every phase of the matter — Marriage, Lessons from History, Divorce, Woman Suffrage and Marriage, The Day of the Pulpit, The Effects of Woman Suffrage, The Plea for Equality, Woman Suffrage in Cities, Limited Franchise, Taxation without Representation, and The Decay of Faith. As an exposition of the uncompromising orthodox view this brochure should find a wide reading among men and women of liberal opinions.

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Persons who enjoy a bright, light work of fiction which will rest the mind, and which is neither unduly exacting on the one hand nor laden with a lesson on the other, will doubtless enjoy Mr. Nathan Haskell Dole's new summer idyl, entitled "On the Point" (illustrated; pp. 252; price $1; Joseph Knight & Co., Boston). It is a pleasant story for leisure moments. The publishers deserve credit for supplementing the author's work by producing a most attractive volume both in letterpress and binding.

L. Chadwick has published a unique volume entitled "The Cultivative Handbook on Universal or Planetary Law" (cloth; price $1; published by the author, 27 Pine St., Chicago, Ill.). In speaking of his work the author says: "This science, which has always been considered a blind mystery, understood by comparatively few, is treated in this book in a manner as never before presented to the ordinary reader. How all the elements of the earth, including electricity, operate under the law of the universe. A plain knowledge of the Creator's laws is as essential in agriculture as it is in religion."

A new work displaying much research entitled "Sexuality of Nature" has recently been published (cloth; price 75 cents; published by the New Church Union). The *Literary World* thus describes this volume: "The object of this essay is to show that everything in creation partakes either of masculine or feminine qualities. The writer uses the word 'marriage' to denote all unions analogous to the human both in matter and spirit, and the word 'sex' to express the separate qualities by which he would divide things into two great sections and divisions. He goes on to explain in a lofty and serious manner the functions of sex not only in animals and plants, but in inorganic matter as revealed by chemistry and in all departments of nature. Thus, water is the masculine, land the feminine element in the composition of the globe; the sun is the father and the earth is the mother of heat; in language the consonants are masculine, the vowels feminine, and so on. The symbolism here defined and the explanations of the figurative use of language in the old Grecian and Hebrew myths have a curious interest, but much of the book is fantastically drawn out."

"Edith: A Story of Chinatown," by Harry M. Johnson (cloth 75 cents; paper 25 cents) is to be the latest addition to the Beacon Library, one of the most popular series issued by the Arena Publishing Company. It is a story that grapples boldly with a crying evil. It deals with a nefarious traffic that is openly carried on under the eyes of the authorities of the city of San Francisco. It tells of the abduction and seduction of a young girl, and of her discovery by her father and mother (through the instrumentality of a young newspaper reporter) in one of the low "dives" of the Chinese quarter in San Francisco. The object of the story is to bring this condition of things to the attention of the great mass of American men and women, so that the matter may be ventilated in public discussion and remedied. The author intimates that the public exhibition of young women for hire has been an institution of Chinatown for twenty years, without any attempt having been made on the part of the people or the authorities of San Francisco, to rid the city of so great a reproach to its civilization and humanity.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Agnosticism and Religion," by George J. Lucas. Cloth; pp. 136. Published by John Murphy & Co., Baltimore, Md.

"The Lost Paradise," by Marie Welsh. Paper; pp. 252; price 25 cents. Published by the Mascot Publishing Co., 169 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y.

BOOKS

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A JOURNEY TO VENUS.

By GUSTAVUS W. POPE. *Cloth*, $1.50; *paper*, 50 *cents.*

This romance, by a writer who may well be called the American Jules Verne, gives a most entertaining and exciting account of a trip, by a combined party of Terrestrials and inhabitants of the planet Mars, to the planet Venus by means of the "ethervolt," which enables them to span the interplanetary spaces at a speed far greater than that of the earth in its orbit. The exploration of Venus which the party makes is full of exciting adventures, hairbreadth escapes, and perilous vicissitudes, among primeval monsters and semi-human creatures, the episodes following each other in such breathless succession that the interest of the reader never flags. A vein of humor runs through the book, which makes it as amusing as it is exciting. The author has produced a work which will take a high, if not the highest, place among those of its kind. Neither Jules Verne nor Rider Haggard ever wrote anything better.

The book is highly illustrated.

PUSHED BY UNSEEN HANDS.

By HELEN H. GARDNER. *Cloth*, $1.00; *paper*, 50 *cents.*

The fourth edition is now ready.

Must add to her already enviable reputation.—*Boston Traveller.*

The book is clever, dramatic, and in a literary sense has much merit.—*New York Times.*

Fascinating to the imagination.—*New Orleans Picayune.*

The perusal of one [story] seduces to the perusal of all.—*The News*, Detroit, Mich.

PILATE'S QUERY.

By S. C. CLARK. *Cloth*, $1.25; *paper*, 50 *cents.*

This is one of the strongest and most convincing books, setting forth the claims and the data of Spiritualism, ever written. The work is put in the form of a novel, and it portrays the soul history of a young man and his wife, with whose marriage the story commences. The title of the book is taken from the New Testament, Pilate's famous question, "What is Truth?" The husband is a doubter and investigator in religious matters, while his wife is an orthodox believer in Episcopalianism; and this difference of opinion leads him to investigate, to find out for himself "What is truth." He examines Theosophy, Unitarianism, and Spiritualism, and finally his reason leads him to become a convert to Spiritualism. Their religious differences lead to some estrangement and finally to a quasi-separation between husband and wife, and the rest of the story is devoted to showing how they became reconciled and found happiness in the consolation of the same religion. This part of the book is very strongly and beautifully written and exhibits the claims of Spiritualism with a force and lucidity with which they have seldom been presented.

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Copley Square. *Arena Publishing Co., Boston, Mass.*

"Jacques Damour," by Emile Zola. Cloth; pp. 368; price $1.25. Published by Copeland & Day, 69 Cornhill, Boston, Mass.

"The Land of the Muskeg," by H. Somers Somerset. Cloth; pp. 248; price $4. Published by J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

"The Banker's Dream," by Thomas H. Proctor. Paper; pp. 231; price 25 cents. Published by Progressive Book Publishing Co., Streeter's Building, Vineland, N. J.

"A Mad Madonna," by L. Clarkson Whitelock. Cloth; pp. 203; price $1. Published by Joseph Knight Co., 196 Summer St., Boston, Mass.

"Washington, or the Revolution," by Ethan Allen. Paper; pp. 198; price 50 cents. Published by F. Tennison Neely, 254 Franklin St., Chicago, Ill.

"No Proof," by Lawrence L. Lynch. Paper; pp. 354. Published by Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago, Ill.

"An Old Maid's Love," by Maarten Maartens. Paper; pp. 326; price 50 cents. Published by United States Book Co., 310–318 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y.

"The Essential Man," by George Croswell Cressey, Ph. D. Cloth; pp. 84. Published by George H. Ellis, 141 Franklin St., Boston, Mass.

"The Laws of Social Evolution," by Rev. Franklin M. Sprague. Cloth; pp. 166; price $1. Published by Lee & Shepard, 10 Milk St., Boston.

"A Study of Death," by Henry Mills Alden. Cloth; pp. 327; price $1.50. Published by Harper & Brothers, Franklin Sq., N. Y.

"A Set of Rogues," by Frank Barrett. Cloth; pp. 346; price $1.50. Published by Macmillan & Co., 66 Fifth Ave., New York.

"Master and Man," by Lyof N. Tolstoi. Cloth; pp. 64; price 35 cents. Published by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 100 Purchase St., Boston.

"Christian Consciousness," by J. S. Black. Cloth; pp. 244; price $1.25. Published by Lee & Shepard, 10 Milk St., Boston.

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Professor Bemis' words should be pondered well by all thoughtful Americans. They, taken together with the insolence exhibited by the trusts and monopolies of late, the action of the Supreme Court in the income-tax decision, the subserviency of Congress before the money power, the arrogance of the administration, and the terrible increase of the tenantry among the agrarian population of the United States, are facts which should awaken alarm in every patriotic breast. The present is no time for sleeping or for party subservience. The republic is as much imperilled as the cause of free government was in danger during the darkest days of the Revolution.

In Justice to Delaware.

The following has just been handed to me by Helen H. Gardener who has had the age-of-consent campaign in charge, and we gladly give place to it in justice to Delaware:

This additional information concerning the present law in Delaware came too late for the report in the body of the magazine. Up to that time the report which came to us had not been so full as this. Wherever in the report of Delaware the figure or word fifteen occurs it should read eighteen. This law is good so far as it goes, and particularly good because it protects boys under eighteen also, but the fact that it leaves the matter a misdemeanor which is finable and which fine has no minimum limit, and therefore might be one dollar or one day, impresses me as still leaving the matter in a defective condition, although no doubt the intention of Delaware was to remedy the matter fully and to place Delaware outside of the Black List, which no doubt will be done next time.

The following is the law as now submitted to us from Delaware:

Chap. 686, Vol. 18, Laws of Delaware. As amended in 1895.

An Act for the Protection of Female Children.

Sec. 1. Whoever takes, receives, employs, harbors, or uses, or procures to be taken, received, employed, harbored, or used a male or female under the age of eighteen years for the purpose of sexual intercourse, or whoever being proprietor or proprietress of any house of prostitution or assignation, house of ill fame or assignation, harbors or employs any male or female in any such house under the age of eighteen years, under any pretext whatever, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof in the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Jail Delivery of this State shall be fined not more than one thousand dollars or imprisoned for a term of not more than seven years or both at the discretion of the Court.

Sec. 2. The terms "house of prostitution," "reputed house of prostitution," "assignation house or house of ill fame," include all premises which by common fame or report are used for purposes of prostitution or assignation.

Note.— Original act passed March 29, 1889. Amended in 1895, by inserting the words "male or" and by striking out the word fifteen in the original act and inserting the word eighteen.

Alien Landlords.

Last month I called attention to the remarkable editorial in the Boston *Herald*, showing how we are rapidly becoming a nation of tenants. In this connection some figures which were compiled and published in the leading dailies a few months ago are interesting, as showing how rapidly alien landlords are acquiring the lands of our people since the Bank of England's gold policy has supplanted the American system of finance which prevailed during the Civil War and until the greenbacks were retired and silver was surreptitiously demonetized. Among these foreign landlords are the following: Viscount Scully, *3,000,000* acres; Marquis of Tweedale, *1,750,000* acres; the Duke of Sutherland, *125,000* acres; Lord Dunmore, *120,000* acres; Lord Dunraven, *60,000* acres; Lord Houghton, *60,000* acres.

Here are only six of a large number of foreign capitalists who hold immense tracts of land in this country, yet the holdings of the six aristocrats of the British Islands aggregate over 5,000,000 acres of land. It is stated that over 20,000,000 acres of our country are to-day owned by landholders in England and Scotland, to say nothing of some million more acres owned by capitalists on the European continent. Surely, we are rapidly becoming "a nation of tenants," and the birthright of freedom so dearly bought by our fathers is rapidly slipping away through the lethargy and dissension among the wealth-creators and the solidarity and cunning of the acquirers of wealth.

In this connection I would quote the remarks made by Hon. John Davis in the house of representatives in November, 1893, when the Republican and Democratic papers were crying in unison, "Repeal the silver clause of the Sherman act and general prosperity will follow!" Prosperity for the bond syndicates and the usurer class did follow. These are Mr. Davis' words:

Our creditors claim that government money (which will buy more than the money we borrowed) is not good and should be destroyed; that the silver coin of the constitution is base metal, and should be discarded (except the light coins for small payments to labor). Our creditors claim that these billions of mortgage debts must be paid in gold coin only or we must surrender our homes! And we are surrendering them in the West as fast as time can move and the courts can grind. In the East the conditions are as bad. Hon. Joseph H. Walker, of Worcester, Mass., stated on the floor of the House in May, 1892, that the farms of New England are worth about half the cost of improvements. This means that the lands go for nothing and half the improvements thrown in.

Sir, our farmers seem to be fast sinking into the condition said to have been recommended by a great eastern journal some years ago. The New York *Times* is credited with stating editorially some years ago as follows: "There seems to be but one remedy, and it must come—a change of ownership of the soil and a creation of a class of landowners on the one hand, and of tenant farmers on the other—something similar to what has long existed in the old countries of Europe."

Now, sir, since that policy is being carried out precisely—since the people of the United States are being disinherited through the advice of the Wall-street papers and the masters they serve — since the people can only remain in their homes as tenants in competition with the incoming millions of the Old World, who are content to accept life on the hardest possible terms; or if, on the other hand, we must part from our homes, friends, and loved ones, and each take his or her chances for precarious existence as medicants in the great and growing army of the "overpowered"—is it not a little cruel for the robbers who seek to put us beneath their heels to brand us as "wild communists" and accuse us of being ourselves repudiators? Is not this adding insult to injury? Does it not remind one of the crack of the whip of the slave-driver who dried the tears of his victims by making their sufferings too severe to be mitigated by weeping?

Mr. Speaker, I wonder how much safer our would-be masters feel than Lord North felt prior to 1775? How much safer do they feel than King Louis felt prior to 1789? How much safer than the slaveholders of this country felt prior to 1860? Do they believe that the most patient and long-suffering people on earth have lost every sentiment of patriotism since 1776?

Statesmanlike Words from Illinois' Much Maligned Governor.

It is to be regretted that some of our newspapers have displayed their own degradation by sneering at these noble, timely, and vitally true words of Governor Altgeld in closing his recent address at Chattanooga. These remarks are worthy of Jefferson. They are not the utterances of a politician, ever ready to face in any direction to gain votes or benefits, such as crowd to the front in the old political parties, which have degenerated until the chief end sought is office and the chief means reckless expenditure of money in deceiving the people:

> Instead of an armed foe that we can meet on the field there is to-day an enemy that is invisible, but everywhere at work destroying our institutions; that enemy is corruption. It seeks to control the press; it seeks to direct official action; it dictates and endeavors to control the construction of laws. It seeks to set the fashions and to shape public sentiment. It has emasculated American politics and placed it on the low plane of jugglery. The tendency now is for political parties to shirk principle and follow expediency, and their platforms are often drawn to evade or to straddle every live issue. The idea is to cajole, rather than convince, to ignore great wrongs and wink at abuses, to court the support of confiding interests though it involves the deception of one or both. We are substituting office-seeking and office-holding in place of real achievement, and instead of great careers in public life we are facing a harvest of slippery, blear-eyed and empty mediocrity, which glides into oblivion without the assistance of death. To be an eligible candidate now often means to stand for nothing in particular and to represent no definite principle, but be all things to all men, and in the end be contemptible.
>
> Thirty-four years ago the call was for men to fight an open enemy in the field; to-day our country is calling for men who will be true to republican institutions at home. Never before did this republic call so loudly as it does to-day for a good, sturdy manhood that will stand defiantly and dare to do right. For more than a decade the tendency in this country has been toward a colorless and negative dilettanteism, having the countenance of the Pharisee with the greed of the wolf, and drawing all its inspirations from the altar of concentrated and corrupting wealth. The flag has been praised with champagne dinners, while the very pole from which it floated was being eaten off by corruption, and republican institutions were being stabbed to the vitals. A new gospel has come among us, according to which it is mean to rob a henroost or steal a hen, but plundering thousands makes us gentlemen. My friends, the men of the past did their duty. Shall we do ours? They were asked to face death—you may have to face calumny and obloquy. No man ever served his country without being vilified, for all who make a profit out of injustice will be your enemies, but as sure as the heavens are high and justice is eternal, will you triumph in the end!

* * *

How the Wealth-Creator Fares under Present Conditions.

There is a great deal of cant at the present time about the easy condition of those who own their land, and we hear much about the improvidence of working men as the chief cause of their suffering. Hence I think that the following extract from a personal letter, in which the writer, who lives in one of the western states, enclosed three dollars on his subscription to the ARENA, will be interesting to our readers. This gentleman writes:

"I will give you the history of the enclosed three dollars. Mrs. R. employed a neighbor and his wife and team to gather fourteen bushels of peaches; the two women and man were six hours getting them into his wagon; he drove them to a distant town next day and returned the following day. The enclosed is the gross return for the two and a half days of man and team and the half day of the women to gather them.

"Mrs. R. saw a man deliver a full two-horse wagon load of melons in town for two cents each; the smallest of them weighed thirty-five pounds and the largest fifty-six pounds; the load brought fifty cents. He had hauled them several miles, hence the whole day was consumed besides the labor of raising them, and he loaded them the night before so as to get an early start.

"Now do you wonder that the people do not support liberal and progressive publications as we think they should? In the first place, they cannot get the money; and in the second place, they are in much the mental and physical condition that the blacks were in years past. Their gaze is fixed on the ground; their faces are turned downward; when they cease to toil the brain is passive or dormant; the body is exhausted as well as the brain. Thirdly, they were never trained from birth to 1895 to think for the purpose of mental improvement."

This same gentleman, later in the letter, in speaking of what might be done if the unfortunates were treated kindly, encouraged, uplifted, and educated, says: "To show what can be done I shall state what has been done here in this connection: We took in a poor girl last winter without clothes or shelter; within six months from the time we took her, having been clothed, fed and trained in the ways of labor and living in general, we put her into a good family at two dollars per week. A hundred more, men and women, with proper organization and effort could have been placed without that omnipresent god—money."

The Republic as It Should Be and as It Is.

In an address recently delivered in Boston, Rev. A. D. Mayo said:

> If Ambassador Bayard was really lifted into that realm of diplomatic obscurity, where he gravely informed the English people that "it required a remarkably great man to govern the American people, and that President Cleveland was that man," he should straightway be recalled and matriculated in the class in civics in the Boston English high-school for advanced study in the constitution of American society. Even George Washington, the most statuesque figure in American statesmanship, never dreamed that he "governed" that little contentious Union of thirteen quarrelsome colonies of which he was elected the first president. And that man or that combination of men which is laboring under the fond delusion that it "governs this American people" is doomed to an awakening of large proportions.

These words set forth the condition as it should be, but let us frankly face the question and ask ourselves if the facts warrant such conclusions. Our president has during the past three years proved himself more Hamiltonian than any executive who has ever occupied the presidential chair. Our congress, despite the enormous pressure brought to bear by capitalism, forced through an income tax. A hearing was had on the constitutionality of the act in the supreme court, but as a full bench was wanting a second vote was taken and the absent justices voted for the law in conformity to the uniform rulings of the supreme court for a century. It was suddenly discovered, however, that during the six weeks which elapsed between the hearings one of the supreme judges had experienced a change of heart, and his vote killed the bill.

There is altogether too much rainbow-chasing among a certain class of well-meaning opportunists who do not, or will not, recognize the gravity of our present political situation. As patriotic Americans it is our duty to refuse to countenance the prophets who are crying, "All is well," at a crisis like the present. We are having altogether too much firing of sky-rockets and hurrahing and altogether too little teaching of the great *principles of human responsibility, of man's duty to man, of justice, and of equity;* too much of the tactics of the ancient patricians of Rome, who throttled the republic while the people were enjoying public shows and crying, "Long live the republic," and too little of the Sermon on the Mount. The time has come when all true friends of progress and humanity must awake, cast off the lethargy which party fealty has thrown over them, and act up to the highest and truest ideals of our age for love of the republic, for the happiness of humanity and the progress of the world.

The New York Herald on the Robbery of the People by the Beef Trust.

Below we give an admirable editorial from the New York *Herald* of September 22, which we commend to the serious attention of our readers:

One of the greatest principles of the

American republic is that it shall be a government not only "of the people" and "by the people," but "for the people." Therefore, when there grows up, under the protection of the law, a scheme by which the people are persistently robbed, they are forced to protect themselves by an appeal to the government. Such is the situation in relation to the trade in fresh meat—particularly in beef. A few millionnaire monopolists have so manipulated the markets of this country as to control absolutely the cost of meat, not only cutting down to the lowest figures the price paid to the producer, but exacting their own terms from the long suffering consumer. As indicated in other columns of to-day's *Herald*, criminal proceedings will soon be taken against all such members of the unlawful "combine" as can be convicted. That enough of them may be punished to deter others from attempting the same extortion is a "consummation devoutly to be wished." He who robs his neighbor under the forms of law, while freely using the privileges that society provides for the honest man, is the most dangerous type of villain, and the courts should take cognizance of his villainy whenever he can be reached.

* * *

The Noble Work of the Chicago Anchorage Mission.

"Last year two hundred and forty-two different young women and men found help and situations through the Anchorage Mission of Chicago where two thousand lodgings were given," says the New York *Philanthropist;* and yet we are constantly informed that it is useless to attempt to redeem fallen women.

* * *

How our Churches and Schools are Busily Engaged in Fostering the Savage in the Young.

I find, in a recent number of the excellent little paper entitled *Our Dumb Animals*, the following from the philanthropic editor, Mr. George T. Angell:

> *Armed Christian Endeavorers.* — Why not? It it's a good thing for *Sunday schools* why not for *Christian Endeavorers?* Think of a *million of Christian Endeavorers — white* endeavors and *colored*—armed with rifles, bayonets, swords, cannon and gatling guns—and a great Christian Endeavor navy of ironclads, rams, and torpedoes. What a power they could bring to convert the heathen to a knowledge of Christianity! If it is a good thing for the Sunday schools, why not for the Christian Endeavorers?

Speaking of this subject reminds me of an article which appeared in the Chicago *Times*, a short time before it was purchased by Mr. Scott, from which we take the following quotations:

> The United Boys' Brigade of America, composed of companies of youths organized under military discipline in the various Christian churches of the land, has just been incorporated, with headquarters in Chicago. The incorporators are the Rev. H. W. Bolton, D. D., representing the Methodists; the Rev. P. S. Henson, D. D., the Baptists; D. C. Milner, D. D., of Armour mission; John Rusk, Ph. D., of the Fullerton Avenue Presbyterian church; Rev. R. E. Morse; Frederick L. Chapman, the editor of Ram's Horn; Dr. Charles B. Morrell, formerly eastern secretary of the National Boys' brigade; O. L. Rickard, adjutant of the Baptist Boys' brigade, and Wiliam J. Robinson. This national organization will give added strength and purpose to the movement and will largely recruit, it is expected, the ranks of the juvenile Christian soldiers. The brigade movement has for its object the development of patriotism and piety in boys and its essential features are the drill, the study of the Bible, and missionary work. . . . It is estimated that there are now close to 1,000 companies in the United States all of which, it is hoped, will unite in this new movement, which bids fair to rival any organization of modern times in numbers and power, and it may and probably will exercise influence that cannot be ignored in the formation of the destinies of this nation.

In the Atlanta *Commercial*, August 2, 1895, I find an editorial making a protest against this fostering of the savage by holding military ideals before the minds of the young. The editor says: "Just now the public school boys as well as the Sunday school pupils are trained in the use of arms and military tactics. Why this is done does not appear. It seems to be more needful that a boy should know the number of stars upon the flag than that he should know the number of commandments in the decalogue." The friend who sent me the editorial accompanies the same by the following:

A western clergyman reports: "Our Sunday school is prospering, the boys are doing well, but we *need* money to purchase muskets and side arms for the Boys' Brigade." He probably means we *want* instead of we need. The church if true to her divine mission, no more needs arms than the Master and His disciples needed the sword on that fatal night in Gethsemane. The ARENA is doing good work in preparing the minds of men for the day when civilized nations will no more engage in war. To this end all true reformers should look and there is much of gain in that direction. It is a crime to teach children the arts and practice of war.

* * *

Sisters of Charity as Wine Sellers — A Convent competing with Saloons.

I imagine the Catholic Total Abstinence Society, which has done such yeoman service in the cause of temperance, must have been amazed at the revelation given to the world by the New York daily papers on September 13. It will be remembered that last month we pointed out the contention between the temperance workers in the Roman church and the monks in Pennsylvania, who refused to cease to brew St. Vincent beer. But I think few of the members of that society imagined that one of their own convents was engaged in selling wine which was either raised on a vineyard owned by the order or obtained through begging as the sisters made their daily rounds; and yet such was the startling revelation which was brought to light in Brooklyn on the twelfth of September, as will be seen by the following from the New York *World* of September 13:

For the first time in the history of Brooklyn an officer of the government yesterday paid a visit to a religious institution and demanded to know by what right the sale of liquor was conducted within its walls. And, in all probability, for the first time in the history of the city a religious institution showed a government license for the sale of such liquor.

For some time past Revenue Collector John Kelley has received complaints from liquor dealers of the Sixteenth Ward that the Sisters of the Convent of St. Dominic, on Graham and Montrose avenues, were daily in the habit of retailing wine at a price far below what the liquor dealers could and that, as a result, they were being ruined by an institution they helped to support.

They complained that any morning women and children could be seen leaving the Graham-avenue entrance, carrying demijohns filled with wine. The complaint was also made that clothing was being retailed.

Yesterday morning Deputy Internal Revenue Inspector James Quinn called on the Sisters for explanation and was shown a revenue license, but no city license. The Sisters informed him that they had been in the habit of selling wine, but had not done so for several days. Inspector Quinn left, satisfied that, so far as the government was concerned, the Sisters were complying with the law. "If any action is to be taken now," he said, "it can only be by the city authorities."

The convent was visited by a *World* reporter. Mother Surplice, who since the death of Mother Superior Barth has been in charge, could not be seen, but Sister Udocia spoke for her, frequenty leaving the room to take counsel from her absent superior.

Sister Udocia admitted the selling of wine, and said that the custom had been stopped for a few days. The wine, she at first said, came from a vineyard owned by the order in California, and shortly afterwards made the statement that the wine was collected by the Sisters on the rounds of charity. She admitted the visit of the "man from the government," and said that he left perfectly satisfied. Asked concerning the fact that women and children left the institution carrying demijohns, a Sister answered, "A good deal of the wine is given away."

Seven years ago, John Orr, a builder, then living at No. 355 Vernon avenue, constructed a wine cellar in the basement of the institution, 100 feet square. Golden weddings, silver weddings and receptions have been held in the large hall of the convent, and on these occasions wine has been sold.

On July 4, 1894, the golden wedding of ex-Charity Commissioner John Raber was celebrated there by a big banquet, at which the orphan girls acted as waitresses, and wine was served. The bill was afterwards paid by Mr. Raber.

During the lifetime of the late Mon-signor May and Mother Superior Barth only grumblings were heard in the ward. Since their deaths, however, the grumblings have assumed the proportion of a storm, and the alleged violations of the excise law could no longer be overlooked.

In view of the warning of Mgr. Satolli and the action of the recent Roman Catholic Total Abstinence Convention on the brewing of beer and distilling of wine by monks, the merchants of the Sixteenth Ward, many of whom are members of the Church of the Most Holy Trinity, on Montrose avenue, adjoining the Convent and Home of St. Dominic, anxiously await whatever action may be taken by the city authorities.

* * *

How the Tories of To-day are Conquering our Sleeping Republic.

A striking illustration of the manner in which plutocracy seeks to enslave the people through manufacturing public opinion by means of great newspapers of the day exists in the fight now being waged between the capitalists who own the St. Louis *Post-Despatch* and Editor Jones of that paper. Mr. Jones, having proved himself one of the most successful and brilliant editors in America, was engaged by the St. Louis *Post-Despatch* under contract for five years. Being himself a strong believer in free silver, and knowing that the rank and file of the people of the country were opposed to the Bank-of-England and Wall-Street financial policy, he has stood out for honest money against the usurer class, and for this has been given his "walking ticket," says the Boston *Herald* of October 2; but the editor immediately obtained an injunction from the courts to prevent anybody from disturbing him, on the ground that he had contracted to run the paper for five years and could not be molested during that time. As plutocracy is so thoroughly "in the saddle" at the present time, it is doubtful whether Editor Jones will be able to hold his position and continue to preach the gospel of Jeffersonian Democracy in the battle against the Tories who are destroying the republic.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The December Arena.

The December ARENA will contain papers by:

PROFESSOR RICHARD T. ELY *of the University of Wisconsin.*

REV. M. J. SAVAGE *of Unity Church, Boston.*

JUSTICE WALTER CLARK, LL. D., *of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina.*

HELEN H. GARDENER, *the Brilliant Novelist, Essayist, and Lecturer.*

PROFESSOR THOMAS E. WILL, A. M.

DR. JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, *the Eminent Historian.*

REV. JOHN W. CHADWICK, D. D.

Among the Illustrations will be:

Frontispiece, PROFESSOR RICHARD T. ELY.

Entirely new portrait photogravures of LONGFELLOW, EMERSON and WHITTIER, executed in the finest style of the art and printed on heavy coated paper.

Another Interesting Feature

of the December ARENA will be the opening chapter of WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE'S powerful story of Tennessee life, entitled *The Valley Path.*

No pains, expense, or time will be spared in making the ARENA for 1896 stronger, abler, and more attractive than ever. *Beginning with the December issue the price will be reduced from* **$5.00** *to* **$3.00** *per year.* Single copies after this month will be **25** cents each.

The November Arena.

We desire to call the attention of our readers to a few features of this number which we believe will be of special interest.

SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN, long recognized as one of the ablest Democratic statesmen in the Republic, discusses in this issue the *Silver Question in Its Relation to the South*, in a masterly manner. That Senator Morgan echoes the sentiments of a vast majority of the wealth-creators of the South I believe to be unquestionably true; and I believe those who are allowing themselves to be deluded by the pre-arranged chorus of the gold devotees will find a genuine surprise at the next presidential election in a union of the wealth-creating Southern and Western states despite the campaign being carried on so vigorously in the interests of Wall Street.

PROF. GEORGE D. HERRON, of Iowa College, opens his series of forceful and truly religious papers in this number with *The Sociality of Jesus' Religion.* Probably no man among Orthodox ministers of our time, certainly no young man in the West, has done so much good work in awakening the conscience of sleeping churchmen and forcing them to realize the subserviency of the church to gold and conventionalism and its faithlessness to the *religion of life* as enunciated by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount as Professor Herron. He has thrilled tens of thousands who are still within the church with a new hope, much as did Savonarola, when the Roman Church in Florence, and indeed throughout Italy, seemed all but completely to have surrendered itself to the lust of the flesh, the greed for gain, and the pride of life. These papers of Professor Herron will be of incalculable value to our people at the present time and will be of great interest to all thoughtful Christians.

PROF. FRANK PARSONS. It is safe to say that no discussion of municipal electric lighting has ever appeared in any review as exhaustive, authoritative, or convincing in character as the series of papers which we are giving our readers from the pen of Professor Parsons, of the Boston University School of Law. The contribution this month is exceptionally valuable. Our readers will be pleased to learn that Professor Parsons will contribute a series of papers to the ARENA for 1896.

HELEN H. GARDENER closes her series of papers giving the history of one of the most notable, if not the most notable, campaign ever waged in the interests of higher morality. This month's contribution will be of great value to all persons interested in social purity. It is filled with thoughts of vital interest and it also is rendered still more valuable by the *map* made expressly for us, which shows at a glance the status of the different states, and, *with the explanatory notes* and the *codification of the laws* in the various states, gives in brief facts which represent great expense and patient and persistent work.

EX-GOVERNOR JAMES M. ASHLEY, an old-time Republican who as governor and congressman figured prominently during the stirring days when the Republican party stood for the great principles which called it into being, writes in this issue on *The Impending Political Advance.* He discusses some live problems which, considering the point of view of the author, are particularly interesting.

CHARLES RODOLF, M. D., discusses *The Unrighteousness of Government as Viewed by a Philosophical Anarchist.* This paper is dignified and thoughtful and presents the views of a man who does not believe in violence. It is unfortunate that the popular conceptions of anarchy and the ideals of men like Dr. Rodolf should be associated as one and the same in the public mind.

MARGARET B. PEEKE'S paper on *Practical Occultism* closes this series of discussions by the author of "Zenia the Vestal." During the ensuing year we shall publish many papers dealing with psychical phenomena, occult research, and metaphysical thought, of great interest and value to those interested in this realm of investigation.

Strolls Outside the Walls of Chester. In this paper I have aimed to give: (1) The views held by a large body of thinking men among the bread-winners of England by reproducing in substance the observations of the boatman who took us to Eaton Hall. I believe these views will be interesting to our readers, as they are so strikingly similar to the ideas held by hundreds of thousands if not millions of the wealth-creators of America. (2) A brief description of the country seat of the Duke of Westminster, and (3) a glimpse of the home of William E. Gladstone. The illustrations were secured in Chester and give the reader an admirable idea of the scenes described.

It is our intention to have one handsomely illustrated paper in each issue of the ARENA during the ensuing year. The January number will contain a magnificent series of illustrations on Mexico, accompanying Justice Walter Clark's first paper on our sister republic.

WILLIS MILLS, M. D., contributes to this issue a short story which should be read by every young man in the land. It is a powerful sketch dealing with the double standard of morals, by a physician.

* * *

Man in His Relation to the Solar System as a Subject for Natural Research and Scientific Inquiry.

We have the promise of a series of papers by the scholarly physician, J. Heber Smith, on the above subject for the ARENA for 1896, which we believe will attract the attention of all men and women who dare to think. Dr. Smith, in spite of the large practice he has enjoyed for many years among the most cultured families of the Back Bay District of Boston and his exacting duties as an educator, has improved,— or perhaps I should say has *made* time to study extensively the above fascinating theme in a scientific and critical spirit, not forgetting, however, that bigotry, prejudice, and preconceived opinions are the children of night and that true science is open-eyed and eager for knowledge however counter it may run to conventional ideas. These papers will be scholarly and scientific discussions by one especially well fitted to examine the subject in an able and thoughtful manner.

The New Therapeutic College in San Francisco.

We learn from Professor Buchanan that steps are being taken to establish a medical college in San Francisco in which will be taught the new electro-therapeutics and new physiology established by his demonstration of the functions of the brain. It will differ in almost all respects from any college the world has yet seen—not by the exclusion or rejection of any established science, but by its large addition of new resources and new philosophy. As its methods of healing will not be confined to drugs, it will be called, not a medical but a *therapeutic* college, as its friends contend that medicines are scarcely half of our therapeutic resources. The substitution of therapeutic for medical in the new movement shows that it is revolutionary.

The Eightieth Birthday of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Believing that the progress made by women in the last half century along philanthropic, intellectual, political, and industrial lines may be still further promoted by a more general acknowledgment of their efforts and successes, it has been decided to hold in New York City a gathering whose object shall be to give deserved recognition of past achievement and stimulation and encouragement to future endeavor. As the most appropriate occasion for such a celebration, the eightieth birthday of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton has been chosen. Her half century of pioneer work for the advancement of women makes her name the natural inspiration for such an occasion and her life the appropriate object of the congratulation and homage of the women of the world.

The celebration will take place under the auspices of the National Council of Women of the United States, every one of whose twenty societies, representing in all seven hundred thousand women, will rejoice to bring its tribute to the great woman who, in accord with the principle and practice of her life, will gladly share with other pioneers honors to which she, and her equally great coworker, Susan B. Anthony, have unquestioned and preëminent claim.

From their supreme interest in the enfranchisement of women, Mrs. Stanton's and Miss Anthony's ideas and influence have permeated *all* fields of progress, until these women have become the natural centre of that group of pioneers in education and philanthropy, in the professions and the industries, whom we hope to gather on this occasion. It is hoped to show to the younger generation of women, not alone the work that has been wrought by and for woman, but the world's great women workers, who, by struggle and sacrifice, have made possible that new day of truer freedom and nobler development, the dawn of which these pioneers have lived to see.

For the successful development of the plan for the reunion will be required the cordial coöperation and sympathy of individuals and organizations interested in every phase of woman's work. Not only the societies composing the Council of Women of the United States, but those fraternally affiliated, and even those quite outside, which may desire to participate in this celebration, are invited to send one or more delegates.

The celebration is to be held on Nov. 12, 1895, in the Metropolitan Opera House, in which, if it so desires, each organization can purchase a box or boxes for its own members and their friends. The names of delegates, all inquiries, correspondence, contributions, pledges for expenses, etc., should be sent to Mrs. M. L. Dickinson, 230 W. 59th Street, New York.

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* * *

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* * *

THIS Review, which one critic characterizes as "the leading literary, progressive and reformative Review published in the English-speaking world," will, during the ensuing year, be invaluable to all *people who think*, and especially indispensable to those who desire *to investigate root problems which affect civilization.*

We have perfected arrangements with leading thinkers of America and Europe which enable us to say that THE ARENA for 1896 will be absolutely indispensable to thoughtful people who love purity, who think below the surface, and who are interested in all the great fundamental

I. Social,
II. Ethical,
III. Economical,
IV. Political,
V. Educational,
VI. Scientific,
VII. Religious,
VIII. Psychical

problems which are challenging the attention of the most thoughtful minds of the world to-day. For obvious reasons, at present it is only wise or possible to make a preliminary announcement of the good things in store for our readers. We desire to state before mentioning a few of the strong attractions which will appear in early numbers, that we have arranged for many striking features which will greatly add to the intrinsic value and to the attractiveness of THE ARENA, and which will be announced from time to time.

SOME EMINENT WRITERS WHO WILL CONTRIBUTE TO EARLY ISSUES OF THE ARENA.

Below we give a partial list of some eminent thinkers who have prepared papers for early issues of THE ARENA, in order to let our readers see how rich in interest THE ARENA will be. A number of eminent thinkers are preparing special papers which will be duly announced; but the following are among the many brilliant writers whose contributions will appear within the next three months.

United States Senator John T. Morgan, of Alabama.
Rev. Minot J. Savage, of Unity Church, Boston, Mass.
Prof. Richard T. Ely, of University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Rev. Lyman Abbott, of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Prof. Frank Parsons, of Boston University School of Law, Boston.
Rev. Edward Everett Hale, of Boston.
Helen H. Gardener, of Boston.
Prof. George D. Herron, of Iowa College.
Hon. Walter Clark, LL. D., of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina.
Rev. John W. Chadwick, D. D., of Brooklyn, N. Y.
Postmaster General William L. Wilson.
Prof. Joseph Rodes Buchanan, M. D.
James G. Clark, the people's poet.
United States Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina.
J. Heber Smith, M. D., of Boston.

SOME SPECIAL FEATURES.

Among the important series of papers which will appear during the ensuing year, we mention the following:

I. The Relation of Jesus to Social Problems of To-day; by Prof. George D. Herron, of Iowa College.

A series of papers dealing with this problem, by the modern Savonarola of Protestantism.

II. Justice Walter Clark, LL. D., of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina, on Mexico and the Silver Question in Our Sister Republic.

A series of magnificently illustrated papers.

So many confusing statements have been made on this subject that we realize the importance of obtaining the absolute facts relating to the question, gathered by a gentleman who possesses the qualifications for weighing the pros and cons. judicially and calmly, and who enjoys the confidence of the people. We have made special arrangements with this leading American jurist to visit Mexico and give our readers the benefit of a careful survey of the question. It will be remembered that Justice Clark after honorable service on the Supreme Bench of his State so won the confidence of the people that he was reëlected by the combined vote of all parties in North Carolina at the last election. These important papers will be rendered doubly attractive by fine illustrations, and will be indispensable to thoughtful people interested in the money question.

III. Natural Monopolies and the People.

Should the Government own the Telegraph? will be ably discussed by a number of our leading thinkers in early issues of The Arena, including such thinkers as Prof. Richard T. Ely, Prof. Frank Parsons, Justice Walter Clark, Postmaster-General Wilson, and Rev. Lyman Abbott. This discussion will be followed by equally able and interesting discussions on other leading problems relating to the people and natural monopolies. In this connection we desire to state that Prof. Frank Parsons, of the Faculty of the Boston University School of Law, will contribute a series of papers to The Arena for 1896 on the Rights and Duties of the people in regard to Municipal, State, and Government ownership of natural monopolies, which will be of great value to all thoughtful people who desire to see the era of plunder and political debauchery superseded by a democracy in something more than an empty name.

IV. Exhaustive Bibliographies of Vital Social, Political, and Economic Problems.

Beginning with the December issue, we have arranged to publish monthly carefully compiled bibliographies which will give our readers a complete list of the most valuable works and discussions on the great questions now uppermost in the minds of social reformers. Thus, for example, the opening paper will deal with the Land Question, and will be compiled for THE ARENA by Prof. Thomas E. Will, A. M. It will be followed by an equally exhaustive bibliography dealing with the literature relating to the Swiss innovations or ideal republican measures so successfully inaugurated by the little Alpine Republic. The third will deal with the literature of Socialism. Each issue will contain carefully prepared bibliographies which will be invaluable to all students of political, social, and economic problems, and which no thoughtful man or woman of the present time can afford to be without.

V. Why the Wealth-Producers are Opposed to the Worship of the Golden Calf.

A series of papers of great value from America's leading statesmen and thinkers, showing why the wealth-producers are irrevocably opposed to the policy of the Bank of England and the American Tories. The opening paper of this series has been prepared by United States Senator John T. Morgan, of Alabama, and is entitled Why the South Wants Free Silver.

This will be followed by a historical paper exposing the conspiracy of the Wall-Street gamblers and the usurer class of Europe and America against the prosperity of the wealth-producers of America, by the most eminent and popular living American historian, Dr. John Clark Ridpath, LL.D. Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina, and other representative statesmen who have refused to take their orders from the gamblers of Wall Street, will ably present the cause of sound and honest finance *versus* the selfish and essentially dishonest policy of the usurer class. These papers will be of great value to patriotic Americans during the momentous struggle now at hand between the Bank of England and her allies, and the home-makers and wealth-producers of the Republic.

VI. Thinking Women in the Arena.

THE ARENA for next year will contain papers each month from representative thinkers among our leading women on vital and fundamental issues which affect present-day life. The subject of women's enfranchisement will also be exhaustively discussed in a series of brilliant papers.

VII. Biographical, Historical, and Reminiscent Papers,

Dealing with great lives, thrilling passages in history, and memorable moments spent with the moulders of thought and builders of civilization by leading thinkers of America and Europe, will constitute a delightful and educational feature of THE ARENA for 1896. In this connection we desire to mention a series of striking PEN PICTURES OF THE GREAT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CRISES OF THE CENTURY IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD, BY RICHARD J. HINTON, WITH PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.

These papers will give graphic pictures of the great Corn Law agitation in England and the triumph of the people in a surprisingly short time after all seemed hopeless. Incidentally they will contain thumb-nail sketches of Gerald Massey, Charles Mackay, John Bright, and other shining lights of that great conflict. *The Boston of the Fifties* will be another subject discussed, with pen pictures of Emerson, Phillips, Sumner, Garrison, Parker, and other leading lights of the great moral crusade for abolition. Other papers dealing with conflicts scarcely less interesting will also be features of this series. These articles will be properly illustrated.

VIII. The New Psychology and Psychic Research.

The progress being made in the realm of psychical science by the demonstrations of recent years made by such leading scientists as Prof. Oliver Lodge of England and other thinkers no less eminent have corroborated in a large way the claims of Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, Prof. Crookes and other pioneer psychical scientists who blazed the way in the field of psychical research. As this realm, more than any other, promises to furnish proofs which will neutralize the soul-deadening materialism of the church and society of to-day, we have ever given space to psychical research, and in 1896 purpose to publish a series of papers of special value to thoughtful men and women. Metaphysical and occult studies by eminent thinkers will also be features of THE ARENA for the coming year. A SERIES OF PAPERS OF SPECIAL INTEREST and value has been promised by the scholarly physician, J. Heber Smith, M. D., of Boston, on Man and his relation to the Solar System as a subject for natural research and scientific inquiry.

IX. Papers by Mr. Flower.

On the conclusion of his series of papers on "Wellsprings and Feeders of Immorality," the Editor of THE ARENA will give a series of discussions under the general heading, "Wellsprings of Life," which it is believed will be inspiring and helpful at the present crisis. Among the first papers of this series will be: I. THE POWER OF THE IMAGINATION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF HIGH IDEALS. II. THE REDEMPTIVE POWER OF LOVE. III. TRUE EDUCATION AND WHAT IT CAN ACCOMPLISH. IV. CRIME AND OUR TREATMENT OF CRIMINAL

X. The Battle for Higher Morality

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XI. Educational, Ethical, and Religious

Questions, using these terms in their broad and true sense as they relate to the development of the highest in man, the elevation of morals and the supremacy of the divine over the animal, will be presented in a masterly manner by broad-minded scholars of the new time.

XII. Fiction.

A brilliant Novel by WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

A novel of great interest and strength opens in the December ARENA and will run for the first half of the year. It is entitled A VALLEY PATH and is a story of Tennessee. There will also be charming short stories and sketches in each number which will interest all members of the families into which THE ARENA goes.

XIII. Illustrations.

The portraits of eminent thinkers with their autographs which have proved such a popular feature of this review in the past will be rendered especially attractive in the future, as our arrangements are such that the pictures will be executed with superior excellence and will prove a feature of great interest to all our readers. In addition to these portraits and autographs, we have arranged for one handsomely illustrated paper for each issue of THE ARENA.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The popular reviews of important works will continue a feature of THE ARENA for 1896, and in a word, no money, time, or care will be spared in making THE ARENA a review that every man and woman who desires to keep abreast of the live and vital problems of our age will find indispensable, and a magazine which all the friends of justice, morality, and progress will be proud of.

FROM FIVE DOLLARS TO THREE DOLLARS.

Beginning with our December issue the price of the ARENA will be Reduced from $5.00 to $3.00.

We have received hundreds of letters from all sections of the country urging us to reduce the price of our review. Friends have urged that while it was the one review in America which was entitled to the name of the PEOPLE'S REVIEW, and although they fully appreciated the fact that it was always true to the cause of the wealth-producers, tens of thousands of ardent admirers of THE ARENA were unable to purchase it, owing to its price. We, therefore, last summer sent out a trial proposition to test the point and see whether the increase of circulation would justify us in reducing the price to **$3.00.** The results have more than met our friends' expectations. We, therefore, will begin Volume XV. at **$3.00**, and will receive all orders beginning with December at this rate.

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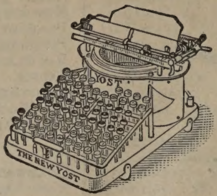

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